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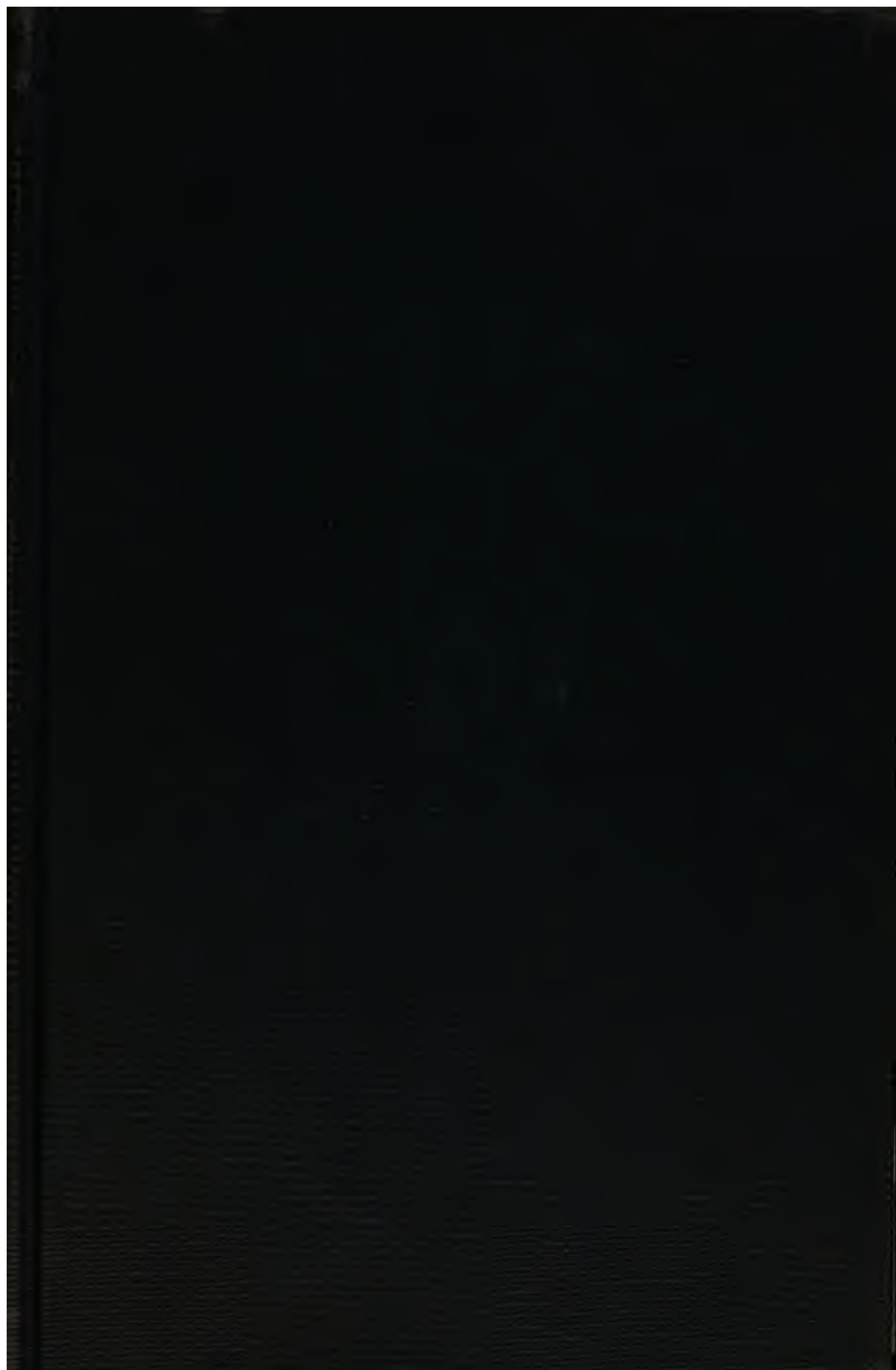
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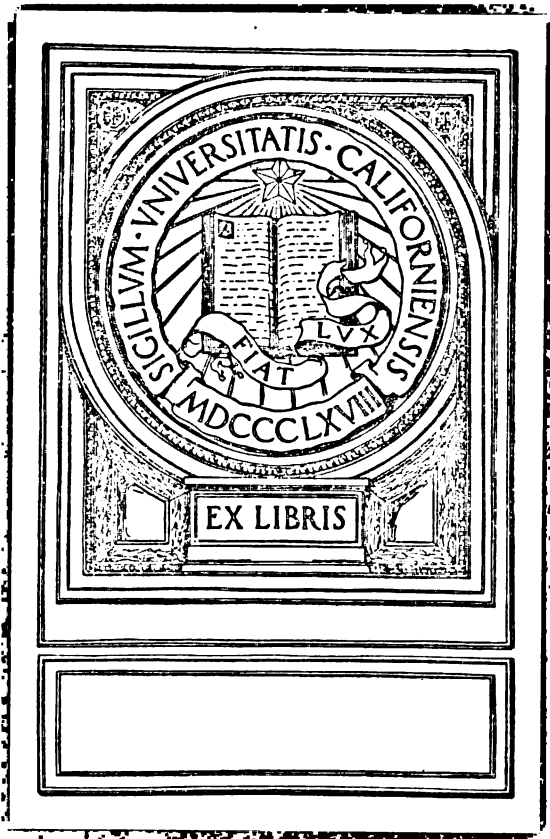
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THE  
**HISTORICAL RECORD**

EDITED BY  
**ANDREW JENSON**

VOLS. 7 AND 8  
1888 AND 1889

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1888 1-



*"What thou seest, write in a book."* REV. 1:11.

THE  
HISTORICAL RECORD,  
A MONTHLY PERIODICAL,

*Devoted Exclusively to Historical, Biographical, Chronological  
and Statistical Matters.*

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VOLUME SEVEN

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EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY ANDREW JENSON

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Abstract

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## JOSEPH SMITH, THE PROPHET

Compiled in part from the history of Joseph Smith, published in the *Millennial Star*, and from Geo. Q. Cannon's writings about Joseph, the Prophet, as published in the *Juvenile Instructor*.

### CHAPTER 1.

Parentage of Joseph Smith.—Early education.—Religious impressions.—First vision.—Visit of the Angel Moroni.—Received the records with the Urim and Thummim and the Breast-plate.

Joseph Smith, the great Prophet and Seer of the Nineteenth Century, was the fourth child of Joseph Smith and Lucy Mack, and was born in Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, Dec. 23, 1805. His parents (See *Joseph Smith, sen.*, page 89) were good and honest people and taught their children to be moral, truthful and industrious. They also instructed them about God and religion, so far as their own knowledge went in this direction, but as their means were very limited, they were not able to give their children more than a common school education. The advantages which Joseph had for acquiring scientific knowledge were thus exceedingly small, being limited to a slight acquaintance with two or three of the common branches of learning. He could read without difficulty and write a very imperfect hand; and he also had a very limited understanding of the elementary rules of arithmetic. These were his only scholastic attainments; while the rest of those

branches so universally taught in the common schools throughout the United States were entirely unknown to him.

When he was about seven years old, he came near losing his leg through a fever sore, but by opening the leg, and extracting several pieces of affected bone, amputation was avoided. In this excruciating operation he exhibited that courage which, united with tender feeling, always marks the character of the great and good. In 1816, Joseph being then about ten years old, his parents removed with their family from Vermont to Palmyra, Ontario (now Wayne) County, New York. A few years later they removed to Manchester, in the same county.

"Some time in the second year after our removal to Manchester," writes Joseph, "there was in the place where we lived an unusual excitement on the subject of religion. It commenced with the Methodists, but soon became general among all the sects in that region of country; indeed the whole district of country seemed affected by it, and great multitudes united themselves to the different religious par-

ties, which created no small stir and division amongst the people, some crying, 'Lo here,' and some, 'Lo there'; some were contending for the Methodist faith, some for the Presbyterian, and some for the Baptist. For notwithstanding the great love which the converts to these different faiths expressed at the time of their conversion, and the great zeal manifested by the respective clergy, who were active in getting up and promoting this extraordinary scene of religious feeling, in order to have everybody converted, as they were pleased to call it, let them join what sect they pleased—yet when the converts began to file off, some to one party, and some to another, it was seen that the seemingly good feelings of both the priests and the converts were more pretended than real, for a scene of great confusion and bad feeling ensued—priest contending against priest, and convert against convert, so that all the good feelings one for another, if they ever had any, were entirely lost in a strife of words, and a contest about opinions.

"I was at this time in my fifteenth year. My father's family was proselyted to the Presbyterian faith, and four of them joined that church, namely, my mother, my brothers Hyrum and Samuel Harrison, and my sister Sophronia.

"During this time of great excitement, my mind was called up to serious reflection and great uneasiness; but though my feelings were deep and often pungent, still I kept myself aloof from all these parties, though I attended their several meetings as often as occasion would permit; but in process of time my mind became somewhat partial to the Methodist sect, and I felt some desire to be

united with them, but so great was the confusion and strife among the different denominations, that it was impossible for a person, young as I was, and so unacquainted with men and things, to come to any certain conclusion who was right, and who was wrong. My mind at different times was greatly excited, the cry and tumult was so great and incessant. The Presbyterians were most decided against the Baptists and Methodists, and used all the powers of both reason or sophistry to prove their errors, or, at least, to make the people think they were in error. On the other hand the Baptists and Methodists, in their turn, were equally zealous in endeavoring to establish their own tenets and disprove all others.

"In the midst of this war of words and tumult of opinions, I often said to myself, What is to be done? Who of all these parties are right? Or, are they all wrong together? If any one of them be right, which is it, and how shall I know it?

"While I was laboring under the extreme difficulties, caused by the contests of these parties of religionists, I was one day reading the Epistle of James, first chapter, and fifth verse, which reads, 'If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth unto all men liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him.' Never did any passage of Scripture come with more power to the heart of man than this did at this time to mine. It seemed to enter with great force into every feeling of my heart. I reflected on it again and again, knowing that if any person needed wisdom from God, I did; for how to act I did not know, and unless I could get more wisdom than I then had, I would

never know; for the teachers of religion of the different sects understood the same passage so differently as to destroy all confidence in settling the question by an appeal to the Bible. At length I came to the conclusion that I must either remain in darkness and confusion, or else I must do as James directs, that is, ask of God. I at length came to the determination to ask of God, concluding that if he gave wisdom to them that lacked wisdom, and would give liberally and not upbraid, I might venture. So, in accordance with this my determination to ask of God, I retired to the woods to make the attempt. It was on the morning of a beautiful, clear day, early in the spring of eighteen hundred and twenty. It was the first time in my life that I had made such an attempt, for amidst all my anxieties I had never as yet made the attempt to pray vocally.

"After I had retired into the place where I had previously designed to go, having looked around me and finding myself alone, I kneeled down and began to offer up the desires of my heart to God. I had scarcely done so, when immediately I was seized upon by some power which entirely overcame me, and had such astonishing influence over me as to bind my tongue so that I could not speak. Thick darkness gathered around me, and it seemed to me for a time as if I were doomed to sudden destruction. But, exerting all my powers to call upon God to deliver me out of the power of this enemy which had seized upon me, and at the very moment when I was ready to sink into despair and abandon myself to destruction—not of an imaginary ruin, but to the power of some actual being

from the unseen world, who had such marvelous power as I had never before felt in any being—just at this moment of great alarm, I saw a pillar of light exactly over my head, above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon me. It no sooner appeared than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light rested upon me, I saw two personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me, calling me by name, and said (pointing to the other), THIS IS MY BELOVED SON, HEAR HIM.

"My object in going to inquire of the Lord was to know which of all the sects was right, that I might know which to join. No sooner, therefore, did I get possession of myself, so as to be able to speak, than I asked the personages who stood above me in the light, which of all the sects was right (for at this time it had never entered into my heart that all were wrong), and which I should join. I was answered that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong, and the personages who addressed me said that all their creeds were an abomination in his sight; that those professors were all corrupt; that: 'They draw near to me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; they teach for doctrine the commandments of men, having a form of godliness, but they deny the power thereof.'"

The Holy Being again forbade Joseph to join any of these churches, and he promised that the true and everlasting gospel should be revealed to him at some future time. Joseph continues:

"Many other things did he (the

Christ) say unto me which I cannot write at this time. When I came to myself again, I found myself lying on my back, looking up into heaven.

"Some few days after I had this vision, I happened to be in company with one of the Methodist preachers, who was very active in the before mentioned religious excitement, and conversing with him on the subject of religion, I took occasion to give him an account of the vision which I had had. I was greatly surprised at his behavior; he treated my communication not only lightly, but with great contempt, saying it was all of the devil, that there were no such things as visions or revelations in these days; that all such things had ceased with the Apostles, and that there never would be any more of them.

"I soon found, however, that my telling the story had excited a great deal of prejudice against me among professors of religion, and was the cause of great persecution, which continued to increase; and though I was an obscure boy, only between fourteen and fifteen years of age, and my circumstances in life such as to make a boy of no consequence in the world, yet men of high standing would take notice sufficient to excite the public mind against me, and create a bitter persecution, and this was common among all the sects; all united to persecute me.

"It has often caused me serious reflections, both then and since, how very strange it was that an obscure boy, of a little over fourteen years of age, and one, too, who was doomed to the necessity of obtaining a scanty maintenance by his daily labor, should be thought a character of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the great ones

of the most popular sects of the day, so as to create in them a spirit of the most bitter persecution and reviling. But strange or not, so it was, and was often cause of great sorrow to myself. However, it was, nevertheless, a fact, that I had had a vision. I have thought since, that I felt much like Paul when he made his defense before King Agrippa, and related the account of the vision he had when he saw a light and heard a voice, but still there were but few who believed him; some said he was dishonest, others said he was mad, and he was ridiculed and reviled; but all this did not destroy the reality of his vision. He had seen a vision, he knew he had, and all the persecution under heaven could not make it otherwise; and though they should persecute him unto death, yet he knew, and would know unto his latest breath, that he had both seen a light, and heard a voice speaking to him, and all the world could not make him think or believe otherwise.

"So it was with me; I had actually seen a light, and in the midst of that light I saw two personages, and they did in reality speak unto me; and though I was hated and persecuted for saying that I had seen a vision, yet it was true; and while they were persecuting me, reviling me and speaking all manner of evil against me, falsely, for so saying, I was led to say in my heart, Why persecute me for telling the truth? I have actually seen a vision, and who am I that can withstand God? Or why does the world think to make me deny what I have actually seen? For I had seen a vision. I knew it, and I knew that God knew it, and I could not deny it, neither dare I do it, at least I knew that by so doing I

would offend God and come under condemnation.

"I had now got my mind satisfied so far as the sectarian world was concerned, that it was not my duty to join with any of them, but continue as I was until further directed; I had found the testimony of James to be true, that a man who lacked wisdom might ask of God, and obtain and not be upbraided. I continued to pursue my common avocations in life until the twenty-first of September, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, all the time suffering severe persecution at the hands of all classes of men, both religious and irreligious, because I continued to affirm that I had seen a vision.

"During the space of time which intervened between the time I had the vision and the year eighteen hundred and twenty-three (having been forbidden to join any of the religious sects of the day, and being of very tender years, and persecuted by those who ought to have been my friends, and to have treated me kindly, and if they supposed me to be deluded to have endeavored, in a proper and affectionate manner, to have reclaimed me), I was left to all kinds of temptations, and mingling with all kinds of society, I frequently fell into many foolish errors, and displayed the weakness of youth, and the corruption of human nature, which I am sorry to say led me into divers temptations, to the gratification of many appetites offensive in the sight of God. In consequence of these things I often felt condemned for my weakness and imperfections.

"On the evening of the above mentioned twenty-first of September, after I had retired to my bed for the night,

I betook myself to prayer and supplication to Almighty God, for forgiveness of all my sins and follies, and also for a manifestation to me, that I might know of my state and standing before him; for I had full confidence in obtaining a divine manifestation, as I had previously had one.

"While I was thus in the act of calling upon God, I discovered a light appearing in the room, which continued to increase until the room was lighter than at noonday, when immediately a personage appeared at my bedside, standing in the air, for his feet did not touch the floor. He had on a loose robe of most exquisite whiteness. It was a whiteness beyond anything earthly I had ever seen; nor do I believe that any earthly thing could be made to appear so exceedingly white and brilliant; his hands were naked, and his arms also, a little above the wrist; so, also, were his feet naked, as were his legs, a little above the ankles. His head and neck were also bare. I could discover that he had no other clothing on but this robe, as it was open so that I could see into his bosom.

"Not only was his robe exceedingly white, but his whole person was glorious beyond description, and his countenance truly like lightning. The room was exceedingly light, but not so very bright as immediately around his person. When I first looked upon him I was afraid, but the fear soon left me. He called me by name and said unto me that he was a messenger sent from the presence of God to me, and that his name was Moroni; that God had a work for me to do, and that my name should be had for good and evil among all nations, kindreds, and tongues; or that it should be both good

and evil spoken of among all people. He said there was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent, and the source from whence they sprang. He also said that the fulness of the everlasting gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Savior to the ancient inhabitants. Also, that there were two stones in silver bows (and these stones, fastened to a breastplate, constituted what is called the Urim and Thummim) deposited with the plates, and the possession and use of these stones was what constituted Seers in ancient or former times, and that God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book.

"After telling me these things, he commenced quoting the prophecies of the Old Testament. He first quoted part of the third chapter of Malachi, and he quoted also the fourth or last chapter of the same prophecy, though with a little variation from the way it reads in our Bibles. Instead of quoting the first verse as it reads in our books, he quoted it thus: 'For behold, the day cometh that shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly shall burn as stubble, for they that come shall burn them, saith the Lord of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.' And again, he quoted the fifth verse thus: 'Behold, I will reveal unto you the Priesthood, by the hand of Elijah the Prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord.' He also quoted the next verse differently: 'And he shall plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers, and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers; if it were not so, the

whole earth would be utterly wasted at his coming.'

"In addition to these, he quoted the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, saying that it was about to be fulfilled. He quoted, also, the third chapter of Acts, twenty-second and twenty-third verses, precisely as they stand in our New Testament. He said that that Prophet was Christ, but the day had not yet come when they who would not hear his voice should be cut off from among the people, but soon would come.

"He also quoted the second chapter of Joel, from the twenty-eighth to the last verse. He also said that this was not yet fulfilled, but was soon to be. And he further stated that the fulness of the Gentiles was soon to come in. He quoted many other passages of Scripture, and offered many explanations which cannot be mentioned here. Again, he told me that when I got those plates of which he had spoken (for the time that they should be obtained was not yet fulfilled), I should not show them to any person, neither the breastplate with the Urim and Thummim, only to those to whom I should be commanded to show them; if I did, I should be destroyed. While he was conversing with me about the plates, the vision was opened to my mind that I could see the place where the plates were deposited, and that so clearly and distinctly, that I knew the place again when I visited it.

"After this communication, I saw the light in the room begin to gather immediately around the person of him who had been speaking to me, and it continued to do so, until the room was again left dark, except just around him, when instantly I saw,

as it were, a conduit open right up into heaven, and he ascended until he entirely disappeared, and the room was left as it had been before this heavenly light had made its appearance.

"I lay musing on the singularity of the scene, and marvelling greatly at what had been told me by this extraordinary messenger, when, in the midst of my meditation, I suddenly discovered that my room was again beginning to get lighted, and in an instant, as it were, the same heavenly messenger was again by my bedside. He commenced, and again related the very same things which he had done at his first visit, without the least variation, which having done, he informed me of great judgments which were coming upon the earth, with great desolations by famine, sword, and pestilence, and that these grievous judgments would soon come on the earth in this generation. Having related these things, he again ascended as he had done before.

"By this time, so deep were the impressions made on my mind, that sleep had fled from my eyes, and I lay overwhelmed in astonishment at what I had both seen and heard; but what was my surprise when again I beheld the same messenger at my bedside, and heard him rehearse or repeat over again to me the same things as before, and added a caution to me, telling me that Satan would try to tempt me (in consequence of the indigent circumstances of my father's family) to get the plates for the purpose of getting rich. This he forbade me, saying that I must have no other object in view in getting the plates but to glorify God, and must not be influenced by any other motive but that of building

his kingdom, otherwise I could not get them. After this third visit, he again ascended into heaven as before, and I was again left to ponder on the strangeness of what I had just experienced, when almost immediately after the heavenly messenger had ascended from me the third time, the cock crew, and I found that day was approaching, so that our interviews must have occupied the whole of that night. I shortly after arose from my bed, and, as usual, went to the necessary labors of the day, but, in attempting to labor as at other times, I found my strength so exhausted as rendered me entirely unable. My father, who was laboring along with me, discovered something to be wrong with me, and told me to go home. I started with the intention of going to the house, but, in attempting to cross the fence out of the field where we were, my strength entirely failed me, and I fell helpless on the ground, and for a time was quite unconscious of anything. The first thing that I can recollect, was a voice speaking unto me calling me by name; I looked up and beheld the same messenger standing over my head, surrounded by light, as before. He then again related unto me all that he had related to me the previous night, and commanded me to go to my father and tell him of the vision and commandments which I had received.

"I obeyed, I returned back to my father in the field and rehearsed the whole matter to him. He replied to me that it was of God, and to go and do as commanded by the messenger. I left the field and went to the place where the messenger had told me the plates were deposited, and owing to the distinctness of the vision which I



had had concerning it, I knew the place the instant I arrived there."

Convenient to the village of Manchester, and about four miles from Palmyra, Wayne County, in the western part of the State of New York, stands a hill of considerable size, and the most elevated of any in the neighborhood. This hill was called Cumorah by the Nephites and Ramah by the Jaredites. Since the records were taken from the hill, the people in the neighborhood have named it "Mormon Hill." On the west side of this hill, not far from the top, under a stone of considerable size, lay the plates, deposited in a box, which was made of square flat stones, all carefully cemented together to prevent the moisture from entering. This box was sufficiently large to admit a breastplate, such as was used by the ancients to defend the chest or other parts of the body from the arrows and weapons of enemies. In the bottom of the box were laid two stones crossways, upon which lay the "plates and the other things with them. While the top stone, covering the box, was flat underneath, it was thick and rounding in the middle on the upper side, and thinner toward the edges, so that the middle part of it was visible above the ground, when Joseph first visited the place, but the edges all around were covered with earth. By this it is plainly seen that however deep the box might have been placed at first, the time had been sufficient to wear the earth, so that it was easily discovered when once directed, and yet not enough to make a perceivable difference to the passer by." Joseph removed the earth, and by the use of a lever, which he inserted under the edge of the stone, he raised it with

but little exertion, "and," writes the Prophet, "I looked in and there, indeed, did I behold the plates, the Urim and Thummim and the breastplate, as stated by the messenger."

While viewing and contemplating this sacred treasure with wonder and astonishment, the angel of the Lord, who had previously visited him, again stood in his presence, and his soul was again enlightened as it had been the evening before. He was filled with the Holy Ghost; the heavens were opened, and the glory of the Lord shone round about and rested upon him. While he thus stood gazing and admiring, the angel said, "Look!" And as he thus spake Joseph beheld the prince of darkness, surrounded by his innumerable train of associates. All this passed before him, and the heavenly messenger said: "All this is shown, the good and the evil, the holy and impure, the glory of God and the power of darkness, that you may know hereafter the two powers and never be influenced or overcome by the wicked one. Behold, whatsoever entices and leads to good and to do good, is of God, and whatsoever does not is of that wicked one; it is he that filleth the hearts of men with evil, to walk in darkness and blaspheme God; and you may learn from henceforth, that his ways are to destruction, but the way of holiness is peace and rest. You cannot at this time obtain this record; for the commandment of God is strict, and if ever these sacred things are obtained, it must be by prayer and faithfulness in obeying the Lord. They are not deposited here for the sake of accumulating gain and wealth for the glory of this world: they were sealed by the prayer of faith, and because of the knowledge

which they contain; they are of no worth among the children of men, only for their knowledge. On them is contained the fulness of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as it was given to his people on this land, and when it shall be brought forth by the power of God it shall be carried to the Gentiles, of whom many will receive it, and after will the seed of Israel be brought into the fold of their Redeemer by obeying it also. Those who kept the commandments of the Lord on this land, desired this at his hand, and through the prayer of faith obtained the promise, that if their descendants should transgress and fall away, a record should be kept, and in the last days come to their children. These things are sacred, and must be kept so, for the promise of the Lord concerning them must be fulfilled. No man can obtain them if his heart is impure, because they contain that which is sacred. \* \* \* By them will the Lord work a great and marvelous work; the wisdom of the wise shall become as nought, and the understanding of the prudent shall be hid, and because the power of God shall be displayed, those who profess to know the truth but walk in deceit, shall tremble with anger; but with signs and with wonders, with gifts and with healings, with the manifestations of the power of God, and with the Holy Ghost, shall the hearts of the faithful be comforted. You have now beheld the power of God manifested and the power of Satan: you see that there is nothing desirable in the works of darkness; that they can not bring happiness; that those who are overcome therewith are miserable, while on the other hand the righteous are blessed with a place in the kingdom

of God, where joy unspeakable surrounds them. There they rest beyond the power of the enemy of truth, where no evil can disturb them. The glory of God crowns them, and they continually feast upon his goodness and enjoy his smiles.

"Behold, notwithstanding you have seen this great display of power, by which you may ever be able to detect the evil one, yet I give unto you another sign, and when it comes to pass, then know that the Lord is God, and that he will fulfill his purposes, and that the knowledge which this record contains will go to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people under the whole heaven. This is the sign: when these things begin to be known, that is, when it is known that the Lord has shown you these things, the workers of iniquity will seek your overthrow; they will circulate falsehoods to destroy your reputation, and also will seek to take your life; but remember this, if you are faithful, and shall hereafter continue to keep the commandments of the Lord, you shall be preserved to bring these things forth; for in due time he will give you a commandment to come and take them. When they are interpreted, the Lord will give the holy Priesthood to some, and they shall begin to proclaim this gospel and baptize by water, and after that they shall have power to give the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. Then will persecution rage more and more; for the iniquities of men shall be revealed, and those who are not built upon the rock will seek to overthrow the Church; but it will increase the more it is opposed, and spread further and further, increasing in knowledge till they shall be sanctified and receive an inheritance

where the glory of God will rest upon them; and when this takes place, and all things are prepared, the ten tribes of Israel will be revealed in the north country, whither they have been for a long season; and when this is fulfilled will be brought to pass that saying of the Prophet: 'And the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord.' But notwithstanding the workers of iniquity shall seek your destruction, the arm of the Lord will be extended, and you will be borne off conqueror, if you keep all his commandments.

"Your name shall be known among the nations, for the work which the Lord will perform by your hands shall cause the righteous to rejoice and the wicked to rage; with the one it shall be had in honor, and with the other in reproach; yet, with these it shall be a terror because of the great and marvelous work which shall follow the coming forth of this fulness of the gospel. Now, go thy way, remember what God has done for thee, and be diligent in keeping his commandments, and he will deliver thee from temptations and all the arts and devices of the wicked one. Forget not to pray, that thy mind may become strong, that when he shall manifest unto thee, thou mayest have power to escape the evil, and obtain these precious things."

Many more instructions were given Joseph by the mouth of the angel, but the most important items are contained in the foregoing. Joseph made an attempt to take the plates out of the box in which they were deposited. but the angel forbade him, and informed him again that the time for bringing them forth had not yet arrived, but that four years must pass

away before he could obtain them. He was further commanded to come to the same place precisely in one year from that time, and he (the messenger) would then meet him there. And this he should continue to do every year until the time came for him to obtain the plates.

Joseph writes: "Accordingly, as I had been commanded, I went at the end of each year, and at each time I found the same messenger there, and received instruction and intelligence from him at each of our interviews, respecting what the Lord was going to do, and how and in what manner his kingdom was to be conducted in the last days.

"As my father's worldly circumstances were very limited, we were under the necessity of laboring with our hands, hiring out by day's work and otherwise as we could get opportunity; sometimes we were at home and sometimes abroad, and by continued labor were enabled to get a comfortable maintenance.

"In the year 1824, my father's family met with a great affliction, by the death of my eldest brother, Alvin.

"In the month of October, 1825, I hired with an old gentleman, by the name of Josiah Stool, who lived in Chenango County, State of New York. He had heard something of a silver mine having been opened by the Spaniards, in Harmony, Susquehanna County, State of Pennsylvania, and had, previous to my hiring to him, been digging, in order, if possible, to discover the mine. After I went to live with him he took me with the rest of his hands, to dig for the silver mine, at which I continued to work for nearly a month without success in our undertaking, and finally I prevailed

with the old gentleman to cease digging after it. Hence arose the very prevalent story of my having been a money digger.

"During the time that I was thus employed, I was put to board with a Mr. Isaac Hale, of that place; it was there that I first saw my wife (his daughter) Emma Hale. On the 18th of Jan., 1827, we were married while I was yet employed in the service of Mr. Staal.

"Owing to my continuing to assert that I had seen a vision, persecution still followed me, and my wife's father's family were very much opposed to our being married. I was therefore under the necessity of taking her elsewhere, so we went and were married at the house of Squire Tarbill, in South Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York. Immediately after my marriage, I left Mr. Staal's and went to my father's and farmed with him that season.

"At length the time arrived for obtaining the plates, the Urim and Thummim, and the breastplate. On the 22nd day of September, 1827, having gone, as usual, at the end of another year, to the place where they were deposited, the same heavenly messenger delivered them up to me with this charge, that I should be responsible for them; that if I should let them go carelessly, or through any neglect of mine, I should be cut off; but that if I would use all my endeavors to preserve them, until he (the messenger) should call for them, they should be protected."

These records were engraved on plates, which had the appearance of gold. Each plate was nearly seven by eight inches in width and length, being not quite as thick as common tin. They were filled on both sides with engrav-

ings in Egyptian characters, and bound together in a volume as the leaves of a book, and fastened at one edge with three rings running through the whole. This volume was something near six inches in thickness, a part of which was sealed. The characters or letters upon the unsealed part were small and beautifully engraved. The whole book exhibited many marks of antiquity in its construction, as well as much skill in the art of engraving. With the records was found "a curious instrument, called by the ancients the Urim and Thummim, which consisted of two transparent stones, clear as crystal, set in the two rims of a bow. This instrument was used in ancient times by the seers, and through it they received revelations of things distant, or of things past and future." (See Ex. 28:30. Lev. 8:8. Num. 27:21. Deut. 33:8. 1 Sam. 28:6. Ezra 2:63. Neh. 7:65.)

These holy treasures were buried in the hill Cumorah by Moroni, a Prophet of God, about 420 years after the birth of Christ. He hid them there agreeable to the commandments of God, that they might be preserved from falling into the hands of the wicked; but the Lord had promised that they should come forth in the latter days to enlighten the children of men, and especially the Lamanites. This promise now began to be fulfilled, over fourteen hundred years after it was given to Moroni. The records were written by Mormon, another Prophet of God, and completed by his son Moroni—the same who buried them in the earth centuries before and who delivered them to Joseph Smith. To him, the great Prophet of the Nineteenth Century, it was given, by the gift and power of God,

to translate that part of the records which was not sealed into the English language, and which subsequently was published under the name of the Book of Mormon.

In the next chapter we will further describe the circumstances connected with the translation, and only state here that Joseph, after having completed the work which the Lord had entrusted him with, delivered the records back to Moroni, who still has them in charge. The Lord has promised that the sealed part of the records shall, in his own due time, be given to his people in this dispensation, together with other sacred records and instruments of antiquity, the hiding place of which is not yet known.

## CHAPTER 2.

Joseph is persecuted on account of the Records. — Removes to Pennsylvania. — Commences translating. — Martin Harris sent to New York with some of the hieroglyphics. — Joseph continues the translation. — Loses the manuscript. — Is visited by Oliver Cowdery. — Both are ordained to the Aaronic Priesthood. — The translation is continued and finished, and the Book of Mormon published.

In the meantime Joseph soon found out the reason why he had received such strict charges to keep the records safe, and why the messenger had said that when he (Joseph) had done what was required of him, he (the messenger) would call for them; for no sooner was it known that Joseph had the records in his possession, than the most strenuous efforts were made to get them away from him; every stratagem that could be invented was resorted to for that purpose. On the very day that he first received the sacred treasure and was going home through the wilderness and fields, he was waylaid by two ruffians, who had

secreted themselves for the purpose of robbing him of the records. One of them struck him with a club before he perceived them; but, being a strong man and large in stature, with great exertion he cleared himself from them and ran towards home, being closely pursued until he came near his father's house, when his pursuers, for fear of being detected, turned and fled the other way. The house, in which he lived, was frequently beset by mobs and evil designing persons. Several times he was shot at and very narrowly escaped with his life. Consequently, being continually in danger of being murdered by a gang of abandoned wretches, he at length concluded to leave the place and go to Pennsylvania. He packed up his goods, putting the plates into a barrel of beans, and proceeded on his journey. He had, however, not gone far, before he was overtaken by an officer with a search-warrant, who flattered himself with the idea that he should surely obtain the plates; but after searching very diligently he was sadly disappointed in not finding them. Joseph then drove on, but before he got to his journey's end, he was again overtaken by an officer on the same business, and after ransacking the wagon very carefully, he went his way as much chagrined as the first, at not being able to discover the object of his research. Without any further molestation Joseph pursued his journey, until he arrived in the village of Harmony, near the Susquehanna River, in northern Pennsylvania, where his father-in-law resided.

Soon after his arrival in Pennsylvania in the month of December, 1827, he commenced copying the characters of the plates, and by means of the

Urim and Thummim he also translated some of them. Being a poor writer, he was under the necessity of employing a scribe to write the translation as it came from his mouth.

In February, 1828, Martin Harris, a respectable farmer who resided in Palmyra Township, Wayne County, New York, visited Joseph in Pennsylvania. This man, who afterwards became one of the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, had previously befriended Joseph in various ways, and had in one instance made him a present of \$50, which enabled him to remove to Pennsylvania. Martin Harris got the characters which Joseph had drawn from the plates and started with them to New York City. When he returned he reported as follows to Joseph:

"I went to the city of New York, and presented the characters which had been translated, with the translation thereof, to Professor Anthon, a gentleman celebrated for his literary attainments. Professor Anthon stated, that the translation was correct, more so than any he had before seen translated from the Egyptian. I then showed him those which were not yet translated, and he said that they were Egyptian, Chaldaic, Assyriac, and Arabic, and he said that they were true characters. He gave me a certificate, certifying to the people of Palmyra that they were true characters, and that the translation of such of them as had been translated was also correct. I took the certificate and put it into my pocket, and was just leaving the house, when Mr. Anthon called me back, and asked me how the young man found out that there were gold plates in the place where he found them. I answered that an angel of God had revealed it unto him.

"He then said to me, 'Let me see that certificate.' I accordingly took it out of my pocket and gave it to him, when he took it and tore it to pieces, saying, that there was no such thing now as ministering of angels, and that if I would bring the plates to him, he would translate them. I informed him that part of the plates were sealed, and that I was forbidden to bring them. He replied, 'I cannot read a sealed book.' I left him and went to Dr. Mitchell, who

sanctioned what Professor Anthon had said, respecting both the characters and the translation."

Martin Harris, having returned from New York City, took leave of the Prophet and went to his own home in Palmyra, arranged his affairs and returned again to Pennsylvania for the purpose of assisting the Prophet with the translation. He arrived there about the 12th of April, and commenced writing for Joseph as the latter translated from the plates; thus they employed their time until June 14th, by which time 116 pages of manuscript had been written on foolscap paper. After much importuning on the part of Martin Harris, Joseph finally consented to let him take these 116 pages of manuscript with him home, with permission to show them to certain individuals; but by this means the translation was lost and has not since been recovered. (See page 213.)

"In the meantime," writes Joseph, "while Martin Harris was gone with the writings, I went to visit my father's family, at Manchester. I continued there for a short season, and then returned to my place in Pennsylvania. Immediately after my return home, I was walking out a little distance, when, behold, the former heavenly messenger appeared and handed to me the Urim and Thummim again—for it had been taken from me in consequence of my having wearied the Lord in asking for the privilege of letting Martin Harris take the writings which he lost by transgression."

It was sometime in the month of July, 1828, that the angel again delivered the Urim and Thummim back to Joseph, who forthwith, through that holy instrument, inquired of the Lord and received the first revelation re-

corded in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. It was given in Harmony, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. (See Doc. & Cov., Sec. 3.)

After receiving this revelation both the plates and the Urim and Thummim were again taken away from Joseph, but only for a few days, at the end of which the messenger once more made Joseph their custodian. Soon afterwards, the Lord revealed unto him His mind and will concerning the lost manuscript. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 10.) Joseph was forbidden to produce anew what he had formerly translated, because of the designs and evil intentions of the wicked who had got the manuscript in their possession, and now, through the temptation of the devil, had undertaken to alter the translation; and if Joseph should bring forth the same words in a new translation, these wicked schemers would produce the first manuscript in its altered state and thus attempt to defame Joseph as an impostor, as they would say that he could not translate the same thing twice alike, and consequently did not possess that divine gift to translate which he professed to have. The Lord, therefore, said it was wisdom not to translate the same account a second time, in order that the wicked might be confounded and their plans and evil designs be overthrown. Instead, Joseph was commanded to translate from the small plates of Nephi. These contained nearly the same account as the first translation, and besides, gave a fuller account of the gospel, which the Lord especially desired to make plain to the children of men. The account on the lost manuscript was a translation from the plates of Lehi mentioned in

the Book of Mormon. (1 Nephi, 1: 16, 17.)

Joseph did not immediately continue his work of translation, but labored with his hands on a small farm which he had purchased of his father-in-law, in order to provide for his family. In February, 1829, he was visited by his father from Manchester, and about the same time he received two revelations which constitute the 4th and 5th sections of the Doctrine and Covenants. In the latter Martin Harris was considerably chastened and the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon were mentioned for the first time.

On the 5th of April, 1829, Oliver Cowdery came to pay Joseph a visit in Pennsylvania. He had been teaching school in the neighborhood where Joseph's father resided, and had boarded for a season in his house, he (Joseph Smith, sen.) being one of those who sent children to his school. While there the Smith family related to Mr. Cowdery how Joseph had obtained the plates, and he accordingly decided to visit Joseph in order to learn more about them from his own mouth. April 7th, two days after Mr. Cowdery's arrival, Joseph began to translate the Book of Mormon with Oliver Cowdery as scribe. From that time Joseph received numerous revelations concerning the work of the Lord which was commenced, and the fulness of the gospel which the Lord was about to send forth to the nations of the earth. By this means the young Prophet received much light and intelligence which prepared him for the position he afterwards occupied. And as the full meaning of some of these revelations will better be understood when the circumstances under which

they were given are known, we will, wherever it may be deemed necessary, explain the incidents which often called them forth, and in some instances where the revelation is immediately connected with the Prophet's life, or the history of the Church, briefly allude to the contents.

Some time after Oliver Cowdery had commenced to write for Joseph, the revelation known as Section 6 of the Doctrine and Covenants was given, and when Joseph and Oliver subsequently, during a conversation, expressed a difference of opinion in regard to what is written about John, the Apostle and Disciple of Jesus, in the New Testament (John 21:22), Joseph inquired of the Lord through the Urim and Thummim and received a revelation, in which they were told that John, according to his own desire, was permitted to live in the flesh until Christ again should come to the earth (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 7).

While continuing the work of translation during the month of April, 1829, Oliver Cowdery became very anxious to have the power to translate bestowed upon him, and in relation to his desire two revelations were given, in the last of which the Lord commanded him to continue his work as Joseph's scribe. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 8 and 9.)

Joseph writes: "We still continued the work of translation, when, in the ensuing month (May, 1829), we on a certain day went into the woods to pray and inquire of the Lord respecting baptism for the remission of sins, that we found mentioned in the translation of the plates. While we were thus employed, praying and calling upon the Lord, a messenger from heaven descended in a cloud of light,

and having laid his hands upon us, he ordained us, saying:

"Upon you, my fellow servants, in the name of Messiah, I confer the Priesthood of Aaron, which holds the keys of the ministering of angels, and of the gospel of repentance, and of baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; and this shall never be taken again from the earth, until the sons of Levi do offer again an offering unto the Lord in righteousness."

"He said this Aaronic Priesthood had not the power of laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, but that this should be conferred on us hereafter, and he commanded us to go and be baptized, and gave us directions that I should baptize Oliver Cowdery, and afterwards that he should baptize me.

"Accordingly, we went and were baptized, I baptized him first, and afterwards he baptized me, after which I laid my hands upon his head and ordained him to the Aaronic Priesthood; afterwards he laid his hands on me and ordained me to the same Priesthood—for so were we commanded.

"The messenger who visited us on this occasion, and conferred this Priesthood upon us, said that his name was John, the same that is called John the Baptist in the New Testament, and that he acted under the direction of Peter, James and John, who held the keys of the Priesthood of Melchizedek, which Priesthood he said would in due time be conferred on us, and that I should be called the first Elder of the Church, and he (Oliver Cowdery) the second. It was on the 15th day of May, 1829, that we were ordained under the hand of this messenger, and baptized.

"Immediately on our coming up out of the water, after we had been baptized, we experienced great and glorious blessings from our heavenly



Father. No sooner had I baptized Oliver Cowdery, than the Holy Ghost fell upon him, and he stood up and prophesied many things which should shortly come to pass. And again, as soon as I had been baptized by him, I also had the spirit of prophecy, when, standing up, I prophesied concerning the rise of this Church, and many other things connected with the Church and this generation of the children of men. We were filled with the Holy Ghost, and rejoiced in the God of our salvation.

"Our minds being now enlightened, we began to have the Scriptures laid open to our understandings, and the true meaning of their more mysterious passages revealed unto us in a manner which we never could attain to previously, nor ever before had thought of. In the meantime we were forced to keep secret the circumstances of having received the Priesthood and our having been baptized, owing to a spirit of persecution which had already manifested itself in the neighborhood. We had been threatened with being mobbed, from time to time, and this, too, by professors of religion. And their intentions of mobbing us were only counteracted by the influence of my wife's father's family (under Divine Providence), who had become friendly to me, and who were opposed to mobs, and willing that I should be allowed to continue the work of translation without interruption; and therefore offered and promised us protection from all unlawful proceedings as far as in them lay.

"After a few days, however, feeling it to be our duty, we commenced to reason out of the Scriptures with our acquaintances and friends, as we happened to meet with them. About

this time my brother Samuel H. Smith came to visit us. We informed him what the Lord was about to do for the children of men, and to reason with him out of the Bible. We also showed him that part of the work which we had translated, and labored to persuade him concerning the gospel of Jesus Christ, which was now about to be revealed in its fulness. He was not, however, very easily persuaded of these things, but after much inquiry and explanation he retired to the woods, in order that by secret and fervent prayer he might obtain, of a merciful God, wisdom to enable him to judge for himself. The result was, that he obtained revelation for himself sufficient to convince him of the truth of our assertions to him; and on the fifteenth day of that same month, in which we were baptized and ordained, Oliver Cowdery baptized him; and he returned to his father's house greatly glorifying and praising God, being filled with the Holy Spirit. Not many days afterwards, my brother Hyrum Smith came to us to inquire concerning these things, when, at his earnest request, I inquired of the Lord through the Urim and Thummim, and received for him the following revelation. \* \* \* (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 11.)

"About the same time came an old gentleman to visit us, of whose name I wish to make honorable mention—Mr. Joseph Knight, sen., of Colesville, Broome County, New York, who, having heard of the manner in which we were occupying our time, very kindly and considerately brought us a quantity of provisions, in order that we might not be interrupted in the work of translation by the want of such necessities of life; and I would just

mention here, as in duty bound, that he several times brought us supplies, a distance of at least thirty miles, which enabled us to continue the work which otherwise we must have relinquished for a season. Being very anxious to know his duty as to this work, I inquired of the Lord for him, and obtained the following revelation." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 12.)

In June, 1829, David Whitmer came to Harmony and desired Joseph and Oliver to go with him to his father's place in Fayette, Seneca County, New York, promising that the family would assist Joseph in his labors. Joseph complied with the invitation and remained with the Whitmers in Fayette until the translation of the Book of Mormon was completed. (See page 206.)

"In the meantime," writes Joseph, "David, John and Peter Whitmer, jun., became our zealous friends and assistants in the work, and being anxious to know their respective duties, and having desired with much earnestness that I should inquire of the Lord concerning them, I did so, through the means of the Urim and Thummim, and obtained for them in succession the following revelations. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 14, 15 and 16.)

"We found the people of Seneca County in general friendly, and disposed to inquire into the truth of these strange matters which now began to be noised abroad; many opened their houses to us, in order that we might have an opportunity of meeting with our friends for the purpose of instruction and explanation. We met with many from time to time who were willing to hear us, and who desired to find out the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, and apparently willing to

obey the gospel when once fairly convinced and satisfied in their own minds; and in this same month of June, my brother Hyrum Smith, David Whitmer and Peter Whitmer, jun., were baptized in Seneca Lake, the two former by myself, the latter by Oliver Cowdery. From this time forth many became believers, and some were baptized, whilst we continued to instruct and persuade as many as applied for information.

"In the course of the work of translation, we ascertained that three special witnesses were to be provided by the Lord, to whom he would grant that they should see the plates from which this work (the Book of Mormon) should be translated, and that these witnesses should bear record of the same, as will be found recorded in the Book of Mormon, Ether 5:2-4.

"Almost immediately after we had made this discovery, it occurred to Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer and the afore-mentioned Martin Harris, who had come to inquire after our progress in the work, that they would have me inquire of the Lord to know if they might not obtain of him to be these three special witnesses, and finally they became so very solicitous, and urged me so much to inquire, that at length I complied, and through the Urim and Thummim I obtained of the Lord for them the following revelation." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 17.)

Not many days after this revelation was given, Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer and Martin Harris retired into the woods, where an angel of God showed the plates to the Three Witnesses. (See pages 195 and 196.) They also had the privilege of seeing the breastplate, which was in the box with the plates, and the sword

of Laban, mentioned in the Book of Mormon (1 Nephi 8: 9.), and the Urim and Thummim. Eight other witnesses, namely, Christian Whitmer, Jacob Whitmer, Peter Whitmer jun., John Whitmer, Hiram Page, Joseph Smith sen., Hyrum Smith and Samuel H. Smith, also gave their testimony, which, together with the testimony of the Three Witnesses, is published in the Book of Mormon. The Eight Witnesses testified that Joseph showed them the plates and that they handled them. These, including Joseph, made twelve men who were witnesses to the Book of Mormon.

Joseph writes: "Meantime, we continued to translate, at intervals, when not necessitated to attend to the numerous inquirers who now began to visit us—some for the sake of finding the truth, others for the purpose of putting hard questions, and trying to confound us. Among the latter class were several learned priests, who generally came for the purpose of disputation; however, the Lord continued to pour out upon us his Holy Spirit, and as often as we had need he gave us in that moment what to say; so that, although unlearned and inexperienced in religious controversy, yet were we able to confound those learned priests of the day, whilst at the same time we were enabled to convince the honest in heart that we had obtained, through the mercy of God, the true and everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ; so that almost daily we administered the ordinance of baptism for the remission of sins to such as believed."

The work of translation being nearly complete, Joseph and Oliver went to Palmyra, Wayne County, New York, and agreed with Mr. Egbert B.

Grandin to print five thousand copies of the Book of Mormon for the sum of three thousand dollars. They also secured the copyright.

While Joseph almost continually, during the time he labored on the translation, had been exposed to persecution, the same opposition manifested itself in various forms while the book was in the hands of the printer. People who were avowed enemies of the Prophet, held secret meetings with a view to devise means and plans for the destruction of the manuscript, and they also tried to persuade Mr. Grandin to stop the printing. A certain individual even went so far as to issue a paper, in which he commenced to publish extracts of the Book of Mormon in a mutilated form, mixed with the basest of lies and accusations against Joseph and the origin of the book. Through the copyright, which he had secured, Joseph succeeded in stopping this wicked man in his work, and we will briefly state, that all the plans laid and all the attempts made by the enemies of the work to destroy it, proved unsuccessful, and the first edition of the Book of Mormon, consisting of 5,000 copies, was published in the beginning of the year 1830.

"I wish to mention here," says Joseph, "that the title page of the Book of Mormon is a literal translation, taken from the very last leaf, on the left hand side of the collection or book of plates, which contained the record which has been translated, the language of the whole running the same as all Hebrew writing in general; and that said title page is not by any means a modern composition, either of mine or of any other man's who has lived or does

live in this generation. Therefore, in order to correct an error which generally exists concerning it, I give below that part of the title page of the English version of the Book of Mormon which is a genuine and literal translation of the title page of the original Book of Mormon, as recorded on the plates:

## THE BOOK OF MORMON

*"An account written by the hand of Mormon upon Plates, taken from the Plates of Nephi.*

*"Wherefore it is an abridgement of the record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites; written to the Lamanites, who are a remnant of the house of Israel; and also to Jew and Gentile; written by way of commandment, and also by the spirit of prophecy and of revelation.*

*"Written and sealed up, and hid up unto the Lord, that they might not be destroyed—to come forth by the gift and power of God unto the interpretation thereof—sealed by the hand of Moroni, and hid up unto the Lord, to come forth in due time by the way of the Gentile—the interpretation thereof by the gift of God.*

*"An abridgement taken from the Book of Ether, also, which is a record of the people of Jared, who were scattered at the time the Lord confounded the language of the people when they were building a tower to get to heaven; which is to show unto the remnant of the house of Israel what great things the Lord hath done for their fathers; and that they may know the covenants of the Lord, that they are not cast off forever; and also to the convincing of the Jew and Gentile that Jesus is the Christ, the eternal God, manifesting himself unto all nations. And now, if there are faults, they are the mistakes of men; wherefore condemn not the things of God, that ye may be found spotless at the judgment-seat of Christ.*

"The remainder of the title page is of course modern."

The Book of Mormon has since been translated and published in the Danish, Italian, Welsh, French, German, Hawaiian, Swedish and Spanish languages. The translations into the Dutch and Hindustani tongues have not yet been published.

## CHAPTER 3.

Restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood by Peter, James and John.—The Church is organized at Fayette with six members.—The first public sermon.—The first miracle.—The first conference of the Church.—Manifestations of the power of God.—Persecution in Colesville.—Joseph is arrested twice.—Is tried and acquitted.—He again visits Colesville.—False Revelations.—The second conference of the Church.

Joseph continues: "We now became anxious to have that promise realized to us, which the angel that conferred upon us the Aaronic Priesthood had given us, viz., that provided we continued faithful, we should also have the Melchizedek Priesthood, which holds the authority of the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost. We had for some time made this matter a subject of humble prayer, and at length we got together in the chamber of Mr. Whitmer's house, in order more particularly to seek of the Lord what we now so earnestly desired; and here, to our unspeakable satisfaction, did we realize the truth of the Savior's promise, 'Ask, and you shall receive; seek and you shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you; for we had not long been engaged in solemn and fervent prayer, when the word of the Lord came unto us in the chamber, commanding us that I should ordain Oliver Cowdery to be an Elder in the Church of Jesus Christ, and that he also should ordain me to the same office, and then to ordain others as it should be made known unto us from time to time. We were, however, commanded to defer this our ordination until such times as it should be practicable to have our brethren, who had been, and who should be, baptized, assembled together, when we must have their

sanction to our thus proceeding to ordain each other, and have them decide by vote whether they were willing to accept us as spiritual teachers or not; when also we were commanded to bless bread and break it with them, and to take wine, bless it, and drink it with them; afterward proceed to ordain each other according to commandment; then call out such men as the Spirit should dictate and ordain them; and then attend to the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, upon all those whom we had previously baptized, doing all things in the name of the Lord."

About the same time (June, 1829) a revelation was given to Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, in which the nature of their calling to the Priesthood was made known, and it was also revealed to them that twelve Apostles should be called and ordained in this dispensation. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 18.) A short time after this, Joseph and Oliver Cowdery were visited by the Apostles Peter, James and John, who according to the holy order of the Priesthood ordained them to the Apostleship, or the Melchizedek Priesthood. It was, however, not until quite a while afterwards that the fulness of this Priesthood was conferred on other brethren.

By the spirit of revelation and prophecy, the exact day on which they, according to the mind and will of God, should organize his Church on the earth was made known unto them, and many instructions were given them concerning the organization and government of the Church, such as the proper mode of baptism, the administering of the Sacrament, and the

duties of the various officers and members, etc. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 20.) This revelation was given in March, 1830, and about the same time Section 19 of the Doctrine and Covenants, a revelation to Martin Harris, was given through the Prophet. Being thus instructed and having had the authority of the holy Priesthood conferred upon them, they were now prepared to organize the Church and only had to wait until the day which the Lord had appointed arrived.

On Tuesday the 6th day of April, 1830, the following named brethren, who had been baptized, assembled in the house of Peter Whitmer sen. in Fayette, Seneca County, New York, viz., Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum Smith, Peter Whitmer, jun., Samuel H. Smith and David Whitmer. With these six members the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized on that day.

"Having opened the meeting by solemn prayer to our heavenly Father," writes Joseph, "we proceeded, according to previous commandment, to call on our brethren to know whether they accepted us as their teachers in the things of the kingdom of God, and whether they were satisfied that we should proceed and be organized as a Church according to said commandment which we had received. To these they consented by an unanimous vote. I then laid my hands upon Oliver Cowdery and ordained him an Elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; after which he ordained me also to the office of an Elder of said Church. We then took bread, blessed it, and brake it with them; also wine, blessed it, and drank it with them. We then laid our hands on each individ-

ual member of the Church present, that they might receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, and be confirmed members of the Church of Christ. The Holy Ghost was poured out upon us to a very great degree—some prophesied, whilst we all praised the Lord, and rejoiced exceedingly. Whilst yet together, I received the following revelation." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 21.)

Thus was a true and living Church again organized upon the earth, a Church which God could call his own and in which his powers, gifts and blessings could be manifested.

There were at that time a number of persons who desired to unite with the Church without rebaptism, as they had previously been baptized into one of the sects of the day. In consequence of this the following revelation, showing the Lord's will in this regard, was given through the Prophet:

"Behold, I say unto you, that all old covenants have I caused to be done away in this thing, and this is a new and everlasting covenant, even that which was from the beginning. Wherefore, although a man should be baptized a hundred times, it availeth him nothing, for you cannot enter in at the straight gate by the law of Moses, neither by your dead works; for it is because of your dead works that I have caused this last covenant, and this Church to be built up unto me, even as in days of old; wherefore, enter ye in at the gate, as I have commanded, and seek not to counsel your God. Amen."

Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum Smith, Samuel H. Smith and Joseph Knight "being anxious to know of the Lord what might be their respective duties" in relation to the work of God, Joseph inquired of the Lord and received a revelation for them. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 23.)

On Sunday, April 11, 1830, Oliver Cowdery preached the first public discourse delivered by any member

of the Church in this dispensation. The meeting was held in the house of Peter Whitmer sen. in Fayette, and was attended by a large number of people. On the same day Hiram Page, Catherine Page, Christian Whitmer, Anne Whitmer, Jacob Whitmer and Elizabeth Whitmer were baptized. Peter Whitmer, sen., Mary Whitmer, Wm. Jolly, Elizabeth Jolly, Vincent Jolly, Richard Z. Peterson and Elizabeth Anne Whitmer were baptized on the 18th. They were baptized by Oliver Cowdery in Seneca Lake.

About this time the first miracle was wrought in the Church by the power of God. About this Joseph writes as follows:

"During this month (April, 1830) I went on a visit to the residence of Mr. Joseph Knight, of Colesville, Broome County, New York, with whom and his family I had been previously acquainted, and whose name I have above mentioned as having been so kind and thoughtful towards us while translating the Book of Mormon. Mr. Knight and his family were Universalists, but were willing to reason with me upon my religious views, and were, as usual, friendly and hospitable. We held several meetings in the neighborhood; we had many friends, and some enemies. Our meetings were well attended, and many began to pray fervently to Almighty God, that he would give them wisdom to understand the truth. Amongst those who attended our meetings regularly was Newell Knight, son of Joseph Knight. He and I had many serious conversations on the important subject of man's eternal salvation; we had got into the habit of praying much at our meetings, and Newell had said that he would try and take up his cross, and pray vocally

during meeting; but when we again met together, he rather excused himself. I tried to prevail upon him, making use of the figure, supposing that he should get into a mud-hole, would he not try and help himself out? and that we were willing now to help him out of the mud-hole. He replied, that provided he had got into a mud-hole through carelessness, he would rather wait and get out himself than have others to help him; and so he would wait until he could get into the woods by himself, and there he would pray. Accordingly, he deferred praying until next morning, when he retired into the woods; where, according to his own account afterwards, he made several attempts to pray, but could scarcely do so, feeling that he had not done his duty, but that he should have prayed in the presence of others. He began to feel uneasy, and continued to feel worse both in mind and body, until upon reaching his own house his appearance was such as to alarm his wife very much. He requested her to go and bring me to him. I went and found him suffering very much in his mind, and his body acted upon in a very strange manner. His visage and limbs distorted and twisted in every shape and appearance possible to imagine, and finally he was caught up off the floor of the apartment and tossed about most fearfully.

"His situation was soon made known to his neighbors and relatives, and in a short time as many as eight or nine grown persons had got together to witness the scene. After he had thus suffered for a time, I succeeded in getting hold of him by the hand, when almost immediately he spoke to me, and with a very great earnestness re-

quested of me that I should cast the devil out of him, saying that he knew he was in him, and that he also knew that I could cast him out. I replied, 'If you know that I can, it shall be done;' and then almost unconsciously I rebuked the devil, and commanded him in the name of Jesus Christ to depart from him, when immediately Newel spoke out and said that he saw the devil leave him and vanish from his sight.

"The scene was now entirely changed, for as soon as the devil had departed from our friend, his countenance became natural, his distortions of body ceased, and almost immediately the Spirit of the Lord descended upon him, and the visions of eternity were opened to his view. He afterwards related his experience as follows:

"I now began to feel a most pleasing sensation resting upon me, and immediately the visions of heaven were opened to my view. I felt myself attracted upward, and remained for some time enwrapped in contemplation, insomuch that I knew not what was going on in the room. By and by I felt some weight pressing upon my shoulder and the side of my head, which served to recall me to a sense of my situation, and I found that the Spirit of the Lord had actually caught me up off the floor, and that my shoulder and head were pressing against the beams.'

"All this was witnessed by many, to their great astonishment and satisfaction, when they saw the devil thus cast out, and the power of God and his Holy Spirit thus made manifest. So soon as consciousness returned, his bodily weakness was such that we were obliged to lay him upon his bed, and wait upon him for some time. As may be expected, such a scene as this contributed much to make believers of those who witnessed it, and, finally,

the greater part of them became members of the Church."

Soon after this occurrence Joseph returned to Fayette, Seneca County. The Book of Mormon (or the stick of Joseph in the hands of Ephraim) had then already been published for some time, and, as an ancient Prophet had predicted of it, "It was accounted as a strange thing." Joseph writes that no small stir was created by its appearance; great opposition and much persecution followed the believers of its authenticity; but it had now come to pass that truth had sprung out of the earth, and righteousness had looked down from heaven, so that Joseph and the little flock which had received the gospel, feared not their opponents, knowing that they had both truth and righteousness on their side, for they had the doctrines of Christ and abided in them. They, therefore, continued to preach and give information to all who were willing to hear.

During the last week of May the above named Newel Knight came to Fayette, to visit the brethren, and was there baptized by David Whitmer.

On the 1st of June, the Church held its first conference. About thirty members were present, besides a number of others who were either believers or anxious to learn. "Having opened by singing and prayer," writes Joseph, "we partook together of the emblems of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. We then proceeded to confirm several who had lately been baptized, after which we called and ordained several to the various offices of the holy Priesthood. Much exhortation and instruction was given, and the Holy Ghost was poured out upon

us in a miraculous manner; many of our number prophesied, whilst others had the heavens opened to their view, and were so overcome that we had to lay them on beds or other convenient places; among the rest was brother Newel Knight, who had to be placed on a bed, being unable to help himself. By his own account of the transaction, he could not understand why we should lay him on the bed as he felt no sensibility of weakness. He felt his heart filled with love, with glory, and pleasure unspeakable, and could discern all that was going on in the room; when, all of a sudden, a vision of futurity burst upon him. He saw there represented, the great work which through my instrumentality was yet to be accomplished. He saw heaven opened, and beheld the Lord Jesus Christ seated at the right hand of the Majesty on high, and had it made plain to his understanding that the time would come when he would be admitted into his presence to enjoy his society for ever and ever. When their bodily strength was restored to these brethren, they shouted 'Hosannas to God and the Lamb,' and rehearsed the glorious things which they had seen and felt whilst they were yet in the spirit.

"Such scenes as these were calculated to inspire our hearts with joy unspeakable, and fill us with awe and reverence for that Almighty being by whose grace we had been called to be instrumental in bringing about for the children of men the enjoyment of such glorious blessings as were now poured out upon us. To find ourselves engaged in the very same order of things as observed by the holy Apostles of old; to realize the importance



and solemnity of such proceedings; and to witness and feel with our own natural senses the like glorious manifestations of the power of the Priesthood, the gifts and blessings of the Holy Ghost, and the goodness and condescension of a merciful God unto such as obey the Everlasting Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, combined to create within us sensations of rapturous gratitude, and inspire us with fresh zeal and energy in the cause of truth.

"Shortly after this conference David Whitmer baptized the following persons in Seneca Lake, viz., John Poorman, John Jolly, Julia Anne Jolly, Harriet Jolly, Jerusha Smith, Catherine Smith, Wm. Smith, Don C. Smith, Peter Rockwell, Caroline Rockwell and Electa Rockwell."

Immediately after this conference, Joseph again returned to his own home in Pennsylvania, and from thence, accompanied by his wife and Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer and David Whitmer, he visited Joseph Knight at Colesville, Broome County, New York. They found many in that neighborhood who believed and were anxious to be baptized. Joseph writes:

"We appointed a meeting for the Sabbath, and on the afternoon of Saturday we erected a dam across a stream of water, which was convenient for the purpose of there attending to the ordinance; but during the night a mob collected and tore down our dam, which hindered us from attending to the baptism on the Sabbath.

"We afterwards found out that this mob had been instigated to this act of molestation by certain sectarian priests of the neighborhood, who began to consider their craft in danger,

and took this plan to stop the progress of the truth, and the sequel will show how determinedly they prosecuted their opposition, as well as to how little purpose in the end.

"The Sabbath arrived, and we held our meeting. Oliver Cowdery preached, and others of us bore testimony to the truth of the Book of Mormon, the doctrine of repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, and the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost, etc., etc. Amongst our audience were those who had torn down our dam, and who seemed desirous to give us trouble, but did not until after the meeting was dismissed, when they immediately commenced talking to those whom they considered our friends, to try to turn them against us and our doctrines.

"Amongst the many present at this meeting was one Emily Coburn, sister to the wife of Newel Knight. The Rev. Mr. Shearer, a divine of the Presbyterian faith, who had considered himself her pastor, came to understand that she was likely to believe our doctrine, and had a short time previous to this meeting come to labor with her; but having spent some time with her without being able to persuade her against us, he endeavored to have her leave her sister's house and go with him to her father's, who lived at a distance of at least ten miles off. For this purpose he had to recourse to stratagem; he told her that one of her brothers was waiting at a certain place desirous to have her go with him; he succeeded thus in getting her a little distance from the house, when, seeing that he brother was not in waiting for her, she refused to go any further with him; upon which

he got hold of her by the arm to force her along, but her sister was soon with them; the two women were too many for him, and he was forced to sneak off without his errand, after all his labor and ingenuity. Nothing daunted, however, he went to her father, representing to him something or other which induced the old gentleman to give him a power of attorney, which, as soon as our meeting was over, on the above-named Sunday evening, he immediately served upon her, and carried her off to her father's residence by open violence against her will. All his labor was in vain, however, for the said Emily Coburn, in a short time afterwards, was baptized and confirmed a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

"However, early on Monday morning we were on the alert, and before our enemies were aware, we had repaired the dam and proceeded to baptize, when the following thirteen persons were baptized, under the hands of Oliver Cowdery, viz., Emma Smith, Hezekiah Peck and wife, Joseph Knight and wife, William Stringham and wife, Joseph Knight, jun., Aaron Culver and wife, Levi Hall, Polly Knight and Julia Stringham. Before the baptism was entirely finished, the mob began again to collect, and shortly after we had retired, they amounted to about fifty men. They surrounded the house of Mr. Knight, where we had retired, raging with anger, and apparently wishful to commit violence upon us. Some asked us questions, others threatened us, so that we thought it wisdom to leave and go to the house of Newel Knight.

"There also they followed us, and it was only by the exercise of great

prudence on our part, and reliance on our heavenly Father, that they were kept from laying violent hands upon us; and so long as they chose to stay we were obliged to answer them various unprofitable questions, and bear with insults and threatenings without number.

"We had appointed a meeting for this evening, for the purpose of attending to the confirmation of those who had been the same morning baptized. The time appointed had arrived, and our friends had nearly all collected together, when, to my surprise, I was visited by a constable, and arrested by him on a warrant, on charge of being a disorderly person, of setting the country in an uproar by preaching the Book of Mormon, etc., etc. The constable informed me, soon after I had been arrested, that the plan of those who had got out the warrant, was to get me into the hands of the mob, who were now lying in ambush for me, but that he was determined to save me from them, as he had found me to be a different sort of person from what I had been represented to him. I soon found that he had told me the truth in this matter, for not far from Mr. Knight's house, the wagon in which we had set out was surrounded by the mob, who seemed only to await some signal from the constable; but to their great disappointment, he gave the horse the whip, and drove me out of their reach.

"Whilst driving along pretty quickly one of the wagon wheels came off, which left us once more very nearly surrounded by them, as they had come on in close pursuit; however, we managed to get the wheel on again, and again left them behind us. He drove

on to the town of South Bainbridge, Chenango County, where he lodged me for the time being in an upper room of a tavern; and in order that all might be right with himself and with me also, he slept during the night with his feet against the door, and a loaded musket by his side, whilst I occupied a bed which was in the room; he having declared that if we were interrupted unlawfully, he would fight for me, and defend me as far as in his power.

"On the day following a court was convened for the purpose of investigating those charges which had been preferred against me. A great excitement prevailed on account of the scandalous falsehoods which had been circulated, the nature of which will come out in the sequel.

"In the meantime, my friend Joseph Knight had repaired to two of his neighbors, viz., James Davidson and John Reid, Esqrs., respectable farmers, men renowned for their integrity, and well versed in the laws of their country, and retained them on my behalf during my trial.

"At length the trial commenced amidst a multitude of spectators, who in general evinced a belief that I was guilty of all that had been reported concerning me, and of course were very zealous that I should be punished according to my crimes. Among many witnesses called up against me was Mr. Josiah Stool, of whom I have made mention as having worked for him some time, and examined to the following effect:

"Did not the prisoner, Joseph Smith, have a horse of you?"—"Yes."

"Did not he go to you and tell you that an angel had appeared unto him and authorized him to get the horse from you?"

"No, he told me no such story."

"Well, how had he the horse of you?"

"He bought him of me as another man would do."

"Have you had your pay?"—"That is not your business." The question being again put, the witness replied, 'I hold his note for the price of the horse, which I consider as good as the pay; for I am well acquainted with Joseph Smith, jun., and know him to be an honest man, and, if he wishes, I am ready to let him have another horse on the same terms.'

"Mr. Jonathan Thompson was next called up and examined:

"Has not the prisoner, Joseph Smith, jun., had a yoke of oxen of you?"—"Yes."

"Did he not obtain them of you by telling you that he had a revelation to the effect that he was to have them?"—"No, he did not mention a word of the kind concerning the oxen; he purchased them the same as another man would."

"After a few more such attempts the court was detained for a time, in order that two young women, daughters of Mr. Stool, with whom I had at times kept company, might be sent for, in order, if possible, to elicit something from them which might be made a pretext against me. The young ladies arrived, and were severally examined touching my character and conduct in general, but particularly as to my behavior towards them, both in public and private, when they both bore such testimony in my favor as left my enemies without a pretext on their account. Several attempts were now made to prove something against me, and even circumstances which were alleged to have taken place in Broome

County were brought forward, but these my lawyers would not here admit of against me, in consequence of which my persecutors managed to detain the court until they had succeeded in obtaining a warrant from Broome County, and which warrant they served upon me at the very moment in which I had been acquitted by this court.

"The constable who served this second warrant upon me, had no sooner arrested me than he began to abuse and insult me, and so unfeeling was he with me, that although I had been kept all the day in court without anything to eat since the morning, yet he hurried me off to Broome County, a distance of about fifteen miles, before he allowed me any kind of food whatever. He took me to a tavern, and gathered in a number of men, who used every means to abuse, ridicule and insult me. They spit upon me, pointed their fingers at me, saying, 'Prophecy, prophecy!' and thus did they imitate those who crucified the Savior of mankind, not knowing what they did.

"We were at this time not far distant from my own house. I wished to be allowed the privilege of spending the night with my wife at home, offering any wished-for security for my appearance, but this was denied me. I applied for something to eat. The constable ordered me some crusts of bread and water, which was the only fare I that night received. At length we retired to bed; the constable made me lie next the wall; he then laid himself down by me and put his arm around me, and upon my moving in the least would clench me fast, fearing that I intended to escape from him; and in this not very agreeable manner did we pass the night.

"Next day I was brought before the magistrate's court, of Colesville, Broome County, and put upon my trial. My former faithful friends and lawyers were again at my side; my former persecutors were arrayed against me. Many witnesses were again called forward and examined, some of whom swore to the most palpable falsehoods, and, like the false witnesses which had appeared against me the day previous, they contradicted themselves so plainly that the court would not admit their testimony. Others were called, who showed by their zeal that they were willing enough to prove something against me, but all they could do was to tell some things which somebody else had told them. In this 'frivolous and vexatious' manner did they proceed for a considerable time, when, finally, Newel Knight was called up and examined by Lawyer Seymour, who had been especially sent for on this occasion. One Lawyer Burch, also, was on the side of the prosecution; but Mr. Seymour seemed to be a more zealous Presbyterian, and appeared very anxious and determined that the people should not be deluded by any one professing the power of godliness, and not 'denying the power thereof.'

"So soon as Mr. Knight had been sworn, Mr. Seymour proceeded to interrogate him as follows:

"'Did the prisoner, Joseph Smith, jun., cast the devil out of you?'—'No, sir.'

"'Why, have you not had the devil cast out of you?'—'Yes, sir.'

"'And had not Joe Smith some hand in its being done?'—'Yes, sir.'

"'And did not he cast him out of you?'—'No, sir, it was done by the power of God, and Joseph Smith was

the instrument in the hands of God on the occasion. He commanded him to come out of me in the name of Jesus Christ.'

"'And you are sure that it was the devil?'—'Yes, sir.'

"'Did you see him after he was cast out of you?'—'Yes, sir. I saw him.'

"'Pray what did he look like?' Here one of my lawyers informed the witness that he need not answer the question. The witness replied, 'I believe I need not answer your last question, but I will do it, provided I be allowed to ask you one question first, and you answer me, viz., Do you, Mr. Seymour, understand the things of the Spirit?' 'No,' answered Mr. Seymour, 'I do not pretend to such big things.' 'Well, then,' replied Knight, 'it would be of no use to tell you what the devil looked like, for it was a spiritual sight, and spiritually discerned; and of course you would not understand it, were I to tell you of it.'

"The lawyer dropped his head, whilst the loud laugh of the audience proclaimed his discomfiture.

"Mr. Seymour now addressed the court, and in a long and violent harangue endeavored to blacken my character and bring me in guilty of the charges which had been brought against me. Among other things, he brought up the story of my having been a money digger; and in this manner proceeded, in hopes to influence the court and the people against me.

"Mr. Davidson and Mr. Reid followed on my behalf. They held forth in true colors the nature of the prosecution, the malignancy of intention, and the apparent disposition to

persecute their client, rather than to afford him justice. They took up the different arguments which had been brought by the lawyers for the prosecution, and, having showed their utter futility and misapplication, they proceeded to scrutinize the evidence which had been adduced, and each, in his turn, thanked God that he had been engaged in so good a cause as that of defending a man whose character stood so well the test of such a strict investigation. In fact, these men, although not regular lawyers, were, upon this occasion, able to put to silence their opponents, and convince the court that I was innocent. They spoke like men inspired of God, whilst those who were arrayed against me, trembled under the sound of their voices, and quailed before them like criminals before a bar of justice.

"The majority of the assembled multitude had now begun to find that nothing could be sustained against me; even the constable who arrested me, and treated me so badly, now came and apologized to me, and asked my forgiveness for his behavior towards me; and so far was he changed, that he informed me that the mob were determined, that if the court acquitted me, they would have me, and railride me, and tar and feather me; and further, that he was willing to favor me and lead me out in safety by a private way.

"The court finding the charges against me not sustained, I was accordingly acquitted, to the great satisfaction of my friends and vexation of my enemies, who were still determined upon molesting me; but through the instrumentality of my new friend, the constable, I was enabled to es-

cape them and make my way in safety to my wife's sister's house, where I found my wife awaiting with much anxiety the issue of those ungodly proceedings, and, with her in company, next day arrived in safety at my own house.

"After a few days, however, I again returned to Colesville, in company with Oliver Cowdery, for the purpose of confirming those whom we had thus been forced to abandon for a time. We had scarcely arrived at Mr. Knight's when the mob was seen collecting together to oppose us, and we considered it wisdom to leave for home, which we did, without even waiting for any refreshment. Our enemies pursued us, and it was oftentimes as much as we could do to elude them; however, we managed to get home, after having traveled all night, except a short time, during which we were forced to rest ourselves under a large tree by the wayside, sleeping and watching alternately. And thus were we persecuted on account of our religious faith—in a country, the constitution of which guarantees to every man the indefeasible right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience—and by men, too, who were professors of religion, and who were not backward to maintain this privilege for themselves, though they thus wantonly could deny it to us. For instance, Cyrus McMaster, a Presbyterian of high standing in his church, was one of the chief instigators of these persecutions; and he at one time told me personally, that he considered me guilty without judge or jury. The celebrated Doctor Boyington, also a Presbyterian, was another instigator to these deeds of outrage; whilst a young

man named Benton, of the same religious faith, swore out the first warrant against me. I could mention many others also, but, for brevity's sake, will make these suffice for the present."

The Prophet further states that amid all these trials and tribulations, the Lord, who well knew the infantile and delicate condition of the young Saints, manifested his goodness on various occasions and poured out his Holy Spirit upon his people. The Prophet himself also received numerous revelations or, as he says, "line upon line, here a little and there a little," which gave both him and the Saints unbounded joy and strengthened them in their faith. Thus in the month of June he received what is known as the Vision of Moses (See Pearl of Great Price, page 1), and in July the revelations constituting the 24th, 25th and 26th sections of the Doctrine and Covenants. In one of these (Section 25) Emma Smith was given of the Lord "to make a selection of sacred hymns" for the benefit of the Saints.

Joseph writes: "Shortly after we had received the above revelations, Oliver Cowdery returned to Mr. Peter Whitmer's, and I began to arrange and copy the revelations, which we had received from time to time; in which I was assisted by John Whitmer, who now resided with me.

"Whilst thus (and otherwise at intervals) employed in the work appointed me by my Heavenly Father, I received a letter from Oliver Cowdery, the contents of which gave me both sorrow and uneasiness. Not having that letter now in my possession, I cannot of course give it here in full, but merely an extract of the

most prominent parts, which I can yet, and expect long to, remember. He wrote to inform me that he had discovered an error in one of the commandments (Doc & Cov., Sec. 20, verse 37):

"'And truly manifest by their works that they have received of the Spirit of Christ unto the remission of their sins.'

"The above quotation, he said, was erroneous, and added, 'I command you in the name of God to erase these words, that no priestcraft be amongst us.' I immediately wrote to him in reply, in which I asked him by what authority he took upon him to command me to alter or erase, to add to or diminish from a revelation or commandment from Almighty God. In a few days afterwards I visited him and Mr. Whitmer's family, when I found the family in general of his opinion concerning the words above quoted, and it was not without both labor and perseverance that I could prevail with any of them to reason calmly on the subject. However, Christian Whitmer at length got convinced that it was reasonable, and according to Scripture; and finally, with his assistance, I succeeded in bringing, not only the Whitmer family, but also Oliver Cowdery, to acknowledge that they had been in error, and that the sentence in dispute was in accordance with the rest of the commandments. And thus was their error rooted out, which, having its rise in presumption and rash judgment, was the more particularly calculated (when once fairly understood) to teach each and all of us the necessity of humility and meekness before the Lord, that he might teach us of his ways, that we might walk in his paths, and live by every

word that proceedeth forth from his mouth."

Early in August Newel Knight, of Colesville, and his wife visited Joseph in Harmony. This was the same Knight of whom Joseph previously had cast out the devil. His wife as also Joseph's wife (Emma) were among those who had been baptized in Colesville a short time before, but who were hindered from being confirmed because of the mob who compelled the brethren to leave the neighborhood. Consequently Joseph made preparations for holding a confirmation meeting, and also for administering the Sacrament. In order to attend to the latter he "set out to procure some wine for the occasion, but had gone only a short distance when he was met by a heavenly messenger" and received a revelation concerning the Sacrament.

In this revelation, the Lord forbade him and the Saints to purchase wine or strong drinks of their enemies, and commanded further that they should not use wine at all for Sacrament purposes, except it was made new among themselves. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 27.) In obedience to this commandment they prepared some wine themselves and held a meeting attended by five persons (Joseph and his wife, Newel Knight and wife, and John Whitmer). They partook of the Sacrament, confirmed the two sisters into the Church and spent the evening in a most pleasant manner.

"About this time" writes the Prophet, "a spirit of persecution began again to manifest itself against us in the neighborhood where I resided, which was commenced by a man of the Methodist persuasion, who professed to be a minister of God. \* \* \*

This man came to understand that my father-in-law and his family had promised us protection, and were friendly, and inquiring into the work; and knowing that if he could get him turned against me, my friends in that place would be but few, he accordingly went to visit my father-in-law, and told him falsehoods concerning me of the most shameful nature, which turned the old gentleman and his family so much against us, that they would no longer promise us protection, nor believe our doctrines.

"Toward the latter end of August, I, in company with John and David Whitmer, and my brother Hyrum Smith, visited the Church at Colesville, New York. Well knowing the determined hostilities of our enemies in that quarter, and also knowing that it was our duty to visit the Church, we had called upon our heavenly Father, in mighty prayer, that he would grant us an opportunity of meeting with them, that he would blind the eyes of our enemies, so that they would not know us, and that we might, on this occasion, return unmolested.

"Our prayers were not in vain, for when within a little distance of Mr. Knight's place, we encountered a large company at work upon the public road, amongst whom were several of our most bitter enemies; they looked earnestly at us, but not knowing us, we passed on without interruption. We that evening assembled the Church, and confirmed them, partook of the Sacrament, and held a happy meeting, having much reason to rejoice in the God of our salvation, and sing hosannas to his holy name.

"Next morning we set out on our return home, and although our ene-

mies had offered a reward of five dollars to any one who would give them information of our arrival, yet did we get clear out of the neighborhood, without the least annoyance, and arrived home in safety.

"Some few days afterwards, however, Newel Knight came to my place, and from him we learned that very shortly after our departure, the mob had come to know of our having been there, when they immediately collected together, and threatened the brethren, and very much annoyed them during all that day.

"Meantime, Brother Knight had come with his wagon, prepared to move my family, etc., etc., to Fayette, New York. Mr. Whitmer, having heard of the persecutions which had been got up against us at Harmony, Pennsylvania, had invited us to go and live with him; and during the last week in August we arrived at Fayette, amidst the congratulations of our brethren and friends. To our great grief, however, we soon found that Satan had been lying in wait to deceive, and seeking whom he might devour. Brother Hiram Page had got in his possession a certain stone, by which he had obtained a number of revelations concerning the upbuilding of Zion, the order of the Church, etc., all of which were entirely at variance with the order of God's house, as laid down in the New Testament, as well as our late revelations."

Joseph found a number of the Saints, and prominent among them Oliver Cowdery and the Whitmer family, who believed much in the things set forth by this stone, wherefore he thought best to inquire of the Lord concerning so important a matter. As an answer he received a rev-



elation for Oliver Cowdery (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 28), in which the Lord among other things said that the things which had been received by the stone were not of him, that Satan had deceived Hiram Page, and that no other than Joseph Smith should be appointed to receive revelations to the Church. In this revelation the Lord also speaks of the New Jerusalem for the first time, using the following language:

"And now, behold, I say unto you, that it is not revealed, and no man knoweth where the city shall be built, but it shall be given hereafter. Behold, I say unto you, that it shall be on the borders by the Lamanites."

About the same time Joseph received another important revelation concerning the gathering of the Saints, the end of the world, the reward of the righteous, the punishment of the wicked, etc. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 29.) This revelation was given at Fayette in the presence of six Elders.

September 1, 1830, the second conference of the Church was commenced at Fayette; it continued for three days. Of this conference Joseph writes:

"The subject of the stone, previously mentioned, was discussed, and after considerable investigation, Brother Page, as well as the whole Church who were present, renounced the said stone, and all things connected therewith, much to our mutual satisfaction and happiness. We now partook of the Sacrament, confirmed and ordained many, and attended to a great variety of Church business on that and the following day, during which time we had much of the power of God manifested amongst us; the Holy Ghost came upon us, and filled us with joy unspeakable; and peace and faith, and hope, and charity abound-

ed in our midst. \* \* \* The utmost harmony prevailed, and all things were settled satisfactorily to all present, and a desire was manifested by all the Saints to go forward and labor with all their powers to spread the great and glorious principles of truth, which had been revealed by our Heavenly Father. A number were baptized during conference and the work of the Lord spread and prevailed."

While this conference was in session, Joseph received two revelations (Doc. & Cov., Secs. 30 and 31), in which several of the brethren were called to go out and preach the gospel. At this time the Church consisted of about fifty members.

#### CHAPTER 4.

Missionaries are called to the Lamanites.—Their journey westward.—Preach as they travel.—Are met with great success in Kirtland, Ohio.—Sidney Rigdon and others are converted.—Parley P. Pratt is arrested and tried.—Escapes from his pursuers.—Has a hard journey.—Arrives with his fellow-missionaries in Jackson County, Missouri.—Visits the Delawares in company with Oliver Cowdery.—Both are compelled to leave the Indian country.—Council in Independence.—Pratt returns to Kirtland.

About this time great interest was manifested by several of the Elders respecting the remnants of the house of Joseph, the Lamanites, residing in the West, the brethren having learned from the Book of Mormon that the purposes of God in regard to that people were great, and they hoped that the time had come when the promises of the Almighty to them would be fulfilled, that they would receive the gospel and enjoy its blessings, etc. The interest finally became so universal that Joseph concluded to inquire of the Lord respecting the propriety of send-

ing some of the Elders out amongst them. A revelation was consequently given which authorized Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Richard Ziba Peterson and Peter Whitmer, jun., to take a mission to the Lamanites or Indians in the West. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 32.) This being the first important mission performed by any of the Elders in this dispensation, we copy the following interesting account of it from the Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt:

"It was now October, 1830. A revelation had been given through the mouth of the Prophet, Seer and Translator, in which Elders Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, junior, Ziba Peterson and myself were appointed to go into the wilderness, through the Western States, and to the Indian Territory. Making arrangements for my wife in the family of the Whitmers, we took leave of our friends and the Church late in October, and started on foot.

"After traveling for some days we called on an Indian nation at or near Buffalo; and spent part of a day with them, instructing them in the knowledge of the record of their forefathers. We were kindly received, and much interest was manifested by them on hearing this news. We made a present of two copies of the Book of Mormon to certain of them who could read, and repaired to Buffalo. Thence we continued our journey for about two hundred miles, and at length called on Mr. Rigdon, my former friend and instructor, in the Reformed Baptist Society. He received us cordially and entertained us with hospitality.

"We soon presented him with a Book of Mormon, and related to him the history of the same. He was much interested, and promised a thorough perusal of the book.

"We tarried in this region for some time, and devoted our time to the ministry, and visiting from house to house.

"At length Mr. Rigdon and many others became convinced that they had no authority to minister in the ordinances of God; and that they had not been legally baptized and ordained. They, therefore, came forward and were baptized by us, and received the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, and prayer in the name of Jesus Christ.

"The news of our coming was soon noised abroad, and the news of the discovery of the Book of Mormon and the marvelous events connected with it. The interest and excitement now became general in Kirtland, and in all the region round about. The people thronged us night and day, insomuch that we had no time for rest or retirement. Meetings were convened in different neighborhoods, and multitudes came together soliciting our attendance; while thousands flocked about us daily, some to be taught, some for curiosity, some to obey the gospel, and some to dispute or resist it.

"In two or three weeks from our arrival in the neighborhood with the news, we had baptized one hundred and twenty-seven souls, and this number soon increased to one thousand. The disciples were filled with joy and gladness; while rage and lying was abundantly manifested by gainsayers; faith was strong, joy was great, and persecution heavy.

"We proceeded to ordain Sidney Rigdon, Isaac Morley, John Murdock, Lyman Wight and many others to the ministry; and, leaving them to take care of the churches and to minister the gospel, we took leave of the Saints and continued our journey.

"Fifty miles west of Kirtland, we had occasion to pass through the neighborhood where I first settled in the wilderness, after my marriage. We found the people all excited with the news of the great work we had been the humble instruments of doing in Kirtland and vicinity. Some wished to learn and obey the fulness of the gospel—were ready to entertain us and hear us preach. Others were filled with envy, rage and lying.

"We had stopped for the night at the house of Simeon Carter, by whom we were kindly received, and were in the act of reading to him and explaining the Book of Mormon, when there came a knock at the door, and an officer entered with a warrant from a magistrate by the name of Byington, to arrest me on a very frivolous charge. I dropped the Book of Mormon in Carter's house, and went with him some two miles, in a dark, muddy road; one of the brethren accompanied me. We arrived at the place of trial late in the evening; found false witnesses in attendance, and a judge who boasted of his intention to thrust us into prison, for the purpose of testing the powers of our Apostleship, as he called it; although I was only an Elder in the Church. The judge boasting thus, and the witnesses being entirely false in their testimony, I concluded to make no de-

fence, but to treat the whole matter with contempt.

"I was soon ordered to prison, or to pay a sum of money which I had not in the world. It was now a late hour, and I was still retained in court, tantalized, abused and urged to settle the matter, to all of which I made no reply for some time. This greatly exhausted their patience. It was near midnight. I now called on brother Peterson to sing a hymn in the court. We sung, 'O how happy are they.' This exasperated them still more, and they pressed us greatly to settle the business, by paying the money.

"I then observed as follows: 'May it please the court, I have one proposal to make for a final settlement of the things that seem to trouble you. It is this: if the witnesses who have given testimony in the case will repent of their false swearing, and the magistrate of his unjust and wicked judgment and of his persecution, blackguardism and abuse, and all kneel down together, we will pray for you, that God might forgive you in these matters.'

"My big bull dog pray for me,' says the judge.

"The devil help us,' exclaimed another.

"They now urged me for some time to pay the money; but got no further answer.

"The court adjourned, and I was conducted to a public house over the way, and locked in till morning; the prison being some miles distant.

"In the morning the officer appeared and took me to breakfast; this over, we sat waiting in the inn for all things to be ready to conduct me to prison. In the meantime my fellow-travelers came past on their journey, and called to see me. I told them in an undertone to pursue their journey and leave me to manage my own affairs, promising to overtake them soon. They did so.

"After sitting awhile by the fire in charge of the officer, I requested to step out. I walked out into the public square accompanied by him. Said I, 'Mr. Peabody, are you good at a race?' 'No,' said he, 'but my big bull dog is, and he has been trained to assist me in my office these several years; he will take any man down at my bidding.' 'Well, Mr. Peabody, you compelled me to go a mile, I have gone with you two miles. You have given me an opportunity to preach, sing, and have also entertained me with lodging and breakfast. I must now go on my journey; if you are good at a race you can accompany me. I thank you for all your kindness—good day, sir.'

"I then started on my journey, while he stood

amazed and not able to step one foot before the other. Seeing this, I halted, turned to him and again invited him to a race. He still stood amazed. I then renewed my exertions, and soon increased my speed to something like that of a deer. He did not awake from his astonishment sufficiently to start in pursuit till I had gained, perhaps, two hundred yards. I had already leaped a fence, and was making my way through a field to the forest on the right of the road. He now came hallooing after me, and shouting to his dog to seize me. The dog, being one of the largest I ever saw, came close on my footsteps with all his fury; the officer behind still in pursuit, clapping his hands and hallooing, 'stu-boy, stu-boy—take him. Watch—lay hold of him, I say—down with him,' and pointing his finger in the direction I was running. The dog was fast overtaking me, and in the act of leaping upon me, when, quick as lightning, the thought struck me to assist the officer, in sending the dog with all fury to the forest a little distance before me. I pointed my finger in that direction, clapped my hands, and shouted in imitation of the officer. The dog hastened past me with redoubled speed towards the forest; being urged by the officer and myself, and both of us running in the same direction.

"Gaining the forest, I soon lost sight of the officer and dog, and have not seen them since. I took a back course, crossed the road, took round into the wilderness, on the left, and made the road again in time to cross a bridge over Vermillion River, where I was hailed by half a dozen men, who had been anxiously awaiting our arrival to that part of the country, and who urged me very earnestly to stop and preach. I told them that I could not then do it, for an officer was on my track. I passed on six miles further, through mud and rain, and overtook the brethren, and preached the same evening to a crowded audience, among whom we were well entertained.

"The Book of Mormon, which I dropped at the house of Simeon Carter, when taken by the officer, was by these circumstances left with him. He read it with attention. It wrought deeply upon his mind, and he went fifty miles to the church we had left in Kirtland, and was there baptized and ordained an Elder. He then returned to his home and commenced to preach and baptize. A church of about sixty members was soon organized in the place where I had played such a trick of deception on the dog.

"We now pursued our journey for some days, and at length arrived in Sandusky, in the western part of Ohio. Here resided a tribe, or na-

tion of Indians, called Wyandots, on whom we called, and with whom we spent several days. We were well received, and had an opportunity of laying before them the record of their forefathers, which we did. They rejoiced in the tidings, bid us God-speed, and desired us to write to them in relation to our success among the tribes further west, who had already removed to the Indian Territory, where these expected soon to go.

"Taking an affectionate leave of this people, we continued our journey to Cincinnati. In this city we spent several days, and preached to many of the people, but without much success. About the 20th of December we took passage on a steamer for St. Louis. In a few days we arrived at the mouth of the Ohio, and finding the river blocked with ice, the boat did not proceed further. We therefore landed and pursued our journey on foot for two hundred miles, to the neighborhood of St. Louis.

"We halted for a few days in Illinois, about twenty miles from St. Louis, on account of a dreadful storm of rain and snow, which lasted for a week or more, during which the snow fell in some places nearly three feet deep. Although in the midst of strangers, we were kindly entertained, found many friends, and preached to large congregations in several neighborhoods.

"In the beginning of 1831 we renewed our journey; and, passing through St. Louis and St. Charles, we traveled on foot for three hundred miles through vast prairies and through trackless wilds of snow—no beaten road; houses few and far between; and the bleak northwest wind always blowing in our faces with a keenness which would almost take the skin off the face. We traveled for whole days, from morning till night, without a house or fire, wading in snow to the knees at every step, and the cold so intense that the snow did not melt on the south side of the houses, even in the mid-day sun, for nearly six weeks. We carried on our backs our changes of clothing, several books, and cornbread and raw pork. We often ate our frozen bread and pork by the way, when the bread would be so frozen that we could not bite or penetrate any part of it but the outside crust.

"After much fatigue and some suffering we all arrived in Independence, in the county of Jackson, on the extreme western frontiers of Missouri, and of the United States.

"This was about fifteen hundred miles from where we started, and we had performed most of the journey on foot, through a wilderness country, in the worst season of the year, occu-

pying about four months, during which we had preached the gospel to tens of thousands of Gentiles and two nations of Indians; baptizing, confirming and organizing many hundreds of people into churches of Latter-day Saints.

"This was the first mission performed by the Elders of the Church in any of the States west of New York, and we were the first members of the same which were ever on this frontier.

"Two of our number now commenced work as tailors in the village of Independence, while the others crossed the frontier line and commenced a mission among the Lamanites, or Indians.

"Passing through the tribe of Shawnees we tarried one night with them, and the next day crossed the Kansas River and entered among the Delawares. We immediately inquired for the residence of the principal chief, and were soon introduced to an aged and venerable looking man, who had long stood at the head of the Delawares, and been looked up to as the great-grandfather, or sachem, of ten nations or tribes.

"He was seated on a sofa of furs, skins and blankets, before a fire in the center of his lodge; which was a comfortable cabin, consisting of two large rooms.

"His wives were neatly dressed, partly in calicoes and partly in skins; and wore a vast amount of silver ornaments. As we entered his cabin he took us by the hand with a hearty welcome, and then motioned us to be seated on a pleasant seat of blankets, or robes. His wives, at his bidding, set before us a tin pan full of beans and corn boiled up together, which proved to be good eating; although three of us made use alternately of the same wooden spoon.

"There was an interpreter present and through him we commenced to make known our errand, and to tell him of the Book of Mormon. We asked him to call the council of his nation together and give us a hearing in full. He promised to consider on it till next day, in the meantime recommending us to a certain Mr. Pool for entertainment; this was their blacksmith, employed by government.

"The man entertained us kindly and comfortably. Next morning we again called on Mr. Anderson, the old chief, and explained to him something of the book. He was at first unwilling to call his council; made several excuses, and finally refused; as he had ever been opposed to the introduction of missionaries among his tribe.

"We continued the conversation a little longer, till he at last began to understand the nature of the book. He then changed his mind,

became suddenly interested, and requested us to proceed no further with our conversation till he could call a council. He despatched a messenger, and in about an hour had some forty men collected around us in his lodge, who, after shaking us by the hand, were seated in silence; and in a grave and dignified manner awaited the announcement of what we had to offer. The chief then requested us to proceed; or rather, begin where we began before, and to complete our communication. Elder Cowdery then commenced as follows:

"Aged chief and venerable council of the Delaware Nation; we are glad of this opportunity to address you as our red brethren and friends. We have traveled a long distance from towards the rising sun to bring you glad news; we have traveled the wilderness, crossed the deep and wide rivers, and waded in the deep snows, and in the face of the storms of winter, to communicate to you great knowledge which has lately come to our ears and hearts; and which will do the red man good as well as the pale face.

"Once the red men were many; they occupied the country from sea to sea—from the rising to the setting sun; the whole land was theirs; the Great Spirit gave it to them, and no pale faces dwelt among them. But now they are few in numbers; their possessions are small, and the pale faces are many.

"Thousands of moons ago, when the red men's forefathers dwelt in peace and possessed this whole land, the Great Spirit talked with them, and revealed his law and his will, and much knowledge to their wise men and Prophets. This they wrote in a book; together with their history, and the things which should befall their children in the latter days.

"This book was written on plates of gold, and handed down from father to son for many ages and generations.

"It was then that the people prospered, and were strong and mighty; they cultivated the earth; built buildings and cities, and abounded in all good things, as the pale faces now do.

"But they became wicked; they killed one another and shed much blood; they killed their Prophets and wise men, and sought to destroy the book. The Great Spirit became angry, and would speak to them no more: they had no more good and wise dreams; no more visions; no more angels sent among them by the Great Spirit; and the Lord commanded Mormon and Moroni, their last wise men and Prophets, to hide the book in the earth, that it might be preserved in safety, and be found and made known in the latter day to the pale faces who

should possess the land; that they might again make it known to the red man; in order to restore them to the knowledge of the will of the Great Spirit and to his favor. And if the red man would then receive this book and learn the things written in it, and do according thereunto, they should be restored to all their rights and privileges; should cease to fight and kill one another; should become one people; cultivate the earth in peace, in common with the pale faces, who were willing to believe and obey the same book, and be good men and live in peace.

"Then should the red men become great, and have plenty to eat and good clothes to wear, and should be in favor with the Great Spirit and be his children, while he would be their Great Father, and talk with them, and raise up Prophets and wise and good men amongst them again, who should teach them many things.

"This book, which contained these things, was hid in the earth by Moroni, in a hill called by him Cumorah, which hill is now in the State of New York, near the village of Palmyra, in Ontario County.

"In that neighborhood there lived a young man named Joseph Smith, who prayed to the Great Spirit much, in order that he might know the truth; and the Great Spirit sent an angel to him, and told him where this book was hid by Moroni; and commanded him to go and get it. He accordingly went to the place, and dug in the earth, and found the book written on golden plates.

"But it was written in the language of the forefathers of the red man; therefore this young man, being a pale face, could not understand it; but the angel told him and showed him, and gave him knowledge of the language, and how to interpret the book. So he interpreted it into the language of the pale faces, and wrote it on paper, and caused it to be printed, and published thousands of copies of it among them; and then sent us to the red men to bring some copies of it to them, and to tell them this news. So we have now come from him, and here is a copy of the book, which we now present to our red friend, the chief of the Delawares, and which we hope he will cause to be read and known among his tribe; it will do them good."

"We then presented him with a Book of Mormon.

"There was a pause in the council, and some conversation in their own tongue, after which the chief made the following reply:

"We feel truly thankful to our white friends

who have come so far, and been at such pains to tell us good news, and especially this new news concerning the book of our forefathers; it makes us glad in here'—placing his hand on his heart.

"It is now winter, we are new settlers in this place; the snow is deep, our cattle and horses are dying, our wigwams are poor; we have much to do in the spring—to build houses, and fence and make farms; but we will build a council house, and meet together, and you shall read to us and teach us more concerning the book of our forefathers and the will of the Great Spirit."

"We again lodged at Mr. Pool's, told him of the book, had a very pleasant interview with him, and he became a believer and advocate for the book, and served as an interpreter.

"We continued for several days to instruct the old chief and many of his tribe. The interest became more and more intense on their part, from day to day, until at length nearly the whole tribe began to feel a spirit of inquiry and excitement on the subject.

"We found several among them who could read, and to them we gave copies of the book, explaining to them that it was the book of their forefathers.

"Some began to rejoice exceedingly, and took great pains to tell the news to others, in their own language.

"The excitement now reached the frontier settlements in Missouri, and stirred up the jealousy and envy of the Indian agents and sectarian missionaries to that degree that we were soon ordered out of the Indian country as disturbers of the peace; and even threatened with the military in case of non-compliance.

"We accordingly departed from the Indian country, and came over the line, and commenced laboring in Jackson County, Missouri, among the whites. We were well received, and listened to by many; and some were baptized and added to the Church.

"Thus ended our first Indian Mission, in which we had preached the gospel in its fullness, and distributed the record of their forefathers among three tribes, viz.: the Catteraugus Indians, near Buffalo, N. Y., the Wyandots of Ohio, and the Delawares west of Missouri.

"We trust that at some future day, when the servants of God go forth in power to the remnant of Joseph, some precious seed will be found growing in their hearts, which was sown by us in that early day."

February 14, 1831, the five brethren (Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Richard Ziba Peterson, Peter Whitmer, jun., and Frederick G. Williams) held a council at Independence, in which it was decided that Parley P. Pratt should return to the East to report the result of their mission, etc., to the Presidency of the Church. He started on his perilous journey soon afterwards and after suffering much from sickness and hardships on the road he arrived in Kirtland, Ohio, in March, 1831. There he met with a hearty reception from the Prophet Joseph, who, during Elder Pratt's absence, had removed from the State of New York to Kirtland.

## CHAPTER 5.

Joseph continues to receive revelations.—Is visited by Orson Pratt, Sidney Rigdon, Edward Partridge and others.—The third conference of the Church.—Joseph and the Saints remove from the State of New York to Kirtland, Ohio.—False spirits.—The fourth conference of the Church.—Joseph's first trip to Missouri.—The location for the New Jerusalem is revealed.—The Land of Zion is dedicated and consecrated for the gathering of the Saints.—The Temple site at Independence is dedicated.—The fifth conference of the Church.—Joseph and others return to Kirtland.

In the meantime Joseph continued to receive revelations from time to time, and thus he gradually became possessed of more light and knowledge concerning how to manage the affairs of the new-born Church, and he was enabled to discharge the duties of his high and holy calling with honor, while the work spread and the members slowly increased in number. Yet, both he and the Church were in their infancy, and as the true gospel, which was being restored, was differ-

ent in nearly all its particulars from everything known among the so-called Christian sects, founded by the wisdom of men, he often found it necessary to inquire of the Lord, especially when he was visited by persons who came to him to learn the mind and will of God concerning themselves. Thus, in October, 1830, he received a revelation to Ezra Thayre and Northrop Sweet, in which these brethren were called to preach the gospel.

In the beginning of November, 1830, Orson Pratt visited Joseph at Fayette. Orson had been baptized six weeks previous by his brother Parley P. Pratt at Canaan, New York, on his 19th birthday, September 19, 1830. He now came to inquire of the Lord "what his duty was" and Joseph received a revelation commanding Orson to prophesy and lift up "his voice as with the sound of a trumpet and cry repentance unto a crooked and perverse generation." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 34.) From that time until the day of his death Orson Pratt was an able and zealous laborer in the Lord's vineyard. (See *Orson Pratt*, page 49.)

In December, 1830, Sidney Rigdon, who had been baptized by Parley P. Pratt at Kirtland, Ohio, came to visit Joseph at Fayette, accompanied by Edward Partridge. He came to inquire of the Lord, who through Joseph gave a revelation commanding Sidney Rigdon to remain a short time with the Prophet at Fayette to write for him, after which Joseph should accompany him to Kirtland. (Doc. & Coc., Sec. 35.) Speaking to Sidney Rigdon, the Lord says in the same revelation:

"I give unto thee a commandment, that thou shalt baptize by water, and they shall receive the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, even

as the Apostles of old. \* \* \* For I am God, and mine arm is not shortened; and I will show miracles, signs, and wonders, unto all those who believe on my name. And whoso shall ask it in my name in faith, they shall cast out devils; they shall heal the sick; they shall cause the blind to receive their sight, and the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak, and the lame to walk; and the time speedily cometh that great things are to be shown forth unto the children of men."

Sidney Rigdon, who soon afterwards became a very prominent man in the Church, had formerly been a popular preacher in the Campbellite denomination and had given up a good situation for the sake of the gospel. (See *Sidney Rigdon*.)

About Edward Partridge, who visited Joseph Smith together with Sidney Rigdon, the Prophet writes that "he was a pattern of piety and one of the Lord's great men, known by his steadfastness and patient endurance to the end." (See *Edward Partridge*.) On December 11, 1830, a few days after his arrival at Fayette, he was baptized by the Prophet Joseph Smith, who subsequently ordained him the first Bishop in the Church. A revelation was also given to Edward Partridge, through the Prophet. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 36.)

Before the close of the year 1830, Joseph had commenced to translate the Bible under the inspiration of the Almighty. It is a well known fact that the Holy Scriptures, as we now have them translated by uninspired men, contain many errors and a number of ambiguous sentences, which are hard to understand. It was therefore necessary that the Lord should inspire his servant Joseph to translate them under the influence of the same spirit by which the servants of God originally wrote them. Sidney Rigdon as-

sisted Joseph in this important labor by acting as his scribe. The Prophet writes:

"Much conjecture and conversation frequently occurred among the Saints concerning the books mentioned, and referred to, in various places in the Old and New Testaments, which were now nowhere to be found. The common remark was, 'they are lost books;' but it seems the Apostolic Church had some of these writings, as Jude mentions or quotes the Prophecy of Enoch, the seventh from Adam. To the joy of the little flock, which in all, from Colesville to Canandaigua, New York, numbered about seventy members, did the Lord reveal the following doings of olden times, from the prophecy of Enoch." (See Pearl of Great Price, pages 17-22.)

Soon after this revelation was given, the Saints in the State of New York were commanded to gather to Ohio (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 37), which was the first revelation the Lord gave in regard to the gathering of the Saints.

January 2, 1831, the Church held its third conference in the house of Peter Whitmer, sen., at Fayette. Besides the ordinary business transacted for the Church, Joseph received a cheering revelation to the members of the Church, in which the Lord, among other things, promised that He would give the Saints a land of inheritance, which they should possess for ever, if they would seek it with all their hearts. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 38.)

Not long after this conference closed, a man by the name of James Covill, who had been a Baptist minister for forty years, came to Joseph and covenanted with the Lord that he would obey any commandment which should be given him through Jo-

seph; but when the Lord in a revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 39) commanded him to obey the fulness of the gospel as it had been revealed through the Prophet Joseph, Mr. Covill turned away and held fast to his former doctrines and people. In a revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 40) subsequently given to Joseph and Sidney Rigdon, the Lord said that the reason why James Covill rejected the commandment given him, was that Satan tempted him and darkened his mind with fear of persecution, etc.

In the latter part of January, in company with Sidney Rigdon and Edward Partridge, Joseph started with his wife for Kirtland, Ohio, about two hundred miles west of Fayette. The following is recorded in the *Contributor*, Vol. 6, page 125:

"About the first of February, 1831, a sleigh containing four persons drove through the streets of Kirtland and drew up at the door of Gilbert & Whitney's mercantile establishment. The occupants of the vehicle were evenly divided as to sex. One of the men, a young and stalwart personage, alighted, and springing up the steps, walked into the store and to where the junior partner was standing.

"'Newel K. Whitney! Thou art the man!' he exclaimed, extending his hand cordially, as if to an old and familiar acquaintance.

"'You have the advantage of me,' replied the one addressed, as he mechanically took the proffered hand—a half-amused, half-mystified look overspreading his countenance—'I could not call you by name, as you have me.'

"'I am Joseph, the Prophet,' said the stranger, smiling. 'You've prayed me here; now what do you want of me?'

"'Mr. Whitney, astonished, but no less delighted, as soon as his sur-



prise would permit, conducted the party—who were no other than Joseph Smith, his wife Emma and two servants, just arrived from Fayette, the birth-place of the infant Church—across the street to his house on the corner, and introduced them to his wife. She shared fully his surprise and ecstasy."

Joseph writes: "We were kindly received and welcomed into the house of Brother Newel K. Whitney. My wife and I lived in the family of Brother Whitney several weeks, and received every kindness and attention which could be expected, and especially from Sister Whitney.

"The branch of the Church in this part of the Lord's vineyard, which had increased to nearly one hundred members, were striving to do the will of God, so far as they knew it, though some strange notions and false spirits had crept in among them. With a little caution and some wisdom, I soon assisted the brethren and sisters to overcome them. The plan of 'common stock,' which had existed in what was called 'the family,' whose members generally had embraced the everlasting gospel, was readily abandoned for the more perfect law of the Lord; and the false spirits were easily discerned and rejected by the light of revelation."

A few days after Joseph's arrival in Kirtland, Edward Partridge was called by revelation to be the first Bishop in the Church. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 41.)

February 9, 1831, in the presence of twelve Elders, the Lord gave through Joseph an important revelation, concerning Church government and how transgressors should be dealt with. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 42.) In this revelation, also, all the Elders, except

Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, were commanded to go out, two and two, to preach the gospel, and the Saints were instructed to pray much to the Lord, who promised that he would reveal unto them the place where the New Jerusalem should be built, in his own due time, etc.

A short time after this a woman came to Joseph "with great pretensions to revealing commandments, laws and other curious matters," and when Joseph inquired of the Lord concerning this, he received in answer a revelation from God to the effect that none but himself would be appointed to receive revelations and commandments, as long as he lived and remained faithful. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 43.)

In the latter part of February the Lord commanded (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 44) that the Elders who had gone out on missions should assemble at Kirtland, where a conference was appointed for the 6th of June following.

At this time "many false reports, lies and foolish stories were published in the newspapers and circulated in every direction to prevent people from investigating the work or embracing the faith, but to the joy of the Saints, who had to struggle against every thing that prejudice and wickedness could invent," the Lord gave a very encouraging revelation on March 7, 1831, in which many prophecies of great importance concerning the Saints and the future condition of the world were revealed. The Saints were also commanded as follows (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 45):

"Gather ye out from the eastern lands, assemble ye yourselves together, ye Elders of my Church; go ye forth into the western countries, call upon the inhabitants to repent, and inasmuch as they do repent, build up churches unto me; and with one heart and with one

mind, gather up your riches that ye may purchase an inheritance which shall hereafter be appointed unto you, and it shall be called the New Jerusalem, a land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety for the Saints of the most High God; and the glory of the Lord shall be there, and the terror of the Lord also shall be there, insomuch that the wicked will not come unto it, and it shall be called Zion. And it shall come to pass among the wicked, that every man that will not take his sword against his neighbor must needs flee unto Zion for safety. And there shall be gathered unto it out of every nation under heaven; and it shall be the only people that shall not be at war one with another. And it shall be said among the wicked: Let us not go up to battle against Zion, for the inhabitants of Zion are terrible; wherefore we cannot stand. And it shall come to pass that the righteous shall be gathered out from among all nations, and shall come to Zion, singing with songs of everlasting joy."

The following day (March 8th) Joseph received a revelation concerning the Holy Ghost, and another one which directed him to appoint John Whitmer, Church Historian. (Doc. & Cov., Secs. 46 and 47.)

Shortly after Joseph's arrival in Kirtland, the Saints in the State of New York, in obedience to the revelation given the month previous, commenced to migrate to the northern parts of the State of Ohio, principally to Kirtland and neighborhood, which the Lord had selected as one of the Stakes of Zion. This move took place in the spring of 1831, and as early as April and May the Saints began to arrive in Kirtland. Previous to this the Saints in Kirtland were commanded by revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 48) to receive these "eastern brethren" and divide their lands with them until the Lord should command them to gather to the land of their inheritance.

About this time Lemon Copley, "one of the sect called Shaking Quakers, embraced the fulness of the everlasting gospel, apparently honest-hearted,

but still retained ideas that the Shakers were right in some particulars of their faith. In order to have more perfect understanding on the subject, Joseph inquired of the Lord and received a revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 49), in which Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt and Lemon Copley were called to preach the fulness of the gospel to the Shakers, who, however, did not seem disposed to receive the same, as the Elders named shortly afterwards visited one of their settlements near Cleveland, Ohio, without being able to make any converts among them.

In the meantime Joseph continued the work of translating the Bible, as time and circumstances would allow, and in the month of May, when a number of Elders were present who did not understand the different spirits manifesting themselves in the land, Joseph inquired of the Lord for more intelligence on these matters, when he received the revelation which constitute the 50th section the Doctrine and Covenants.

Concerning the manifestations of these spirits Parley P. Pratt writes as follows: "As I went forth among the different branches, some very strange spiritual operations were manifested, which were disgusting rather than edifying. Some persons would seem to swoon away, and make unseemly gestures, and be drawn or disfigured in their countenances. Others would fall into ecstasies, and be drawn into contortions, cramp, fits, etc. Others would seem to have visions and revelations, which were not edifying, and which were not congenial to the doctrine and spirit of the gospel. In short, a false and lying spirit seemed to be creeping into the Church.

"All these things were new and strange to me, and had originated in the Church during our absence, and previous to the arrival of President Joseph Smith from New York.

"Feeling our weakness and inexperience, and lest we should err in judgment concerning these spiritual phenomena, myself, John Murdock, and several other Elders, went to Joseph Smith, and asked him to inquire of the Lord concerning these spirits or manifestations."

These brethren then joined in prayer in Joseph's translating room, and he dictated in their presence the above named revelation. "Each sentence," continues Elder Pratt, "was uttered slowly and very distinctly, and with a pause between each, sufficiently long for it to be recorded, by an ordinary writer, in long hand. This was the manner in which all his written revelations were dictated and written. There was never any hesitation, reviewing, or reading back, in order to keep the run of the subject; neither did any of these communications undergo revisions, interlinings, or corrections. As he dictated them so they stood, so far as I have witnessed; and I was present to witness the dictation of several communications of several pages each."

In that month (May) the Lord revealed his will to his servant Joseph about locating the Colesville Branch for a short season at Thompson (a place not far from Kirtland), agreeable to the principles of the United Order, about which the revelation contained a number of rules and regulations. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 21.)

On the 3rd of June, 1831, The Elders, who, according to the commandment of the Lord, had been out preach-

ing the gospel, but had now returned from the various parts of the country where they had been laboring, assembled in Kirtland and held the conference previously appointed. Much instructions was given on this occasion by Joseph, who spoke with great power as he was moved by the Holy Ghost. The spirit of power and testimony also rested upon other Elders in a marvellous manner. Several of the brethren were selected by revelation, and ordained High Priests or to a higher degree of the Melchizedec Priesthood, after the order of the Son of God. This was the first occasion on which this Priesthood was fully revealed and conferred upon the Elders in this dispensation. Previous to this none of the brethren had been ordained to a higher position than the office of a common Elder, except Joseph and Oliver Cowdery, who, as previously related, had been ordained to the Apostleship by Peter, James and John. This was the fourth conference of the Church, and the number of members had now increased to about one thousand.

About this time Joseph received a revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 52), in which the Lord commanded him and about thirty other Elders to journey westward, two and two, to preach the gospel and raise up branches of the Church wheresoever the people would receive their testimony. These Elders should travel by different routes and meet together in conference in the western part of Missouri, about one thousand miles west of Kirtland. The Lord also promised that if his Elders were faithful, the land of their inheritance, which was in the State of Missouri and then possessed by their enemies, should be made known unto them.

Shortly afterward Joseph received a revelation for Algernon Sidney Gilbert (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 53) and another for Newel Knight (Sec. 54). In the latter, the Colesville Branch, which had been located temporarily at Thompson, Ohio, and had there broken their covenants, were commanded to continue their journey to Missouri. These commandments were obeyed, and the Elders soon afterward started on their missions, two and two in company.

While Joseph Smith himself was preparing for the journey, William W. Phelps, who afterward became prominent in the Church, arrived from Kirtland "with his family, as he said to do the will of the Lord." Joseph inquired of the Lord for him and received a revelation for him. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 55.) Soon afterward Thomas B. Marsh also came to inquire what he should do, when another revelation was given through the Prophet. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 56.)

Joseph writes: "On the 19th of June, in company with Sidney Rigdon, Martin Harris, Edward Partridge, William W. Phelps, Joseph Coe, A. Sidney Gilbert and his wife, I started from Kirtland, Ohio, for the land of Missouri, agreeable to the commandment before received, wherein it was promised that if we were faithful, the land of our inheritance, even the place for the city of the New Jerusalem, should be revealed. We went by wagon, canal boats and stages to Cincinnati, where I had an interview with the Rev. Walter Scott, one of the founders of the Campbellites, or Newlight Church. Before the close of our interview, he manifested one of the bitterest spirits against the doctrine of the New Testament, where

it says that these signs should follow them that believe (Mark 16: 17, 18), that I ever witnessed among men.

"We left Cincinnati in a steamer, and landed at Louisville, Kentucky, where we were detained three days in waiting for a steamer to convey us to St. Louis. From St. Louis, myself, and Brothers Harris, Phelps, Partridge and Coe, went by land on foot to Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, where we arrived about the middle of July; the rest of the company came by water a few days later.

"Notwithstanding the corruptions and abominations of the times, and the evil spirit manifested towards us on account of our belief in the Book of Mormon, at many places and among various persons, yet the Lord continued his watchful care and loving kindness to us day by day; and we made it a rule, wherever there was an opportunity, to read a chapter in the Bible, and pray; and these seasons of worship gave us great consolation. The meeting with our brethren, who had long awaited our arrival, was a glorious one, and moistened with many tears. It seemed good and pleasant for brethren to meet together in unity. But our reflections were many, coming as we had from a highly cultivated state of society in the East, and standing now upon the confines or western limits of the United States, and looking into the vast wilderness of those that sat in darkness. How natural it was to observe the degradation, leanness of intellect, ferocity and jealousy of a people that were nearly a century behind the time, and to feel for those who roamed about without the bene-

fit of civilization, refinement, or religion; yea, and exclaim in the language of the Prophets: 'When will the wilderness blossom as a rose? When will Zion be built up in her glory, and where will thy Temple stand, unto which all nations shall come in the last days?'"

Shortly after their arrival in Jackson County, Joseph received a revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 57) by which the anxiety of the brethren was relieved concerning their land of inheritance and the place where the New Jerusalem should be built. The Lord said in this revelation that Independence was the center place for the city, and that a spot for the Temple was lying westward, "upon a lot which was not far from the court house." The Lord also told the Saints that it was wisdom to buy land in all the regions round about that they might secure it for an everlasting inheritance. A. Sidney Gilbert was appointed by revelation to act as agent for the Church, in which capacity he was to receive means toward the purchase of land for the Saints. Edward Partridge, who previously had been ordained to the office of a Bishop, with two counselors as his assistants, was commanded to divide unto the Saints their inheritances according to the size of their respective families. The Bishop and agent were also commanded to make preparations for receiving the Saints who were on the road from Ohio, in order that they, on their arrival, might be located on the lots of their inheritances. A. Sidney Gilbert was furthermore commanded to open a store and establish himself as Church merchant, to "sell goods without fraud" and use the means acquired thereby for the purchase of lands.

William W. Phelps was commanded to remain and establish himself as a printer for the Church. The brethren made immediate preparations to comply with all these commandments.

"The first Sabbath after our arrival in Jackson County," writes the Prophet, "Brother William W. Phelps preached to a western audience over the boundary of the United States, wherein were present specimens of all the families of the earth: Shem, Ham and Japhet; several of the Lamanites or Indians—representatives of Shem; quite a respectable number of negroes—descendants of Ham; and the balance was made up of citizens of the surrounding country and fully represented themselves as pioneers of the West. At this meeting two were baptized, who had previously believed in the fulness of the gospel. During this week the Colesville Branch, referred to in the latter part of the last revelation, and Sidney Rigdon, A. Sidney Gilbert and wife, and Elders Morley and Booth arrived."

August 1, 1831, a revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 58) was given through the Prophet Joseph, in which the Lord chastised a number of the brethren and foretold that much tribulation would come over the Saints. He says:

"Ye cannot behold with your natural eyes, for the present time, the design of your God concerning those things which shall come hereafter, and the glory which shall follow after much tribulation. For after much tribulation cometh the blessings. Wherefore the day cometh that ye shall be crowned with much glory; the hour is not yet, but is nigh at hand. Remember this, which I tell you before, that you may lay it to heart, and receive that which is to follow."

This peculiar prediction the Saints could not then easily understand as there was no prospect of trouble at that time, but afterwards, by actual

experience and the literal fulfillment of the revelation, they learned that Joseph indeed was a true Prophet.

Joseph continues: "On the 2nd of August, I assisted the Colesville Branch of the Church to lay the first log for a house, as a foundation of Zion in Kaw Township, twelve miles west of Independence. The log was carried and placed by twelve men, in honor of the twelve tribes of Israel. At the same time, through prayer, the land of Zion was consecrated and dedicated by Elder Rigdon for the gathering of the Saints. It was a season of joy to those present, and afforded a glimpse of the future, which time will yet unfold to the satisfaction of the faithful. \* \* \* On the 3rd day of August, I proceeded to dedicate the spot for the Temple, a little west of Independence, and there were also present Sidney Rigdon, Edward Partridge, Wm. W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris and Joseph Coe.

The 87th Psalm was read: the scene was solemn and impressive.

On the 4th I attended the first conference in the land of Zion. It was held at the house of Brother Joshua Lewis, in Kaw Township, in the presence of the Colesville Branch of the Church. The Spirit of the Lord was there."

This was the fifth conference of the Church. On the 7th of August, Joseph attended the funeral of Sister Polly Knight, wife of Joseph Knight, sen. She was the first member of the Church who died in Jackson County. On the same day the Prophet received a revelation about the Sabbath. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 59.)

Aug. 8, 1831, Joseph received a revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 60) commanding a number of Elders to return

to the East, among whom were Joseph, Sidney Rigdon and Oliver Cowdery.

"On the 9th," writes Joseph, "in company with ten Elders, I left Independence Landing, for Kirtland. We started down the river in canoes, and went the first day as far as Fort Osage, where we had an excellent wild turkey for supper. Nothing very important occurred till the third day, when many of the dangers so common upon the western waters, manifested themselves; and after we had encamped upon the bank of the river, at McIlwaine's Bend, Brother Phelps, in open vision by daylight, saw the destroyer, in his most horrible power, ride upon the face of the waters; others heard the noise, but saw not the vision."

The next morning after prayer, Joseph received a revelation concerning the curse resting upon the waters because of the wickedness of men. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 61.)

On the 13th the company met several of the Elders on their way to the land of Zion, and after the joyful salutation with which brethren who are actually contending for the faith once delivered to the Saints meet each other, Joseph received another revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 62), in which the Lord's will was manifested in regard to those who met the Prophet and his company.

"After this meeting with the Elders," continues Joseph, "Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery and myself continued our journey by land to St. Louis, where we overtook Brothers Phelps and Gilbert. From this place we took stage, and they went by water to Kirtland, where we arrived safe and well on the 27th. Many things transpired upon this journey to strength-

en our faith, and which displayed the goodness of God in such a marvelous manner, that we could not help beholding the exertions of Satan to blind the eyes of the people, so as to hide the true light that lights every man that comes into the world."

#### CHAPTER 6.

The manner in which the land of Zion can be obtained.—Unsuccessful attempt in writing a revelation.—Mobbing in Hiram.—Joseph is acknowledged as president of the High Priesthood.—The Book of Commandments is printed.—An unlucky drive.—An attempt is made to poison Joseph.—*The Evening and Morning Star*.—Brigham Young's first meeting with the Prophet.—Remarkable prophecies.—An interesting conference.—The translation of the Bible finished.—Joseph makes a missionary trip to Canada.—Revelation concerning the exiled Saints.—A printing press established in Kirtland.

In these early days of the Church there was a great anxiety to obtain the word of the Lord upon every subject which in any way concerned the welfare and salvation of the Saints, and as "the land of Zion" at that time was the most important temporal object they had in view, Joseph inquired of the Lord for further information in regard to the gathering of the Saints to Missouri, the purchase of land and other matters connected therewith. In a revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 63) given in answer to this inquiry, the Lord explained the necessity of gathering means as soon as possible wherewith to purchase land in Jackson County; "for," says the Lord, "the land of Zion shall not be obtained but by purchase or by blood, otherwise there is no inheritance for you. And if by purchase, behold you are blessed; and if by blood, as you are forbidden to shed blood, lo, your enemies are upon you, and ye shall be scourged

from city to city, and from synagogue to synagogue, and but few shall stand to receive an inheritance."

Joseph spent the forepart of September in making preparations to remove to the town of Hiram, Portage County, Ohio, there to recommence the translation of the Bible. Sept. 11th, he received another revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 64), in which the Lord rebukes a number of leading men in the Church for not having kept his commandments. He also says that he would "retain a stronghold in the land of Kirtland for the space of five years."

The following day (Sept. 12th) Joseph returned with his family to the township of Hiram, situated about thirty miles southeast of Kirtland, and commenced living with John Johnson. (See pages 32 and 111.) About the same time Sidney Rigdon removed to Hiram to act in his office as Joseph's scribe. As soon as they had arranged the affairs of their new home, they resumed the work of translating the Scriptures, continuing with this labor as much as time would permit them during the following winter.

In the forepart of October Joseph received a commandment in relation to prayer (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 15), and toward the end of the month Orson Hyde, afterwards a prominent Apostle, was baptized. (See page 36.)

"About this time," writes Joseph, "Ezra Booth came out as an apostate. He came into the Church upon seeing a person healed of an infirmity of many years' standing. He had been a Methodist priest for some time previous to his embracing the fulness of the gospel, as developed in the Book of Mormon; and upon his admission into the Church he was ordained an

Elder. As will be seen by the foregoing revelations, he went up to Missouri as a companion of Elder Morley; but when he actually learned that faith, humility, patience and tribulation go before blessing, and that God brings low before he exalts; that instead of the 'Savior's granting him power to smite men and make them believe,' (as he said he wanted God to do in his own case)—when he found he must become all things to all men, that he might, peradventure, save some; and that, too, by all diligence, by perils by sea and land, as was the case in the days of Jesus, then he was disappointed. In the 6th chapter of St. John's Gospel, 26th verse, it is written: 'Verily, verily I say unto you, ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because we did eat of the loaves, and were filled.' So it was with Booth; and when he was disappointed by his own evil heart, he turned away, and, as said before, became an apostate, and wrote a series of letters, which, by their coloring, falsity and vain calculations to overthrow the work of the Lord, exposed his weakness, wickedness and folly, and left him a monument of his own shame for the world to wonder at.

"A conference was held in which Brother William W. Phelps was instructed to stop at Cincinnati on his way to Missouri and purchase a press and type, for the purpose of establishing and publishing a monthly paper at Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, to be called the *Evening and Morning Star*. \* \* \*

"On the 11th of October, a conference was held at Brother Johnson's where I was living, at which the Elders were instructed in the ancient manner of conducting meetings, of

which knowledge most of them were ignorant. A committee of six was appointed to instruct the several branches of the Church. Elders David Whitmer and Reynolds Cahoon were appointed as two of the said committee; with the further duty on their mission, of setting forth the condition of Brothers Joseph Smith, jun., and Sidney Rigdon, that they might obtain means to continue the translation. This conference adjourned till the 25th of October, to meet at the house of Irenus Burnett, in Orange, Cuyahoga County.

"On the 21st, I attended a special conference, to settle a difficulty which had occurred in Kirtland, on account of William Cahoon and Peter Devolve having abused one of brother Whitney's children. Elder Rigdon and myself were appointed to go to Kirtland and settle the difficulty, which we did.

At the conference on the 25th, at Orange, twelve High Priests, seventeen Elders, four Priests, three Teachers and four Deacons, together with a large congregation, attended. Much business was done, and the four remaining members of the committee, authorized by the conference at Hiram on the 11th, were appointed, and consisted of Simeon Carter, Orson Hyde, Hyrum Smith and Emer Harris."

This was the sixth general conference of the Church.

At the request of Wm. E. McLellin Joseph inquired of the Lord and received a revelation calling Wm. E. McLellin and Samuel H. Smith to the ministry. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 66.)

Another special conference was held November 1, 1831, at Hiram, where it was decided that Oliver Cowdery



should go to Independence, Missouri, with the revelations which Joseph had received up to that time, and get them printed. On the same day a revelation which was afterwards known as the Lord's Preface to the Book of Commandments was given. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 1.)

About this time there was some conversation among the brethren concerning revelations and language, and some of the Elders, who considered themselves learned men, thought the revelations which Joseph received might be written in a better style. While this was being discussed another revelation was given through the Prophet, in which the Lord said that the Elders who found fault with the language of the revelations might seek out the least revelation which Joseph had received, and appoint the wisest man among them to write one like it; and if they could do it, then they should be justified in saying they did not know that the commandment which Joseph had received were true, but if they could not do it, the Lord would condemn them, if they did not bear record that they were true. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 67.)

"After the foregoing was received," writes the Prophet, "William E. McLellin, as the wisest man, in his own estimation, having more learning than sense, endeavored to write a commandment like unto one of the least of the Lord's but failed; it was an awful responsibility to write in the name of the Lord. The Elders and all present, who witnessed this vain attempt of a man to imitate the language of Jesus Christ, renewed their faith in the fulness of the gospel, and in the truth of the commandments and revelations which the Lord had given to the Church through my instrumen-

tality; and the Elders signified a willingness to bear testimony of their truth to all the world."

Wm. E. McLellin afterwards apostatized and became a bitter enemy to the work of God and to Joseph. (See pages 38 and 39.)

During that month (November) Joseph received four other revelations. In one of these, addressed to Orson Hyde, Luke S. Johnson, Lyman E. Johnson and Wm. E. McLellin (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 68), the Lord explains the nature and authority of the Aaronic Priesthood, the duties of parents toward their children, etc. He also says:

"Now I, the Lord, am not well pleased with the inhabitants of Zion (Jackson County, Missouri), for there are idlers among them; and their children are also growing up in wickedness; they also seek not earnestly the riches of eternity, but their eyes are full of greediness."

On the 3rd of November the revelation known as the Appendix (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 133) was given, and shortly afterwards a revelation (Sec. 69) appointing John Whitmer to accompany Oliver Cowdery to Missouri.

Joseph writes: "My time was occupied closely in reviewing the commandments and sitting in conference, for nearly two weeks; for from the 1st to the 12th of November we held four special conferences. In the last, which was held at Brother Johnson's in Hiram, after deliberate consideration, in consequence of the Book of Revelations, now to be printed, being the foundation of the Church in these last days, and a benefit to the world, showing that the keys of the mysteries of the kingdom of our Savior are again entrusted to man; and the riches of eternity within the compass of those who are willing to live by every word that proceedeth out of the

mouth of God—therefore the conference voted that they prize the revelations to be worth to the Church the riches of the whole earth, speaking temporally. The great benefits to the world which result from the Book of Mormon and the revelations, which the Lord has seen fit in his infinite wisdom to grant unto us for our salvation, and for the salvation of all that will believe, were duly appreciated; and in answer to an inquiry, I received the following revelation.” (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 70.)

In the latter part of November, Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer took their departure for Jackson County, Missouri, with the revelations, which had been arranged and dedicated by prayer by the Prophet.

Wm. W. Phelps had already started for Missouri, and with a press and type which, according to instructions, he had purchased in Cincinnati, Ohio, he arrived safe and well at Independence. He immediately commenced to arrange the type preparatory for publishing a monthly paper in the interest of the Church. Quite a number of other Saints from Ohio removed to Missouri the same fall.

After Elders Cowdery and Whitmer had started for Missouri, Joseph resumed the work of translating the Scriptures and continued in this branch of his calling, with Sidney Rigdon as scribe, until the 1st of December, when both were called by revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 71) to proclaim the gospel in the regions round about. In obedience to this commandment they went to Kirtland on the 3rd of December. On the 4th they met with a number of Elders and members at that place, on which occasion they also ordained Newel K.

Whitney to the office of a Bishop and appointed him to preside over the Kirtland Stake. A revelation defining the duties of the Bishop at Kirtland and containing additional laws and commandments in relation to Church government was also given through the Prophet. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 72.) Joseph continues:

“From this time until the 8th or 10th of January, 1832, myself and Elder Rigdon continued to preach in Shalersville, Ravenna, and other places, setting forth the truth, vindicating the cause of our Redeemer; showing that the day of vengeance was coming upon this generation like a thief in the night; that prejudice, blindness and darkness filled the minds of many, and caused them to persecute the true Church, and reject the true light; by which means we did much towards allaying the excited feelings which were growing out of the scandalous letters then being published in the *Ohio Star*, at Ravenna, by the before-mentioned apostate, Ezra Booth.”

January 10, 1832, Joseph was commanded to resume his work of translating the Scriptures and continue this labor until it was finished. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 73.) Subsequently he received by revelation an explanation of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, Chapter 7, Verse 14. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 74.)

January 25th, the seventh General conference of the Church was held, at Amherst, Lorraine County, Ohio. Considerable business was done, and a number of Elders were called by revelation (Doc. & Cov. 75) to the ministry, and appointed to take missions to various parts of the United States.

“Upon my return from Amherst conference,” writes Joseph, “I resumed

the translation of the Scriptures. From sundry revelations which had been received, it was apparent that many important points touching the salvation of man, had been taken from the Bible, or lost before it was compiled. It appeared self-evident from what truths were left, that if God rewarded every one according to the deeds done in the body, the term 'Heaven,' as intended for the Saints' eternal home, must include more kingdoms than one. Accordingly, on the 16th of February, 1832, while translating St. John's Gospel, myself and Elder Rigdon saw the following Vision. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 76.)

"Nothing could be more pleasing to the Saints upon the order of the Kingdom of the Lord, than the light which burst upon the world through the foregoing vision. Every law, every commandment, every promise, every truth and every point touching the destiny of man, from Genesis to Revelations, where the purity of the Scriptures remains unsullied by the folly of men, go to show the perfection of the theory of different degrees of glory in the future life, and witnesses the fact that that document is a transcript from the records of the eternal world. The sublimity of the ideas; the purity of the language; the scope for action; the continued duration for completion, in order that the heirs of salvation may confess the Lord and bow the knee; the rewards for faithfulness, and the punishments for sins, are so much beyond the narrow-mindedness of men, that every honest man is constrained to exclaim. 'It came from God.'

"About the 1st of March, in connection with the translation of the Scriptures, I received the following

explanation of the revelations of St. John." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 77.)

In March, 1832, Joseph received the revelations constituting Sections 78, 79, 80 and 81 of the Doctrine and Covenants. On the night of the 25th of March, Joseph and Sidney Rigdon were brutally treated by a mob at Hiram, and barely escaped with their lives. (See pages 112-114.) One of Joseph's children, an adopted son (Joseph Smith Murdock), who was sick with the measles and in bed with him at the time of the outrage, was thereby exposed to the night air, and died a few days later. He may, therefore, be called the first martyr of this dispensation.

April 2, 1832, in obedience to revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 78, Verse 9), Joseph left Hiram to make another visit to Missouri, accompanied by Newel K. Whitney, Peter Whitmer, jun., and Jesse Gauze. Joseph writes:

"Not wishing to go to Kirtland, as another mob existed in that neighborhood (and indeed, the spirit of mobocracy was very prevalent through that whole region of country at the time), Brother George Pitkin took us in his wagon by the most expeditious route to Warren, where we arrived the same day, and were there joined by Elder Rigdon, who left Chardon in the morning; and proceeding onward, we arrived at Wellsville the next day, and the day following at Steubenville, where we left the wagon; on Wednesday, April 5th, we took passage on board a steam-packet for Wheeling, Virginia, where we purchased a lot of paper for the press in Zion, then in care of W. W. Phelps.

"After we left Hiram, fearing for the safety of my family, on account of the mob, I wrote to my wife (in

connection with Bishop Whitney), suggesting that she go to Kirtland and tarry with Brother Whitney's family until our return. She went to Kirtland, to Brother Whitney's, and Sister Whitney's aunt, Sarah Smith (who was then living with her), inquired of her niece if my wife was going to stay there; and, on being answered in the affirmative, said she should go away, for there was not room enough for both of them. Accordingly, my wife left immediately, having enjoyed only about two hours' visit. She then went to Brother Reynolds Cahoon's, and Father Smith's, and Doctor Williams', where I found her very disconsolate on my return.

"From Wheeling we took passage on board the steamer *Trenton*. While at the dock, during the night, the boat was twice on fire, burning the whole width of the boat through into the cabin, but with so little damage that the boat went on in the morning; and when we arrived at Cincinnati, some of the mob, which had followed us, left us, and we arrived at Louisville the same night. Captain Brittle offered us protection on board of his boat, and gave us supper and breakfast gratuitously. At Louisville we were joined by Elder Titus Billings, who was journeying with a company of Saints from Kirtland to Zion, and we took passage on the steamer *Charleston* for St. Louis, where we parted with Brother Billings and company, and by stage arrived at Independence, Missouri, on the 24th of April, having traveled a distance of about three hundred miles from St. Louis. We found the brethren in Zion generally enjoying health and faith, and they were extremely glad to welcome us among them.

"On the 26th I called a general council of the Church, and was acknowledged as the President of the High Priesthood, according to a previous ordination at a conference of High Priests, Elders and members, held at Amherst, Ohio, January 25, 1832. The right hand of fellowship was given to me by the Bishop, Edward Partridge, in behalf of the Church. The scene was solemn, impressive and delightful. During the intermission, a difficulty or hardness, which had existed between Bishop Partridge and Elder Rigdon, was amicably settled, and when we came together in the afternoon, all hearts seemed to rejoice, and I received the following revelation, showing the order given to Enoch and the Church in his day. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 82.)

"On the 27th we transacted considerable business for the salvation of the Saints, who were settling among a ferocious set of mobbers, like lambs among wolves. It was my endeavor to so organize the Church, that the brethren might eventually be independent of every incumbrance beneath the celestial kingdom, by bonds and covenants of mutual friendship, and mutual love.

"On the 28th and 29th, I visited the brethren above Big Blue River, in Kaw Township, a few miles west of Independence, and received a welcome only known by brethren and sisters united as one in the same faith, and by the same baptism, and supported by the same Lord. The Colesville Branch, in particular, rejoiced as the ancient Saints did with Paul. It is good to rejoice with the people of God. On the 30th I returned to Independence, and again sat in council with the brethren and received the fol-

lowing revelation about the maintenance of widows and orphans in the Church. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 83.)

"Our council was continued on the 1st of May, when it was ordered that 3,000 copies of the Book of Commandments be printed as the first edition; that William W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery and John Whitmer be appointed to review and prepare such revelations for the press as shall be deemed proper for publication, and print them as soon as possible at Independence, Missouri, the announcement to be made that they are 'published by W. W. Phelps & Co.' It was also ordered that Wm. W. Phelps correct and print the hymns which had been selected by Emma Smith in fulfillment of the revelation.

"Arrangements were also made for supplying the Saints with stores in Missouri and Ohio, which action, with a few exceptions, was hailed with joy by the brethren. Before we left Independence, Elder Rigdon preached two powerful discourses, which, so far as outward appearance was concerned, gave great satisfaction to the people.

"On the 6th of May I gave the parting hand to the brethren in Independence, and, in company with Brothers Rigdon and Whitney, commenced a return to Kirtland, by stage to St. Louis, from thence to Vincennes, Indiana, and from thence to New Albany, near the falls of the Ohio River. Before we arrived at the latter place, the horses became frightened, and while going at full speed Bishop Whitney attempted to jump out of the coach, but having his coat fast, caught his foot in the wheel, and had his leg and foot broken in several places; at the same time I jumped out unhurt. We put up at Mr. Porter's public house, in

Greenville, for four weeks, while Elder Rigdon went directly forward to Kirtland. During all this time Brother Whitney lost not a meal of victuals or a night's sleep, and Doctor Porter, our landlord's brother who attended him, said, it was a pity we had not got some Mormons there, as they could set broken bones or do anything else. I tarried with Brother Whitney and administered to him till he was able to be moved.

"While at this place I frequently walked out in the woods, where I saw several fresh graves; and one day when I rose from the dinner-table, I walked directly to the door and commenced vomiting most profusely. I raised large quantities of blood and poisonous matter, and so great were the muscular contortions of my system, that my jaw in a few moments was dislocated. This I succeeded in replacing with my own hands, and made my way to Brother Whitney (who was on the bed), as speedily as possible; he laid his hands on me and administered to me in the name of the Lord, and I was healed in an instant, although the effect of the poison was so powerful, as to cause much of the hair to become loosened from my head. Thanks be to my heavenly Father for his interference in my behalf at this critical moment, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

"Brother Whitney had not had his foot moved from the bed for nearly four weeks, when I went into his room, after a walk in the grove, and told him if *he would agree* to start for home in the morning, we would take a wagon to the river, about four miles, and there would be a ferry-boat in waiting which would take us quickly across where we would find a hack which

would take us directly to the landing, where we should find a boat in waiting, and we would be going up the river before 10 o'clock and have a prosperous journey home. He took courage and told me he would go. We started next morning and found everything as I had told him, for we were passing rapidly up the river before 10 o'clock, and landing at Wellsville, took stage-coach to Chardon, from thence in a wagon to Kirtland, where we arrived some time in June.

"As soon as I could arrange my affairs, I commenced the translation of the Scriptures, and thus I spent most of the summer."

In June, 1832, the first number of the *Evening and Morning Star* (See page 31) was published in Independence, Jackson County, Mo., by Wm. W. Phelps & Co. This was the first paper published by the Saints in this dispensation; its mission was to "spread light and truth among the children of men," assist the Elders in their missionary labor and teach and encourage the Saints generally. It was the only paper published in Upper Missouri at that time; its office being situated within twelve miles of the western boundary of the State of Missouri, and about 120 miles west of any other press in the States, 1,000 miles west from Kirtland and 1,300 miles from New York City. In connection with the *Star* a weekly paper called the *Upper Missouri Advertiser* was published, giving the general news of the day.

During the summer of 1832 the Elders continued to preach with unabated zeal, notwithstanding they were constantly subjected to abuse and persecution from the hands of the wicked.

Branches of the Church were organized in various parts of the United States and Canada, and the work made rapid progress. In the fall the Elders began to return from their missions in the Eastern States and reported their several stewardships in the Lord's vineyard; and while they were yet together the Prophet inquired of the Lord and received on the 22nd and 23rd of September a very important revelation on Priesthood. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 84.) In this revelation the Lord says:

"Verily this is the word of the Lord, that the city New Jerusalem shall be built by the gathering of the Saints, beginning at this place, even the place of the Temple, which Temple shall be reared in this generation; for verily this generation shall not all pass away until an house shall be built unto the Lord, and a cloud shall rest upon it, which cloud shall be even the glory of the Lord which shall fill the house."

The following glorious promises were also made by the Lord to his servants on the same occasion, the fulfillment of which in thousands of cases ought to convince every honest-minded person that Joseph Smith was indeed a Prophet of the living God:

"Therefore, as I said unto mine Apostles, I say unto you again, that every soul who believeth on your words, and is baptized by water for the remission of sins, shall receive the Holy Ghost; and these signs shall follow them that believe:—In my name they shall do many wonderful works; in my name they shall cast out devils; in my name they shall heal the sick; in my name they shall open the eyes of the blind, and unstop the ears of the deaf; and the tongue of the dumb shall speak; and if any man shall administer poison unto them it shall not hurt them; and the poison of a serpent shall not have power to harm them."

Joseph continued to translate and administer to the Church through the fall, excepting a rapid journey to Albany, New York and Boston, in company with Bishop Newel K. Whitney,

from which he returned on the 6th of November, immediately after the birth of his eldest son Joseph, who was born at Kirtland, Ohio, November 6, 1832.

The Saints in Jackson County made rapid progress and their number increased steadily by the immigration of Saints from various parts of the country. Large tracts of land were purchased from the United States government, several hundred farms were opened, and mills and many extensive improvements commenced. On the 27th of November, Joseph wrote an encouraging letter and revelation to the Saints in Zion (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 85), while an extensive correspondence was kept up between the two places, Kirtland and Independence.

Some time during that month (November), Joseph met Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, who came to Kirtland on a visit. (See pages 25 and 33.)

December 6, 1832, Joseph received a revelation explaining the parable of the wheat and the tares (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 86), and on the 25th the important revelation foretelling the war between the Southern and Northern States, which broke out 29 years later. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 87.)

In a communication which was written a few days later to N. C. Seaton, editor of a paper published in Rochester, New York, the Prophet says:

"I am prepared to say by the authority of Jesus Christ, that not many years shall pass away before the United States shall present such a scene of bloodshed as has not a parallel in the history of our nation."

The literal fulfilment of these predictions is now a matter of history. In the same letter the Prophet further says:

"I declare unto you the warning which the

Lord has commanded me to declare unto this generation, remembering that the eyes of my Maker are upon me, and that to him I am accountable for every word I say, wishing nothing worse to my fellowmen than their eternal salvation; therefore, 'Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come.' Repent ye, repent ye, and embrace the everlasting covenant, and flee to Zion, before the overflowing scourge overtake you; for there are those now living upon the earth whose eyes shall not be closed in death until they see all these things, which I have spoken, fulfilled."

On December 27th Joseph received that lengthy, important revelation which was afterwards known among the Saints as the "Olive Leaf." (Doc. & Co., Sec. 88.) In this the Lord revealed many grand and glorious principles and foretold some of the great things which will come to pass in the last days. It also contained a commandment to the Saints to build a "House of God" in Kirtland (Verse 119), and to open a school for the benefit of the Elders, to be known as the school of the Prophets (Verse 127).

In those days Joseph was much troubled in spirit by the conduct of the leading Elders and the Saints in Jackson County, Missouri. They obeyed not the commandments which the Lord had given them as strictly as they should have done, although they did not transgress the laws of the country. But Joseph did not hide the word of the Lord for them. In a letter which he wrote to Wm. W. Phelps, editor of the *Star*, he gave them solemn warnings of the judgments that were in store for them in consequence of their transgressions, and urged them to repent.

On the 14th of January, 1833, a conference of twelve High Priests sent a long epistle of the same nature to the Saints in Missouri. After receiving

these warnings the Saints in Zion commenced to humble themselves and repent of their sins. Thus a special council of High Priests assembled in Zion, February 26, 1833, and a general epistle was written to the Presidency in Kirtland, in which the Saints in Zion promised to obey the commandment of the Lord. With this Joseph and the brethren in Kirtland were satisfied, and in a revelation subsequently given through Joseph, the Lord acknowledged their repentance and said that the angels rejoiced over them. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 91, Verse 34.)

During that month (February, 1833) Joseph organized the School of the Prophets in Kirtland, in which institution of learning the Elders made good progress in the knowledge of God. The school was continued during the winter. As there was no suitable school building in Kirtland at that time, the brethren hired a room for school purposes. Joseph writes:

"This winter (1832-1833) was spent in translating the Scriptures, in the School of the Prophets, and sitting in conferences. I had many glorious seasons of refreshing. The gifts which follow them that believe and obey the gospel, as tokens that the Lord is ever the same in his dealings with the humble lovers and followers of truth, began to be poured out among us, as in ancient days, for as we, viz., Joseph Smith, jun., Sidney Rigdon, Frederick G. Williams, Newel K. Whitney, Hyrum Smith, Zebedee Coltrin, Joseph Smith, sen., Samuel H. Smith, John Murdock, Lyman E. Johnson, Orson Hyde and Ezra Thayer, High Priests, and Levi W. Hancock and William Smith, Elders, were assembled in conference, on the 22nd day of January (1833), I spoke to the conference in

another tongue, and was followed in the same gift by Brother Zebedee Coltrin, and he by Brother William Smith, after which the Lord poured out his spirit in a miraculous manner, until all the Elders present spake in tongues, and several members, both male and female, exercised the same gift. Great and glorious were the divine manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Praises were sung to God and the Lamb; speaking and praying, all in tongues, occupied the conference until a late hour at night, so rejoiced were we at the return of these long absent blessings.

"On the 23rd of January we again assembled in conference; when, after much speaking, singing, praying, and praising God, all in tongues, we proceeded to the washing of feet (according to the practice recorded in the 13th chapter of John's Gospel), as commanded of the Lord. Each Elder washed his own feet first, after which I girded myself with a towel and washed the feet of all of them, wiping them with the towel with which I was girded. Among the number, my father presented himself, but before I washed his feet, I asked of him a father's blessing, which he granted by laying his hands upon my head, in the name of Jesus Christ, and declaring that I should continue in the Priest's office until Christ comes. At the close of the scene, Brother Frederick G. Williams, being moved upon by the Holy Ghost, washed my feet in token of his fixed determination to be with me in suffering, or in journeying, in life or in death, and to be continually on my right hand; in which I accepted him in the name of the Lord.

"I then said to the Elders: As I have done, so do ye: wash ye, there-



- fore, one another's feet; and by the power of the Holy Ghost I pronounced them all clean from the blood of this generation; but if any of them should sin wilfully after they were thus cleansed and sealed up unto life eternal, they should be given over to the buffetings of Satan until the day of redemption. Having continued all day in fasting, prayer, and ordinances, we closed by partaking of the Lord's Supper. I blessed the bread and wine in the name of the Lord, when we all ate and drank and were filled; then sung a hymn and the meeting adjourned.

"I completed the translation and review of the New Testament, February 2, 1833, and sealed it up, no more to be opened till it arrived in Zion."

February 27, 1833, Joseph received the revelation known as the Word of Wisdom. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 89.) On the 8th of March he received a revelation concerning the keys of the Kingdom (Sec. 90), the following day one in relation to the Apocrypha (Sec. 91), and on the 15th of the same month the Lord gave him commandments concerning the order of the Church for the benefit of the poor (Sec. 92).

In a meeting of High Priests held in the "school-room of the Prophets" in Kirtland, March 18, 1833, Joseph Smith ordained Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams to act as his counselors in the Presidency of the High Priesthood according to revelation. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 90, Verse 6.) This was the first organization of the First Presidency of the Church. (See page 73.) About this meeting Joseph writes:

"I exhorted the brethren to faithfulness and diligence in keeping the

commandments of God, and gave much instruction for the benefit of the Saints, with a promise that the pure in heart should see a heavenly vision; and after remaining a short time in secret prayer, the promise was verified; for many present had the eyes of their understanding opened by the spirit of God, so as to behold many things. I then blessed the bread and wine, and distributed a portion to each. Many of the brethren saw a heavenly vision of the Savior, and concourses of angels, and many other things, of which each one has a record of what they saw."

May 6, 1833, two important revelations were given through the Prophet. (Doc. & Cov., Secs. 93 and 94.) In one of these the Lord gave instructions in relation to the dimensions of the Temple to be built to his name in Kirtland. On the 1st of June another revelation was given on the same subject Doc. & Cov., Sec. 95), and on the 4th the Lord instructed Joseph in regard to the order of the city or Stake of Kirtland (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 96), the building of which absorbed the attention of the Saints for a number of years afterwards. (See *Kirtland*, page 62.)

June 25, 1833, the First Presidency in Kirtland wrote an important letter to William W. Phelps and the Saints in Missouri. We give the following extracts:

"The truth triumphs gloriously in the East: multitudes are embracing it. \* \* \* We send by this mail a draft of the city of Zion, with explanations, and a draft of the house to be built immediately in Zion, for the Presidency, as well as for all purposes of religion and instruction.

"Kirtland, the Stake of Zion, is strengthening continually. When the enemies look at her, they wag their heads and march along.  
\* \* \*

"A man is bound by the law of the Church, to consecrate to the Bishop, before he can be considered a legal heir to the kingdom of Zion; and this, too, without constraint; and unless he does this, he cannot be acknowledged before the Lord on the Church Book. \* \* \*

"The matter of consecration must be done by the mutual consent of both parties; for to give the Bishop power to say how much every man shall have, and he be obliged to comply with the Bishop's judgment, is giving to the Bishop more power than a king has; and, upon the other hand, to let every man say how much he needs, and the Bishop be obliged to comply with his judgment, is to throw Zion into confusion, and make a slave of the Bishop. The fact is, there must be a balance of equilibrium of power between the Bishop and the people; and thus harmony and good-will may be preserved among you. Therefore, those persons consecrating property to the Bishop in Zion, and then receiving an inheritance back, must reasonably show to the Bishop that he wants as much as he claims. But in case the two parties cannot come to a mutual agreement, the Bishop is to have nothing to do about receiving such consecrations; and the case must be laid before a council of twelve High Priests, the Bishop not being one of the council, but he is to lay the case before them. \* \* \*

"When the Bishops are appointed according to our recommendation, it will devolve upon them to see to the poor, according to the laws of the Church. In regard to the printing of the New Translation, it cannot be done until we can attend to it ourselves, and this we will do as soon as the Lord permits. \* \* \*

"The order of the Literary Firm is a matter of stewardship, which is of the greatest importance; and the mercantile establishment God commanded to be devoted to the support thereof, and God will bring every transgression into judgment.

"Say to the brothers Hulet, and to all others, that the Lord never authorized them to say, that the devil, his angels, or the sons of perdition, should ever be restored; for their state of destiny was not revealed to man, is not revealed, nor ever shall be revealed, save to those who are made partakers thereof; consequently those who teach this doctrine have not received it of the spirit of the Lord. Truly Brother Oliver declared it to be the doctrine of devils. We, therefore,

command that this doctrine be taught no more in Zion. \* \* \* The number of disciples in Kirtland is about one hundred and fifty. We have commenced building the House of the Lord, in this place, and it goes on rapidly. Good news from the east and south of the success of the laborers is often saluting our ears. It is a general time of health among us; families all well, and day and night we pray for the salvation of Zion."

July 2, 1833, Joseph finished the translation of the Bible, and on the 23rd the corner stones of the Kirtland Temple were laid. (See *Kirtland Temple*, page 74.)

On the 2nd of August the Prophet received a comforting revelation concerning the Saints in Missouri (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 97), and on the 6th another revelation commanding the Saints to observe the constitutional laws of the land, to forgive their enemies and cultivate a spirit of charity towards all men. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 98.)

A few days later John Murdock was called to the ministry by revelation. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 99.)

In the beginning of September Oliver Cowdery arrived at Kirtland as a special messenger from the Saints in Missouri, bringing news of the persecutions, the destruction of the printing office, etc., in Jackson County. Arrangements were made to dispatch Elders Orson Hyde and John Gould to Missouri, with advice to the Saints in their unfortunate situation.

September 11, 1833, Joseph Smith, Frederick G. Williams, Sidney Rigdon, Newell K. Whitney and Oliver Cowdery (delegate from the Saints in Missouri) met in council to consider the expediency of establishing a printing press in Kirtland. It was resolved that such a press be established and "conducted under the firm name of F. G. Williams & Co., and that a

periodical entitled *The Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* be published; also that the *Star*, formerly published in Jackson County, Mo., be printed by the new firm at Kirtland." Soon afterward Oliver Cowdery and Bishop Whitney were sent to New York to purchase a press and other necessary material for a printing office.

The following is Joseph's own account of a missionary trip made by him to Canada:

"On the 5th of October, 1833, I started on a journey east, and to Canada, in company with Elders Rigdon and Freeman Nickerson, and arrived the same day at Lamb's Tavern, in Ashtabula; and the day following, the Sabbath, we arrived at Springfield, whilst the brethren were in meeting, and Elder Rigdon spoke to the congregation. A large and attentive congregation assembled at Brother Rudd's in the evening, to whom we bore our testimony.

"We continued at Springfield until the 8th of October, when we removed to Brother Roundy's at Elk Creek; and, continuing our journey, on the evening of the 9th arrived at a tavern, and on the 10th, at Brother Job Lewis', in Westfield, where we met the brethren according to previous appointment, and spoke to them as the Spirit gave utterance, greatly to their gratification. \* \* \*

"On the day following (Oct. 13th) Elder Rigdon preached to a large congregation, at Freeman Nickerson's, and I bore record, while the Lord gave us his spirit in a remarkable manner.

"Monday, 14th. Continued our journey towards Canada, and arrived at Lodi, where we had an appointment, and preached in the evening to a small

assembly, and made an appointment for Tuesday, the 15th at 10 o'clock a. m., to be in the Presbyterian meeting-house. When the hour arrived, the keeper of the house refused to open the doors, and the meeting was thus prevented. We came immediately away, leaving the people in great confusion, and continued our journey till Friday, the 18th, when we arrived at the house of Freeman A. Nickerson, in Upper Canada, having passed through a fine and well-cultivated country, after entering the province, and having had many peculiar feelings in relation to both the country and people. We were kindly received by Freeman A. Nickerson, who lived at Mount Pleasant, which was near Brantford, the county seat of Brant County.

"Sunday, 20th. At ten o'clock, we met an attentive congregation at Brantford; and the same evening a large assembly at Mount Pleasant, at Mr. Nickerson's. The people gave good heed to the things spoken.

"Tuesday, 22nd. We went to the village of Colburn, and although it snowed severely, we held a meeting by candle light on Wednesday evening, and were publicly opposed by a Wesleyan Methodist. He was very tumultuous, but exhibited a great lack of reason, knowledge, and wisdom, and gave us no opportunity to reply.

"Thursday, 24th. At the house of Mr. Beman, in Colburn, whence we left for Waterford, where we spoke to a small congregation, occasioned by the rain; thence to Mount Pleasant, and preached to a large congregation the same evening, when Freeman A. Nickerson and his wife declared their belief in the work, and offered themselves for baptism. Great excite-

ment prevailed in every place we visited.

"Saturday, 25th. Preached at Mount Pleasant; the people were very tender and inquiring.

"Sunday, 27th. Preached to a large congregation at Mount Pleasant, after which I baptized twelve, and others were deeply impressed, and desired another meeting, which I appointed for the day following.

"Monday, 28th. In the evening we broke bread, and laid on hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost and for confirmation, having baptized two more. The Spirit was given in great power to some, and peace to others.

"Tuesday, 29th. After preaching at 10 o'clock a. m., I baptized two, and confirmed them at the water's side. Last evening we ordained Freeman Nickerson an Elder; and one of the sisters received the gift of tongues, which made the Saints rejoice exceedingly. \* \* \*

"We took our departure from Mount Pleasant, on our return to Kirtland, and arrived at Buffalo, New York, on the 31st.

"Friday, November 1st, I left Buffalo, New York, at 8 o'clock a. m., and arrived at my house in Kirtland on Monday, the 4th, 10 a. m., and found my family well, according to the promise of the Lord in the revelation of October 12th, for which I felt to thank my heavenly Father."

Under the date of November 19th the Prophet records the following:

"My heart is somewhat sorrowful, but I feel to trust in the Lord, the God of Jacob. I have learned in my travels that man is treacherous and selfish, but few excepted. \* \* \* The man who willet to do well, we should extol his virtues, and speak

not of his faults behind his back. A man who wilfully turneth away from his friend without a cause, is not easily forgiven. The kindness of a man should never be forgotten. That person who never forsaketh his trust, should ever have the highest place of regard in our hearts, and our love should never fail, but increase more and more, and this is my disposition and these my sentiments.

November 25th, Elders Orson Hyde and John Gould returned to Kirtland from Missouri, bringing the melancholy intelligence of the mobbings and persecutions in Jackson County. A few days later the Prophet received communications from W. W. Phelps, Bishop Partridge and other leading men in Missouri, giving the particulars of the expulsion of the Saints from Jackson County the month previous.

On the 10th of December, Joseph wrote a lengthy communication addressed to Edward Partridge, William W. Phelps, John Whitmer, A. Sidney Gilbert, John Corryll, Isaac Morley and the Saints generally, of which the following are extracts:

"I cannot learn from any communication by the Spirit to me, that Zion has forfeited her claim to a celestial crown, notwithstanding the Lord has caused her to be thus afflicted, except it may be some individuals, who have walked in disobedience, and forsaken the new covenant; all such will be made manifest by their works in due time. I have always expected that Zion would suffer some affliction, from what I could learn from the commandments which have been given. But I would remind you of a certain clause in one which says, that after much tribulation cometh the blessing. By this, and also others, and also one received of late, I know that Zion, in the due time of the Lord, will be redeemed; but how many will be the days of her purification, tribulation and affliction, the Lord has kept hid from my eyes; and when I inquire concerning this subject, the voice of the Lord is: Be still, and know that I am God! All

those who suffer for my name shall reign with me, and he that layeth down his life for my sake shall find it again. Now, there are two things of which I am ignorant; and the Lord will not show them unto me, perhaps for a wise purpose in himself—I mean in some respects—and they are these: Why God has suffered so great a calamity to come upon Zion, and what the great moving cause of this great affliction is; and again, by what means he will return her back to her inheritance, with songs of everlasting joy upon her head. These two things, brethren, are in part kept back that they are not plainly shown unto me; but there are some things that are plainly manifested which have incurred the displeasure of the Almighty.

“When I contemplate upon all things that have been manifested, I am aware that I ought not to murmur, and do not murmur only in this, that those who are innocent are compelled to suffer for the iniquities of the guilty; and I cannot account for this, only on this wise, that the saying of the Savior has not been strictly observed: ‘If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; or if thy right arm offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee.’ Now the fact is, if any of the members of our body is disordered, the rest of our body will be affected with it, and then all are brought into bondage together; and yet, notwithstanding all this, it is with difficulty that I can restrain my feelings when I know that you, my brethren, with whom I have had so many happy hours—sitting, as it were, in heavenly places in Christ Jesus; and also, having the witness which I feel, and ever have felt, of the purity of your motives—are cast out, and are as strangers and pilgrims on the earth, exposed to hunger, cold, nakedness, peril, sword—I say, when I contemplate this, it is with difficulty that I can keep from complaining and murmuring against this dispensation; but I am sensible that this is not right, and may God grant, that notwithstanding your great afflictions and sufferings, there may not anything separate us from the love of Christ.

“Brethren, when we learn your sufferings, it awakens every sympathy of our hearts; it weighs us down; we cannot refrain from tears, yet, we are not able to realize, only in part, your sufferings; and I often hear the brethren saying, they wish they were with you, that they might bear a part of your sufferings; and I myself should have been with you, had not God prevented it in the order of his providence, that the yoke of affliction might be

less grievous upon you, God having forewarned me, concerning these things, for your sakes; and also, Elder Cowdery could not lighten your afflictions by tarrying longer with you, for his presence would have so much the more enraged your enemies; therefore God hath dealt mercifully with us.

“O brethren, let us be thankful that it is as well with us as it is, and we are yet alive, and peradventure, God hath laid up in store great good for us in this generation, and may grant that we may yet glorify his name.

“I feel thankful that there have no more denied the faith; I pray God in the name of Jesus Christ that you all may be kept in the faith unto the end; let your sufferings be what they may, it is better in the eyes of God that you should die than that you should give up the land of Zion, the inheritances which you have purchased with your moneys; for every man that giveth not up his inheritance, though he should die, yet, when the Lord shall come, he shall stand upon it, and with Job, in his flesh he shall see God. Therefore, this is my counsel, that you retain your lands, even unto the uttermost, and employ every lawful means to seek redress of your enemies; and pray to God, day and night, to return you in peace and in safety to the lands of your inheritance; and when the judge fails you, appeal unto the executive; and when the executive fails you, appeal unto the President; and when the President fails you, and all laws fail you, and the humanity of the people fails you, and all things else fail you but God alone, and you continue to weary him with your importunings, as the poor woman did the unjust judge, he will not fail to execute judgment upon your enemies, and to avenge his own elect that cry unto him day and night.

“Behold, he will not fail you! He will come with ten thousand of his Saints, and all his adversaries shall be destroyed with the breath of his lips! All those who keep their inheritances, notwithstanding they should be beaten and driven, shall be likened unto the wise virgins who took oil in their lamps. But all those who are unbelieving and fearful will be likened unto the foolish virgins, who took no oil in their lamps; and when they shall return and say unto the Saints, Give us of your lands—behold, there will be no room found for them. As respects giving deeds, I would advise you to give deeds as far as the brethren have legal and just claims for them, and then let every man answer to God for the disposal of them. \* \* \*

"Now hear the prayer of your unworthy brother in the new and everlasting covenant:—O my God! Thou who hast called and chosen a few, through thy weak instrument, by commandment and sent them to Missouri, a place which thou didst call Zion, and commanded thy servants to consecrate it unto thyself for a place of refuge and safety for the gathering of thy Saints, to be built up a holy city unto thyself; and as thou hast said that no other place should be appointed like unto this, therefore, I ask thee, in the name of Jesus Christ, to return thy people unto their houses and their inheritances, to enjoy the fruit of their labors; that all the waste places may be built up; that all the enemies of thy people, who will not repent and turn unto thee, may be destroyed from off the face of the land; and let a house be built and established unto thy name; and let all the losses that thy people have sustained be rewarded unto them, even more than four-fold, that the borders of Zion may be enlarged forever; and let her be established no more to be thrown down; and let all thy Saints, when they are scattered as sheep, and are persecuted, flee unto Zion, and be established in the midst of her; and let her be organized according to thy law; and let this prayer ever be recorded before thy face. Give thy Holy Spirit unto my brethren, unto whom I write; send thine angels to guard them, and deliver them from all evil; and when they turn their faces toward Zion, and bow down before thee and pray, may their sins never come up before thy face, neither have place in the book of thy remembrance; and may they depart from all their iniquities. Provide food for them as thou doest for the ravens; provide clothing to cover their nakedness, and houses that they may dwell therein; give unto them friends in abundance, let their names be recorded in the Lamb's book of life, eternally before thy face. Amen."

A few days later (December 16th) Joseph received a revelation, in which the Lord said, that he had allowed these afflictions to come upon the inhabitants of Zion in consequence of their transgressions, but that he would still be merciful unto them and in his own due time permit the pure in heart to return to their inheritances. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 101.)

Oliver Cowdery and Bishop Whitney, who some time previous had been sent to New York to purchase a new press, type, etc., for a printing office, and also merchandise wherewith to stock a store which they intended to open in Kirtland, returned to the latter place December 1st, and on the 18th "the printing press, and all that pertained thereto, was dedicated to God by Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon; after which they commenced to publish *The Evening and Morning Star*, with Oliver Cowdery as editor." On the same day Joseph Smith, sen., the Prophet's father, was ordained to the office of Patriarch to the Church. (See Page 89.)

December 19th, William Pratt and David W. Patten left Kirtland for Missouri, bearing dispatches from the First Presidency to the exiled Saints.

December 26, 1835, Joseph received a revelation concerning Lyman Sherman. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 108.)

#### CHAPTER 7.

The first High Council of the Church is organized.—Dr. Hurlburt's annoyances.—Conference in New Portage.—Zion's Camp.—The *Messenger and Advocate* first published.—Joseph visits the Saints in Michigan.—The law of tithing introduced.

January 22, 1834, the Presidency in Kirtland wrote a comforting letter to the Saints in Missouri, which they forwarded together with a copy of the revelation given December 16, 1833. Some means which had been gathered among the eastern branches for the relief of the exiled Saints was also sent.

February 17, 1834, the first High Council of the Church was organized in Joseph Smith's house in Kirtland, agreeable to revelation; 24 High Priests were present on that occasion,

and by their unanimous vote Joseph Smith, jun., Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams were acknowledged as presidents, and Joseph Smith, sen., John Smith, Joseph Coe, John Johnson, Martin Harris, John S. Carter, Jacob Carter, Oliver Cowdery, Samuel H. Smith, Orson Hyde, Sylvester Smith and Luke S. Johnson were chosen as members of the council, which was appointed by revelation for the purpose of settling important difficulties that might arise in the Church, which could not be settled by the Church or the Bishop's council to the satisfaction of the parties. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 102.) In the next meeting held on the 19th, Joseph laid his hands on the twelve councilors and the assistant presidents and blessed them. He also gave excellent instructions in regard to the duties connected with their high and important calling. There being at that time a number of complaints against some of the brethren and several cases of importance to consider, the council was soon busy in regular sessions.

Previous to this an apostate by the name of Doctor P. Hurlburt had visited the State of New York, and there gathered up all the ridiculous stories that could be invented, and had even secured some affidavits respecting the character of Joseph and the Smith family, which subsequently were proven to be absolutely false. With these papers he returned to Ohio and stirred up much indignation against Joseph and the Church by lecturing before numerous congregations in Chagrin, Kirtland, Mentor, Painesville and other places. He even threatened that he would take Joseph's life, if he could not destroy "Mormonism" by any other means. For these threats he was ar-

rested, and after an impartial trial in the town of Chardon bound over in the sum of \$200 to keep the peace in six months, and also to pay the costs of suit, which amounted to about three hundred dollars.

On the 24th of February Joseph received a revelation, in which the Lord commanded him to gather the strength of the Church, the young and middle-aged men, from the various branches in the East, and march with them to Missouri to redeem Zion. Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, Frederick G. Williams, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight were called by revelation to go out two and two in different directions and gather the men and preach to the people. Joseph and Parley P. Pratt were to travel together. (Doc. and Cov., Sec. 103.) They left Kirtland February 26th and traveled eastward to the State of New York, visiting the several branches of the Church on their way and also held meetings with strangers wherever they had opportunity to do so. On several occasions they spoke to large congregations and bore powerful testimonies of the restoration of the fullness of the gospel, which in several places bore good fruit. In Freedom, Cataraugus County, New York, they baptized Heman Hyde, and in a short time a branch of 30 or 40 members was organized there. In Genesee they met Sidney Rigdon and other brethren from Kirtland, and together with them they held a conference at Avon, Livingston County, New York, March 16th, where considerable business was transacted in the interest of the Church. From this conference Joseph returned to Kirtland, where he arrived March 28th, having been absent

about a month and had a pleasant and successful journey. The Spirit of God rested upon many of the young and middle-aged men of the Church, who cheerfully volunteered to go to Missouri to aid their suffering brethren. It was after Joseph's return from this trip that he met in the court at Chardon against Doctor Hurlburt with the above-mentioned result.

Joseph writes: "April 18th, 1834, in company with Elders Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery and Zebedee Coltrin, I left Kirtland for New Portage, to attend a conference; dined at W. W. Williams', in Newburgh, and continuing our journey, after dark, we were hailed by a man who desired to ride. We were checked by the Spirit, and refused. He professed to be sick, but in a few minutes was joined by two others, who followed us hard, cursing and swearing; but we were successful in escaping their hands, through the providence of the Lord, and stayed that night at a tavern where we were treated with civility.

"On the 19th, we continued our journey, dined at Brother Joseph Bosworth's, in Copley, Medina County. Brother Bosworth was strong in the faith, and, if faithful, may do much good. We arrived the same day at Brother Jonathan Taylor's, in Norton, where we were received with kindness. We soon retired to the wilderness, where we united in prayer and supplication for the blessings of the Lord to be given unto his Church. We called upon the Father in the name of Jesus, to go with the brethren who were going to the land of Zion; and that I might have strength, and wisdom, and understanding sufficient to lead the people of the Lord, and to gather and establish the

Saints upon the land of their inheritances, and organize them according to the will of Heaven, that they may be no more cast down for ever. We then united in the laying on of hands.

"Elders Rigdon, Cowdery and Coltrin laid their hands on my head, and conferred upon me all the blessings necessary to qualify me to stand before the Lord, in my calling, and return again in peace and triumph, to enjoy the society of my brethren.

"Those present then laid their hands upon the head of Elder Rigdon, and confirmed upon him the blessings of wisdom and knowledge to preside over the Church in my absence; also to have the spirit to assist Elder Cowdery in conducting the *Star*. \* \* \*

"Previous to blessing Elder Rigdon, we laid hands on Elder Oliver Cowdery, and confirmed upon him the blessings of wisdom and understanding sufficient for his station, that he be qualified to assist Elder Rigdon in arranging the Church Book of Covenants, which is soon to be published; and have intelligence in all things to do the work of printing.

"After blessing Elder Rigdon, we laid our hands upon Brother Zebedee Coltrin, and confirmed the blessing of wisdom to preach the gospel, even till it spreads to the islands of the seas, and to be spared to see three score years and ten, and see Zion built up, and Kirtland established for ever, and even at last to receive a crown of life. Our hearts rejoiced, and we were comforted with the Holy Spirit."

After attending the conference in New Portage on the 21st of April, Joseph returned to Kirtland, where



he, on the 23rd, received a revelation concerning the United Order, which the Lord desired to introduce among the Saints. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 104.)

In a conference held in Kirtland, May 3rd, the Church, agreeable to the will of the Lord, was first named "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

On the 5th Joseph left Kirtland with about one hundred armed men, (see *Zion's Camp*) and arrived, after a long and difficult journey, in Missouri. Joseph visited Jackson County on the 1st of July, organized a High Council (the second in the Church) in Clay County on the 3rd, and in a number of meetings, which he subsequently attended, gave the members of the council and other officers of the Church, as well as the brethren of the Camp, much valuable instructions. (See *Clay County*.)

On the 9th Joseph and his brother Hyrum and some other Elders started from Clay County, to return to Kirtland, Ohio, where Joseph arrived by stage about the 1st of August, having had a tedious journey in the midst of enemies, mobs, cholera and excessively hot weather. He had parted with the brethren who started from Missouri with him at various points of the journey. On the morning of the day on which Joseph and his companions passed through Richmond, Indiana, on the homeward journey, a paper published at that place contained an article, stating that Joseph Smith and his company had fought a battle with the Missourians, that he (Joseph) had been wounded in the leg, that the wound was so severe that his leg had been amputated, and that three days after losing his leg he had died. Jo-

seph and his brother Hyrum called on the editor, but it was with difficulty that he could be persuaded to believe that the story he had published was false.

After Joseph's return to Kirtland, a council was convened, in which all his proceedings during his journey to and from Missouri were thoroughly investigated. Sylvester Smith, who had been a member of the Camp, had circulated many stories about Joseph's conduct, and had tried to blacken his character in various ways. In order to correct these falsehoods the Elders called this council, in which the brethren who had traveled in Joseph's company gave their testimony, and after due examination the council published to the Church and the brethren scattered abroad that they were perfectly satisfied with his conduct, having learned from the clearest evidence that he had acted in every respect worthy of his high and responsible station in the Church. The council subsequently had the case of Sylvester Smith under consideration, and to retain his standing in the Church he had to confess that he had maliciously told falsehoods about Joseph.

For about six weeks Joseph remained in Kirtland, during which time he was busily engaged in public labors. He presided over the High Council, met in conference with the Elders and the Saints, acted as general supervisor of the building of the Lord's House, and was foreman in the Temple stone quarry, where he, when other duties would permit, often labored with his own hands. Besides all this labor he had the general oversight of the printing office, in which capacity he discontinued the

publication of the *Evening and Morning Star*, and commenced to issue *The Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*. To witness the Saints in the midst of poverty and hardships respond so cheerfully with their time and means for the building of the Lord's House and for other purposes, was indeed a source of the greatest satisfaction to the youthful Prophet, who was always on hand to bless and encourage them.

"Having accomplished all that could be done at present," writes the Prophet, "I, in company with my brother Hyrum Smith and Elders David Whitmer, Frederick G. Williams, Oliver Cowdery and Roger Orton, left Kirtland on the 16th of October, 1834, for the purpose of visiting some Saints in the State of Michigan, where, after a tolerably pleasant journey, we arrived at Pontiac on the 20th.

"While on our way up the lake on board the steamer *Monroe*, Elder Cowdery had a short discussion with a man calling his name Elmer. He said that he was 'personally acquainted with Joe Smith, had heard him preach his lies, and now, since he was dead, he was glad! He had heard Joe Smith preach in Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York, five years since; he knew it to be him, that he was a dark complexioned man,' etc. Elmer appeared to exult most in that 'Joe' was dead, and made his observations in my presence. I concluded he had learned it from the popular priests of the day, who, through fear that their craft will be injured, if their systems are compared with the truth, seek to ridicule those that teach the truth; and thus I am suffering under the tongue of slander, for Christ's

sake, unceasingly. God have mercy on such, if they will quit their lying. I need not state my complexion to those that have seen me, and those who have read my history thus far will recollect that five years ago I was not a preacher, as Elmer represented; neither did I ever preach in Bainbridge.

"After preaching, and teaching the Saints, in Michigan as long as our time would allow, we returned to Kirtland, greatly refreshed from our journey, and much pleased with our friends in that section of the Lord's vineyard. \* \* \*

"No month ever found me more busily engaged than November; but as my life consisted of activity and unyielding exertions, I made this my rule: When the Lord commands, do it."

November 25th Joseph received a revelation to Warren A. Cowdery, who was appointed presiding High Priest over the "Church in Freedom and the regions round about." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 106.) On the 28th the Prophet attended a meeting of the High Council, where Elders John H. and Joseph W. Tippits, delegates from the Church at Lewis, Essex County, New York, gave an account of \$848, which the Saints at that place had gathered, for purchasing land in Misiroui, agreeable to revelation.

"On the evening of the 29th of November" writes Joseph, "I united in prayer with Brother Oliver, for the continuance of blessings. After giving thanks for the relief which the Lord had lately sent us by opening the hearts of the brethren from the east to loan us 430 dollars; after commencing and rejoicing before the Lord on this occasion, we agreed to enter

into the following covenant with the Lord, viz., That if the Lord will prosper us in our business, and open the way before us, that we may obtain means to pay our debts, that we be not troubled nor brought into disrepute before the world, nor his people; after that, of all that he shall give unto us, we will give a tenth, to be bestowed upon the poor in his Church, or as he shall command; and that we will be faithful over that which he has entrusted to our care, that we may obtain much; and that our children after us shall remember to observe this sacred and holy covenant; and that our children, and our children's children, may know of the same, we have subscribed our names with our own hands.

(Signed) JOSEPH SMITH, jun.,  
OLIVER COWDERY."

This was the first introduction of the law of tithing among the Latter-day Saints.

December 5, 1834, Joseph ordained Oliver Cowdery an assistant president in the First Presidency.

#### CHAPTER 8.

The Elders' school established—The Twelve Apostles called and set apart for the ministry.—The first quorum of the Seventies organized.—Egyptian Mummies and Papyrus.—The Book of Abraham translated and published.—The Book of Doctrine and Covenants accepted as a law and rule for the Church.—William Smith's conduct is the cause of much grief to Joseph.—A Hebrew school established in Kirtland.—False doctrines denounced.—Important items of instructions.—Mary Smith's death.—Joseph makes a missionary trip to Massachusetts.

During the month of January, 1835, Joseph was engaged in the school of the Elders and preparing lectures on theology for publication in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. During

the winter the school, which was held in the lower story of the printing-office building, was well attended, and with the lectures on theology, which were regularly delivered, absorbed for the time being everything else of a temporal nature. The classes being mostly Elders, gave the most studious attention to the all-important object of qualifying themselves as messengers of Jesus Christ, to be ready to do his will in carrying glad tidings to all that would open their eyes, ears and hearts. The following spring Wm. E. McLellin, one of the principal teachers of the school, said in his report: "The school has been conducted under the immediate care and inspection of Joseph Smith, jun., Frederick G. Williams, Sidney Rigdon and Oliver Cowdery, trustees. When the school first commenced, we received into it both large and small; but in about three weeks the classes became so large, and the house so crowded, that it was thought advisable to dismiss all the small students, and continue those only who wished to study the sciences of penmanship, arithmetic, English grammar and geography. Before we dismissed the small scholars, there were in all about one hundred and thirty who attended; since that time there have been, upon an average, about one hundred, the most of whom have received lectures upon English grammar; and for the last four weeks, about seventy have been studying geography one half the day, and grammar and writing the other part. T. Burdick's Arithmetic, S. Kirkham's Grammar and J. Olney's Geography have been used, with Noah Webster's Dictionary as standard. Since the year 1827, I have taught school in five different

States, and visited many schools in which I was not engaged as teacher; but in none, I can say with certainty, have I seen students make more rapid progress than in this."

On Sunday, February 8, 1835, when Brigham and Joseph Young came to Joseph Smith's house after meeting and sang for him, the spirit of the Lord was poured out upon them, and the Prophet told them that he wanted to see those brethren together who went up to Zion in the camp the previous summer, for he had a blessing for them. Consequently, a meeting was held on the 14th of February, in which Joseph himself presided. He read the 15th chapter of St. John, an appropriate and affecting prayer was offered, after which the brethren who had belonged to the camp were requested to take their seats together in a part of the house by themselves.

Joseph then made a lengthy speech, in which he related some of the circumstances, trials and sufferings attending the camp while journeying to Zion, and said that God had not designed all this for nothing, but had it in remembrance yet; and it was his will that those who thus went to Zion with a determination to lay down their lives, if necessary, "should be ordained to the ministry and go forth to prune the vineyard for the last time, or the coming of the Lord, which was nigh—*even fifty-six years should wind up the scene.*"

The meeting was continued in the afternoon, and after opening with prayer, Joseph said that the first business to be done was for the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon, namely, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer and Martin Harris, to pray, each one, and

then proceed to choose twelve men from the Church to be ordained Apostles and to go to all nations, kindreds, tongues and people. The Three Witnesses were then blessed by the laying on of hands of the Presidency, after which they, agreeable to the revelation given in June, 1829 (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 18), proceeded to make choice of twelve Apostles in the following order: Lyman E. Johnson, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, David W. Patten, Luke S. Johnson, Wm. E. McLellin, John F. Boynton, Orson Pratt, William Smith, Thos. B. Marsh and Parley P. Pratt. (See page 13.)

In a subsequent meeting Joseph, in speaking to the Twelve, said:

"Since the Twelve are now chosen, I wish to tell them a course which they may pursue, and be benefited thereafter, in a point of light which they are not now aware. If they will, every time they assemble, appoint a person to preside over them during the meeting, and one or more to keep a record of their proceedings, and on the decision of every question or item, be it what it may, let such decision be written, and such decision will forever remain upon record, and appear an item of covenant or doctrine. An item thus decided may appear, at the time, of little or no worth, but should it be published, and one of you lay hands on it after, you will find it of infinite worth, not only to your brethren, but it will be a feast to your own souls.

"Here is another important item. If you assemble from time to time, and proceed to discuss important questions, and pass decisions upon the same, and fail to note them down, by and by you will be driven to straits from which you will not be able to extricate yourselves, because you may be in a situation not to bring your faith to bear with sufficient perfection or power to obtain the desired information; or, perhaps, for neglecting to write these things when God had revealed them, not esteeming them of sufficient worth, the Spirit may withdraw, and God may be angry; and there is, or was, a vast knowledge of infinite importance which is now lost. What was the cause of this? It came in consequence of slothfulness, or a neglect to appoint a man to occupy a few moments in writing all these decisions. Here

let me prophesy: The time will come when, if you neglect to do this thing, you will fall by the hands of unrighteous men. Were you to be brought before the authorities, and be accused of any crime or misdemeanor, and be as innocent as the angels of God, unless you can prove yourselves to have been somewhere else, your enemies will prevail over you; but if you can bring twelve men to testify that you were in a certain place at that time, you will escape their hands. Now, if you will be careful to keep minutes of these things, as I have said, it will be one of the most important records ever seen; for all such decisions will ever after remain as items of doctrine and covenants."

On the same occasion the Prophet, in answer to the question: What importance is there attached to the calling of these Twelve Apostles different from the other callings or officers of the Church? said:

"They are the Twelve Apostles, who are called to the office of the Traveling High Council, who are to preside over the churches of the Saints among the Gentiles where there is a presidency established; and they are to travel and preach among the Gentiles, until the Lord shall command them to go to the Jews. They are to hold the keys of this ministry, to unlock the door of the Kingdom of Heaven unto all nations, and to preach the gospel to every creature. This is the power, authority and virtue of their Apostleship."

"On the 28th (February, 1835)," writes Joseph, "the Church in council assembled, commenced selecting certain individuals to be Seventies from the number of those who went up to Zion with me, in camp; and the following are the names of those who were ordained and blessed at that time, to begin the organization of the First Quorum of Seventy, according to the visions and revelations which I have received; the Seventies to constitute traveling quorums, to go into all the earth, whithersoever the Twelve Apostles shall call them: Hiram Winters, Elias Hutchins, Henry Shibley, Roger Orton, J. B. Smith, Harvey

Stanley, Jedediah M. Grant, Lyman Sherman, Joseph Hancock, Lyman Smith, Peter Buchanan, David Elliot, Almon W. Babbitt, Levi Gifford, Joseph B. Noble, Lorenzo Booth, Zera S. Cole, Leonard Rich, Harrison Burgess, Alden Burdick, William F. Cahoon, Harper Riggs, Bradford Elliot, Burr Riggs, Lewis Robbins, Darwin Richardson, Joseph Young, Alexander Badlam, Zebedee Coltrin, Solomon Angell, John D. Parker, Daniel Stearns, Hiram Stratten, Sylvester Smith, William Pratt, Ezra Thayer, Levi W. Hancock, Solomon Warner, Israel Barlow, Willard Snow, Hazen Aldrich, Charles Kelly, Jenkins Salisbury, George A. Smith, Nathan B. Baldwin."

The council adjourned until the following day (March 1st), when the work of ordaining and blessing those previously called was continued. Joseph Young and Sylvester Smith were ordained presidents of Seventies. In speaking to a council of leading authorities a few weeks later (May 2nd), the Prophet said:

"If the first Seventy are all employed, and there is a call for more laborers, it will be the duty of the seven presidents of the first Seventy to call and ordain other Seventy and send them forth to labor in the vineyard, until, if needs be, they set apart seven times seventy, and even until there are one hundred and forty and four thousand thus set apart for the ministry. \* \* \* The Twelve and Seventy have particularly to depend upon their ministry for their support, and that of their families; and they have a right, by virtue of their offices, to call upon the churches to assist them."

On March 7th and 8th, 1835, 119 of those brethren who by their labor or means had assisted in building the Lord's House in Kirtland were blessed by the laying on of hands by the First Presidency. Many of them were or-

daind Elders and had great promises and blessings pronounced upon them because of their diligence in rearing a Temple to God's honor and glory. They were all willing to continue their labors until the building was completed.

March 28th, the Twelve Apostles met in council in Kirtland and had a time of general confession. As a body they unitedly asked God to grant unto them, through his Seer, a revelation of his mind and will concerning their duties which might cheer and comfort them on their journeys. This desire they made known to the Prophet, who, in compliance with their request, inquired of the Lord, and received the very important revelation on Priesthood, which constitutes the 107th section of the Doctrine and Covenants.

On the 4th of May the Twelve left Kirtland on a mission to the Eastern States. According to previous arrangement they attended a number of conferences with the Saints in New York, Vermont, Massachusetts, Maine and Canada, where they also held many meetings among strangers and arranged the affairs of the various branches and conferences. From this mission they returned September 21st following.

Joseph writes: "About the middle of May Wm. W. Phelps and John Whitmer, presidents of the Church in Missouri, arrived at Kirtland, and John Whitmer was appointed to take the place of President Oliver Cowdery, in conducting the *Messenger and Advocate*. Frederick G. Williams was appointed to edit the *Northern Times*, a weekly newspaper, which had commenced in February last, in favor of Democracy; and Wm. W. Phelps (with

his son Waterman) made his home with my family, and assisted the committee in compiling the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. \* \* \*

"Thursday, June 18th, \$950 were subscribed for the Temple by the Saints in Kirtland. Great anxiety was manifest to roll on the work. \* \* \*

"Thursday, June 25th, there was a meeting in Kirtland to subscribe for the building of the Temple; and \$6,232.50 was added to the list. Joseph Smith subscribed \$500; Oliver Cowdery, \$750; Wm. W. Phelps, \$500; John Whitmer, \$500; and Frederick G. Williams, \$500, of the above. All of which they paid within one hour, and the people were astonished.

"On the 3rd of July, Michael H. Chandler came to Kirtland to exhibit some Egyptian mummies. There were four human figures, together with some two or more rolls of papyrus covered with hieroglyphic figures and devices. As Mr. Chandler had been told I could translate them, he brought me some of the characters, and I gave him the interpretation, and, like a gentleman, he gave me the following certificate:

"Kirtland, July 6, 1835.

"This is to make known to all, who may be desirous, concerning the knowledge of Mr. Joseph Smith, jun., in deciphering the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic characters in my possession, which I have, in many eminent cities, showed to the most learned; and, from the information that I could ever learn, or meet with, I find that of Mr. Joseph Smith, jun., to correspond in the most minute matters.

"MICHAEL H. CHANDLER,

Traveling with, and Proprietor of, *Egyptian Mummies*."

Soon after this, some of the Saints purchased the mummies and papyrus, and Joseph, with Wm. W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery as scribes, commenced the translation of some of the char-

acters or hieroglyphics, when much to their joy they found that one of the rolls contained the writings of Abraham, another the writings of Joseph of Egypt, etc.

The roll containing the writings of Abraham was translated by Joseph and subsequently published under the name of the Book of Abraham in the *Times and Seasons*, a paper published in Nauvoo, Illinois, and still later in the Pearl of Great Price, where the reader now can find it.

"The record of Abraham and Joseph, found with the mummies," writes Joseph, "is beautifully written on papyrus, with black, and a small part red, ink or paint, in perfect preservation. The characters are such as you find upon the coffins of mummies—hieroglyphics, etc., with many characters or letters like the present (though probably not quite so square) form of the Hebrew without points. The records were obtained from one of the catacombs in Egypt, near the place where once stood the renowned city of Thebes, by the celebrated French traveler, Antonio Sebolo, in the year 1831. He procured license from Mehemet Ali, then Viceroy of Egypt, under the protection of Chevalier Drovetti, the French consul, in the year 1828, and employed 433 men four months and two days (if I understand correctly)—Egyptian or Turkish soldiers, at from four to six cents per diem, each man. He entered the catacomb June 7, 1831, and obtained eleven mummies. There were several hundred mummies in the same catacomb; about one hundred embalmed after the first order, and placed in niches, and two or three hundred after the second and third orders, and laid upon the floor or bottom of the grand

cavity. The two last orders of embalmed were so decayed, that they could not be removed, and only eleven of the first found in the niches. On his way from Alexandria to Paris, he put in at Trieste, and, after ten days' illness, expired. This was in the year 1832. Previous to his decease, he made a will of the whole to Mr. Michael H. Chandler (then in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), his nephew, whom he supposed to be in Ireland. Accordingly, the whole were sent to Dublin, and Mr. Chandler's friends ordered them to New York, where they were received at the custom-house in the winter or spring of 1833. In April of the same year, Mr. Chandler paid the duties, and took possession of his mummies. Up to this time, they had not been taken out of the coffins, nor the coffins opened. On opening the coffins, he discovered that in connection with two of the bodies was something rolled up with the same kind of linen, saturated with the same bitumen, which, when examined, proved to be two rolls of papyrus previously mentioned. Two or three other small pieces of papyrus with astronomical calculations, epitaphs, etc., were found with others of the mummies. When Mr. Chandler discovered that there was something with the mummies, he supposed or hoped it might be some diamonds or valuable metal, and was no little chagrined when he saw his disappointment. He was immediately told, while yet in the custom-house, that there was no man in that city who could translate his roll; but was referred, by the same gentleman (a stranger), to Mr. Joseph Smith, jun., 'who,' continued he, 'possesses some kind of power or gifts by which

he had previously translated similar characters.' I was then unknown to Mr. Chandler, neither did he know that such a book or work as the record of the Nephites had been brought before the public. From New York he took his collection to Philadelphia, where he obtained the certificate of the learned, and from thence came to Kirtland, as before related, in July."

At a general assembly held in Kirtland, August 17, 1835, the Book of Doctrine and Covenants was presented to the Church for its acceptance. A committee, consisting of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery and Frederick G. Williams (appointed in a general assembly September 24, 1834), had previously been engaged in gathering and arranging the revelations and doctrines previously given in a book, which now by unanimous vote was approved and accepted as a law and rule of faith and practice to the Church.

The following testimony of the Twelve was also read to the assembly by Wm. W. Phelps:

*"The testimony of the Witnesses to the Book of the Lord's commandments, which he gave to His Church, through Joseph Smith, jun., who was appointed, by the voice of the Church, for this purpose.*

"We therefore feel willing to bear testimony to all the world of mankind, to every creature upon the face of all the earth, that the Lord has borne record to our souls, through the Holy Ghost shed forth upon us, that these commandments were given by inspiration of God, and are profitable for all men, and are verily true. We give this testimony unto the world, the Lord being our helper; and it is through the grace of God the Father, and His Son Jesus Christ, that we are permitted to have this privilege of bearing this testimony unto the world, in the which we rejoice exceedingly, praying the Lord always that the children of men may be profited thereby."

Joseph and Frederick G. Williams being absent on a visit to the Saints in Michigan, Oliver Cowdery and Sidney Rigdon presided over the meeting.

On the same occasion, Section 134 of the Doctrine & Covenants, in relation to governments and laws in general, was accepted and ordered to be printed in said book.

Joseph, having returned from his mission to Michigan August 23rd, now spent a considerable length of time in Kirtland attending to the numerous duties devolving upon him as the President of the Church, which by this time had increased to quite a large number. In Kirtland and vicinity alone there were 2,000 members. He was continually visited by strangers from different parts of the country, of whom some came to converse with him about religion, others to see the Egyptian mummies, etc. To these strangers he bore powerful testimonies of the restoration of the gospel and related the circumstances connected therewith, but as the minds of men are darkened and they love falsehoods more than truth, there were, as a matter of course, many who did not believe these things, even when listening to their recital from the Prophet's own lips. With unabating zeal he sought both in public and private to teach the brethren and the Saints generally their duties, and also worked as much as time would permit on the translation of the rolls of papyrus, in which Oliver Cowdery assisted him as scribe. He also dedicated a number of letters and communications which were published in the *Messenger and Advocate*. By all this it is easily seen that Joseph's life was a very busy one, but the Lord endowed him with the needed



gifts and qualifications to attend to every duty which he had to perform. He never seemed to grow weary of the work entrusted to him, for his love and zeal became stronger and his feelings warmer every day he lived. He constantly saw new features in it which he admired and which stimulated him to renewed exertions. The following is from the pen of Geo. Q. Cannon:

"Many were the fervent prayers which Joseph offered up to the Lord in those days for the aid which he and the brethren required to enable them to meet their engagements. He did not want himself or the brethren to be brought into disrepute or into the power of their enemies through not being able to pay any debt that might be due. On one occasion, in the month of December, 1835, twenty of the brethren united together and made a donation to Joseph of \$40.50. In speaking about the brethren's kindness he says: 'My heart swells with gratitude inexpressible, when I realize the great condescension of my Heavenly Father in opening the hearts of these my beloved brethren to administer so liberally to my wants, and I ask God, in the name of Jesus Christ, to multiply blessings upon their heads,' etc. We record this act of the brethren, and Joseph's feelings respecting it, to give our readers an idea of the value that was placed upon a small amount of means in those days. The Church was not as rich then as it is now; and a dollar was worth much more than it is now. Joseph and the leading Elders had to accomplish great works with little means. Some of those brethren, whose names are recorded as having donated this money to Jo-

seph, could to-day, if necessary, give the \$40.50 apiece, and probably much more than that sum, and not feel it as much as they did that amount when divided between twenty of them in the year 1835.

"Not for one moment did Joseph lose sight of the redemption of Zion. He and the brethren were pledged to keep it in view while life should last; accordingly we find him in December, 1835, mailing numerous petitions from people in all parts of the United States to the governor of the State of Missouri to restore the Saints to their possessions. \* \* \* These petitions had a two-fold effect: the Saints could claim that they had sought for redress in every possible way, and had not failed to try to do the Lord's will, and the rulers were left without excuse for their criminal neglect in not granting them their rights.

"During those days Joseph suffered much in his feelings through the misconduct of his brother William. Though called to be one of the Twelve Apostles, William had not obtained the mastery over himself. He was a very stubborn, violent-tempered man, impatient of contradiction and rebuke. His brother Joseph was the best friend he had, and yet he would abuse him. On one occasion (Oct. 29, 1835), at the trial of a case before the High Council, in which William Smith was complainant, Joseph objected to some testimony that was presented, which he did not deem proper. William became very much enraged at Joseph for objecting to the testimony. The next day they met for the purpose of talking the affair over, Joseph being anxious to have it settled. Hyrum Smith, their elder brother, was present. But they

could do nothing with William. He became very angry, and would not listen to anything they had to say, and left the house abruptly, declaring that he would have nothing more to do with them. He sent Joseph his Elder's license, and busied himself in trying to poison the minds of the people against the Prophet. This was a cause of great grief to Joseph, for he loved his brother and was desirous that he should be saved; but he knew that the course he had taken was very wrong, and unless he repented he would lose his standing before the Lord. William's brethren of the Twelve Apostles were anxious about him, and prayed to the Lord for him, and it is probable that he did humble himself to a certain extent, but from what followed, not as he should have done.

"Shortly after the difficulty brought about by the violence of William Smith, a debating school was established, and met in his house. Joseph met with the school (Dec. 16th) and gave the Elders some good counsel respecting debates. Some words were indulged in on the impropriety of continuing such meetings, Joseph fearing that they would not result in good. In the conversation which ensued, William's anger became excited against his brother Joseph, and, before he could be stopped, he rushed upon him in a dreadful rage, and committed violence upon his person, the effects of which Joseph carried with him to his grave. This occurred in William's house—a house which Joseph's kindness helped him to procure—and in the presence of their parents and their brother Hyrum. Joseph's feelings, on being thus treated, can not be described. To be thus abused, under any

circumstances, by a brother, would be a great cause of sorrow. But for a brother to be beaten by his brother, who occupied so exalted a station as William did—one of the Twelve Apostles—how sore must have been his grief!

"William wrote him a long letter (Dec. 18th), in which he asked forgiveness. In view of the many difficulties he had had with the Church, and the disgrace he had brought upon himself, and his strong passions, he asked that some one might be appointed to fill his place as one of the Twelve Apostles. To this letter Joseph wrote an answer, and no one can read that reply without being forcibly struck with the nobility of character which he displayed towards a brother who had so cruelly wronged him; godliness is breathed in every line. In the spirit of his high calling he said to him: Grant me the privilege of saying, that however hasty or harsh I may have spoken at any time to you, it has been done for the express purpose of endeavoring to warn, exhort, admonish and rescue you from falling into difficulties and sorrow which I foresaw you plunging into, by giving way to that wicked spirit, which you call your passions, which you should curb and break down and put under your feet, which if you do not, you never can be saved, in my view, in the Kingdom of God!' Prophetic words! which, if William had taken them to heart, would have saved him from many an evil and the wretched condition into which his conduct has since placed him. Joseph advised him to retain his Apostleship, and to rise up and make one tremendous effort and try to overcome his passions.

"A charge was preferred against William Smith before the First Presidency, but the day previous to the one appointed for the trial, Father Smith and his brother John, with his sons Hyrum, Joseph and William, met together, and he addressed them in a most feeling and pathetic manner. The Spirit of God rested upon them, and William made a most humble confession and asked Joseph's forgiveness for the abuse he had offered to him. The spirit of confession and forgiveness was mutual among them, and they covenanted to build each other up in righteousness in all things, and not to listen to evil reports concerning each other. After this meeting they unitedly laid their hands on Joseph's cousin, George A. Smith, who was much afflicted with severe rheumatic affection, which caused great pain, and he was immediately healed.

"When the council convened the next day (Jan. 2, 1836), William humbly acknowledged the charges preferred against him, and asked the forgiveness of the council and the whole congregation. The confession was accepted and he was restored to fellowship.

"Joseph had a great taste for languages. What time he had to spare he spent in acquiring them. He studied Greek, and during the winter of 1835-36 a Hebrew school was established in Kirtland, Mr. Joshua Seixas being the teacher, which the leading Elders attended. They were much blessed in their studies. Joseph, in alluding to their progress, said: 'It seems as if the Lord opened our minds in a marvelous manner to understand his word in the original language; and my prayer is that God will speedily indue us with a knowledge of all languages

and tongues, that his servants may go forth for the last time to bind up the law and seal up the testimony.'

"During those days the adversary was not idle. It required all the wisdom and power which Joseph and the Elders who were one with him in heart and feeling could exercise, to prevent dissensions and bickerings among those who were called Saints. Several of the Twelve Apostles and Seventies manifested extreme sensitiveness upon many points, being very jealous, lest they should not be honored and respected as much as they thought they were entitled to, in view of their labor and positions."

November 10, 1835, Joseph had a conversation with a man who called himself "Joshua, the Jewish minister." This man said that he possessed the spirit of his fathers, that he was a literal descendant of Matthias the Apostle, that was chosen in the place of Judas that fell; and that his spirit was resurrected in him; and that this was the way or scheme of eternal life—this transmigration of soul or spirit from father to son. He said also that he possessed the soul of Christ.

Joseph told him that his doctrine was of the devil, that he was in possession of a wicked and depraved spirit, although he professed to be the spirit of truth itself.

In the midst of Joseph's trials his brother Hyrum stood nobly by him and the most tender love and affection seemed to exist between the two brothers. In alluding to the part Hyrum took in the difficulty between William and himself, he says in reference to Hyrum: "He was perfectly satisfied with the course I had taken in rebuking him (William) in

his wickedness, but he is wounded to the very soul, because of the conduct of William; and although he feels the tender feelings of a brother towards him, yet he can but look upon his conduct as an abomination in the sight of God. And I could pray in my heart, that all my brethren were like unto my beloved brother Hyrum, who possesses the mildness of a lamb, and the integrity of a Job, and in short, the meekness and humility of Christ; and I love him with that love that is stronger than death, for I never had occasion to rebuke him, nor he me, which he declared when he left me to-day."

In speaking concerning the duties of the various officers of the Church, at a council which was held in Kirtland January 16, 1836, Joseph says: "I next proceeded to explain the duty of the Twelve, and their authority, which is next to the present Presidency, and that the arrangement of the assembly in this place on the 15th instant, in placing the High Councilors of Kirtland next the Presidency, was because the business to be transacted, was business relating to the body in particular, which was to fill the several quorums in Kirtland, not because they were first in office, and that the arrangements were the most judicious that could be made on the occasion; also the Twelve are not subject to any other than the First Presidency, viz., myself, Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams, who are now my counselors, and where I am not, there is no First Presidency over the Twelve."

Under date of January 17, 1836, Joseph writes: "I attended meeting at the school house at the usual hour; a

large congregation assembled. I proceeded to arrange the several quorums present, first the Presidency, then the Twelve, and the Seventy, who were present, also the councilors of Kirtland and Zion. President Rigdon then arose and observed that instead of preaching the time would be occupied by the Presidency and Twelve, in speaking each in turn, until they had all spoken. The Lord poured out his Spirit upon us, and the brethren began to confess their faults one to the other, and the congregation was soon overwhelmed in tears, and some of our hearts were too big for utterance. The gift of tongues came on us also, like the rushing of a mighty wind, and my soul was filled with the glory of God." Joseph continues:

"Thursday, January 21st. \* \* \* About 3 o'clock p. m. I dismissed the school, and the Presidency retired to the attic story of the printing office, where we attended to the ordinance of washing our bodies in pure water. We also perfumed our bodies and our heads, in the name of the Lord.

"At early candle-light I met with the Presidency at the west school room, in the Temple, to attend to the ordinance of anointing our heads with holy oil; also the councils of Kirtland and Zion met in the two adjoining rooms, and waited in prayer while we attended to the ordinance. I took the oil in my left hand, Father Smith being seated before me, and the remainder of the Presidency encircled him round about. We then stretched our right hands towards heaven, and blessed the oil, and consecrated it in the name of Jesus Christ.

"We then laid our hands upon our aged father (Smith) and invoked the

blessings of heaven. I then anointed his head with the consecrated oil, and sealed many blessings upon him. The Presidency then in turn laid their hands upon his head, beginning at the oldest, until they had all laid their hands upon him, and pronounced such blessings upon his head as the Lord put into their hearts, all blessing him to be our Patriarch, to anoint our heads, and attend to all duties that pertain to that office. The Presidency then took the seat in their turn, according to their age, beginning at the oldest, and received their anointing and blessing under the hands of Father Smith. And in my turn, my father anointed my head, and sealed upon me the blessings of Moses, to lead Israel in the latter-days, even as Moses led him in days of old; also the blessings of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. All of the Presidency laid their hands upon me, and pronounced upon my head many prophecies and blessings, many of which I shall not notice at this time. But as Paul said, so say I, let us come to visions and revelations."

"The heavens were opened upon us," etc. (See page 64.)

For full particulars concerning the glorious manifestations of the power of God in those days; the dedication of the Temple (March 27, 1836); the visits of the Savior, Moses, Elijah the Prophet and Elias (April 3, 1836), the reader is referred to the article on *Kirtland*, pages 62-71, and *The Kirtland Temple*, pages 74-80.

Not long after the dedication of the Temple, the Elders began to spread abroad in all parts of the land preaching the gospel. April 9th, Bishop Partridge, William W. Phelps and other leading men from Missouri, who

had been in Kirtland to attend the dedication and receive their blessings, started for home. Joseph and the principal men of Kirtland accompanied them as far as Chardon, and after staying all night, blessed them in the morning and returned to Kirtland.

The remainder of this month (April) and May Joseph devoted to the spiritual interests of the brethren, and particularly in "devising ways and means to build up Kirtland; and, in fact, the city began to spring into existence like the opening buds of the forest."

During the month of May in that year (1836) two of Joseph's uncles—Asahel and Silas Smith—arrived in Kirtland with their respective families. They brought with them their mother—Joseph's grandmother—Mary Smith, an aged lady, 93 years of age, who had traveled 500 miles to see her children. She was very much pleased and gratified to see Joseph. Her husband, Asahel Smith, Joseph's grandfather, had prophesied, long before, that there would be a Prophet raised up in his family. A short time before his death he had received the Book of Mormon, and read it nearly through, and he declared that Joseph was the very Prophet! Joseph's grandmother had lived to see her husband's prophecy fulfilled, and, in the flesh, to behold her grandson, who had been so favored of the Lord. It was but natural that she should have great joy. For ten days after her arrival in Kirtland, she enjoyed the society of her four sons and families, and then fell asleep, without sickness, pain or regret. She died on May 27th. Her maiden name was Mary Duty; she was married to Asahel Smith in Feb-

ruary, 1767, and they lived together as husband and wife for the long period of 64 years, rearing eleven children to man and womanhood. She outlived her husband five years. At the time of his death their direct descendants numbered 110.

July 25, 1836, Joseph, accompanied by his brother Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon and Oliver Cowdery, left Kirtland on a missionary trip to the East. They traveled by way of Buffalo, Albany, New York, Providence and Boston, to Salem, Massachusetts, where they remained about a month, teaching the people from house to house and preaching publicly as opportunity offered. In a revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 111) which Joseph received in Salem on August 6th, the Lord said that many in that city would embrace the gospel in due time and be gathered. While staying in Salem, they were visited by President Brigham Young, who, together with his brother Joseph, had traveled through the States of New York, Vermont and Massachusetts, preaching, baptizing and visiting relatives. From this trip Joseph returned to Kirtland in the following September.

In the fall of this year (1836) most of the Saints living in Clay County, Missouri, removed to Caldwell County, where they founded the city of Far West and other smaller settlements; during the following two years the Saints in that and adjoining counties increased in numbers to about twelve thousand souls. (See *Clay County and Far West*.)

December 31, 1836, Willard Richards was baptized at Kirtland by Brigham Young (see page 104).

## CHAPTER 9

Blessings received in the Kirtland Temple.—Apostasy in Kirtland.—Mission to England.—Joseph reduced to the point of death through sickness.—He visits Canada.—Reorganization of quorums.—The Kirtland Safety Society fails.—Joseph visits Far West, Missouri.—An apostate church organized.—*The Elders' Journal* first published.—Brigham Young flees from Kirtland to escape mob violence.

April 6, 1837, a solemn assembly called for the purpose of washing, anointing, receiving instructions and the further organizations of the ministry, convened in the Kirtland Temple, and was attended by official members of the Church. The first two or three hours were spent by the different quorums in washing of feet, singing, praying and preparing to receive instruction from the Presidency. The Presidents, together with the Seventies and their presidents, repaired to the west room in the attic story, where, for want of time the preceeding evening, it became necessary to seal the anointing of those who had recently been anointed and not sealed.

Another subject of vital importance to the Church was the establishment of the grades of the different quorums. It was ascertained that all but one or two of the presidents of the Seventies were High Priests, and when they had ordained and set apart (any) from the quorum of Elders into the quorum of Seventies, they had conferred upon them the High Priesthood also. This was declared to be wrong, and not according to the order of heaven. New presidents of the Seventies were accordingly ordained to fill the places of such of them as were High Priests, and the *ex-officio* presidents, and such of the Seventies as had

been legally ordained to the High Priesthood, were directed to unite with the High Priests. (See page 81.) All the quorums then assembled in the lower room of the Lord's House, where they were addressed by the Presidents from the stand.

Joseph addressed the assembly and said "that the Melchizedek High Priesthood was no other than the Priesthood of the Son of God; that there are certain ordinances which belong to the Priesthood, from which flow certain results; and the Presidents or Presidency are over the Church; and revelations of the mind and will of God to the Church are to come through the Presidency. This is the order of heaven, and the power and privilege of this Priesthood. It is also the privilege of any officer in this Church to obtain revelations, so far as relates to his particular calling and duty in the Church. All are bound by the principles of virtue and happiness, but one great privilege of the Priesthood is to obtain revelations of the mind and will of God. It is also the privilege of the Melchizedek Priesthood to reprove, rebuke and admonish, as well as to receive revelation. If the Church knew all the commandments, one half they would condemn through prejudice and ignorance.

"A High Priest is a member of the same Melchizedek Priesthood with the Presidency, but not of the same power or authority in the Church. The Seventies are also members of the same Priesthood—are a sort of traveling council or Priesthood, and may preside over a church or churches until a High Priest can be had. The Seventies are to be taken from the quorum of Elders, and are not to be

High Priests. They are subject to the direction and dictation of the Twelve, who have the keys of the ministry. All are to preach the gospel, by the power and influence of the Holy Ghost; and no man can preach the gospel without the Holy Ghost."

Joseph writes:

"At this time the spirit of speculation in lands and property of all kinds, which was so prevalent throughout the whole nation, was taking deep root in the Church. As the fruits of this spirit, evil surmisings, fault-finding, disunion, dissension and apostasy followed in quick succession, and it seemed as though all the powers of earth and hell were combining their influence in an especial manner to overthrow the Church at once, and make a final end. Other banking institutions refused the Kirtland Safety Society's notes. The enemy abroad and apostates in our midst united in their schemes; flour and provisions were turned towards other markets, and many became disaffected towards me as though I were the sole cause of those very evils I was most strenuously striving against, and which were actually brought upon us by the brethren not giving heed to my counsel.

"No quorum in the Church was entirely exempt from the influence of those false spirits who were striving against me for the mastery; even some of the Twelve were so far lost to their high and responsible calling as to begin to take sides secretly with the enemy.

"In this state of things, and but a few weeks before the Twelve were expecting to meet in full quorum (some of them having been absent for some time), God revealed to me that some-

thing new must be done for the salvation of his Church; and on or about the 1st of June, 1837, Heber C. Kimball, one of the Twelve, was set apart by the spirit of prophecy and revelation, prayer and the laying on of hands of the First Presidency, to preside over a mission to England, to be the first foreign mission of the Church of Christ in the last days. While we were about ordaining him, Orson Hyde, another of the Twelve, came in, and upon listening to what was passing, his heart melted within him (for he had begun to drink of the cup filled with the overflowings of speculation); he acknowledged all his faults, asked forgiveness and offered to accompany President Kimball on his mission to England. His offer was accepted and he was set apart for that purpose. \* \* \*

"The same evening (June 11th), while I was engaged in giving some special instructions to Elders Kimball and Hyde and Priest Joseph Fielding concerning their mission to England, President Brigham Young came into my house, where we were sitting, accompanied by Dr. Willard Richards, who had just returned from a special business mission to New York, Boston and other eastern cities, on which he started with President Young March 14th, Dr. Richards having been previously ordained an Elder on the 6th of March, and President Young having returned from the mission a few days previous. My instructions to the brethren were, when they arrived in England, to adhere closely to the first principles of the gospel, and remain silent concerning the gathering, the Vision and the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, until such time as the work was fully established, and it

should clearly be made manifest by the Spirit, etc.

"Monday, June 12th, I was taken sick and kept to my room, unable to attend to business.

"Elder Willard Richards, having reported his mission, requested the privilege of fulfilling a covenant which he made with President Kimball in January, which was that he should, agreeable to his desire, accompany the Twelve on their first foreign mission. Presidents Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon granted his petition, laid their hands upon his head and set him apart for the English mission.

"Tuesday, 13th. My afflictions continued to increase, and were very severe, insomuch that I was unable to raise my head from my pillow, when the brethren called to bid me farewell; and at 9 o'clock a. m., Elders Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Willard Richards and Joseph Fielding, a Priest, a native of Honedon, England, left Kirtland in company with President Brigham Young and several of the Kirtland brethren and sisters, who continued with them as far as Fairport, on Lake Erie, where the missionaries took a steamer for Buffalo, directing their course for New York City.

"Wednesday, 14th. I continued to grow worse and worse until my sufferings were excruciating, and although in the midst of it all I felt to rejoice in the salvation of Israel's God, yet I found it expedient to call to my assistance those means which a kind Providence had provided for the restoration of the sick, in connection with the ordinances; and Dr. Levi Richards, at my request, administered to me herbs and mild food, and nursed me with all tender-



ness and attention; and my Heavenly Father blessed his administrations to the easing and comforting of my system, for I began to mend in a short time, and in a few days I was able to resume my usual labors.

"This is one of the many instances that I have suddenly been brought from a state of health to the borders of the grave, and as suddenly restored, for which my heart swells with gratitude to my Heavenly Father, and I feel renewedly to dedicate myself and all my powers to his service.

"While I was thus afflicted, the enemy of all righteousness was suggesting, apostates reporting and the doubtful believing that my afflictions were sent upon me, because I was in transgression and had taught the Church things contrary to godliness; but of this the Lord judge between me and them, while I pray my Father to forgive them the wrong. \* \* \*

"Some time previous to this I resigned my office in the Kirtland Safety Society, disposed of my interest therein and withdrew from the institution, being fully aware, after so long an experiment, that no institution of the kind, established upon just and righteous principles, for a blessing not only to the Church but the whole nation, would be suffered to continue its operations in such an age of darkness, speculation and wickedness."

June 23, 1837, the same day as the gospel was first preached in England, Joseph received "The Word of the Lord unto Thomas B. Marsh concerning the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 112.)

On Thursday, June 27th, Joseph started from Kirtland in company

with Elders Sidney Rigdon and Thos. B. Marsh for the purpose of visiting the Saints in Canada. The Prophet writes:

"When we arrived at Painesville we were detained all day by malicious and vexatious law-suits. About sunset I got into my carriage to return home to Kirtland; at this moment the sheriff sprang into the carriage, seized my lines and served another writ upon me, which was sworn out by a man who had a few weeks previously brought a new-fashioned cooking stove to Kirtland, and prevailed on me to put it up in my kitchen, saying it would give credit to his stove, wishing to have it tested by our people; and now he thought would be a good time to get pay for it. I gave my watch to the officer, for security, and we all returned home.

"The following day I remained at home until evening, when we set out again, in Brother S. B. Stoddard's wagon, to Ashtabula, a distance of thirty miles, and arrived there a little after daybreak, and stayed till afternoon and enjoyed ourselves very much in walking on the beach and bathing in the beautiful clear water of the lake. At 4 p. m. we took a deck passage on board the steamer for Buffalo. At night we all laid down to rest on the upper deck of the boat, and for pillows some took their boots, others their valises, and had a comfortable night's repose. We arrived at Buffalo the next morning in safety. Here we separated from Brothers Brigham Young and Albert P. Rockwood, they going to the Eastern States; and myself, Brothers Sidney Rigdon and Thos. B. Marsh started for Toronto, Upper Canada."

Joseph and his companions remained in Canada several weeks and had a pleasant time with the Saints, who gladly welcomed them and treated them with great hospitality and kindness. Their faith was strong in the gospel and they listened to the Prophet's teachings with delight. In visiting the various branches of the Church in the province, Joseph was accompanied by John Taylor (see page 39), who some time previous had been baptized by Parley P. Pratt and now presided over the church there. They preached, baptized and blessed the people wherever they were willing to listen to them. About the last of August, Joseph returned to Kirtland.

September 3, 1837, a conference was held in Kirtland for the purpose of reorganizing the quorums. On that occasion one of Joseph's counselors—Frederick G. Williams—and three of the Twelve—Luke S. Johnson, Lyman E. Johnson and John F. Boynton—were rejected; the two last named had left their calling and gone into the mercantile business. Several members of the High Council, among whom Martin Harris and other leading men of the Church, were considered unworthy to retain their important positions in the Church and were consequently rejected by the conference. John F. Boynton, the only one of the Apostles named who was present, endeavored to justify his conduct before the conference, but was opposed by Elder Brigham Young, who in a plain and energetic manner strongly protested against the course Boynton had pursued, and stated several reasons why he could not receive him into fellowship until a hearty repentance and confession had

taken place. Boynton again tried to defend himself, and alleged that the failure of the Kirtland Bank was the cause of his difficulties. He had been told, he said, that the bank was founded by the will of God, and could never fail, no matter what men might do. In reply to this Joseph said that if any such thing had been told him, he had not authorized anybody to do it, for he had always said that unless the institution was conducted on righteous principles it would not stand. All of those present who had the spirit of God knew that Joseph spoke the truth, for they could plainly understand that God would not sustain a bank or anything else in his Church that was not conducted in a proper manner.

The Kirtland Safety Society, or Bank, was established by the direction of Joseph for the benefit and advantage of the Saints. Those who were faithful sustained it by their faith and works; but the dishonest took advantage of every opportunity they could to speculate and swindle. It was on this account that Joseph, as previously stated, withdrew from it, and afterwards published a caution to the people, warning them about the schemes of those wicked men. Elder Brigham Young was the first to discover the roguery that was being practiced by those men. He had deposited some money in the bank which, while it had been in his possession, he had put a private mark on. He wished to help a family to emigrate to Missouri, and had occasion to sell a piece of land for that purpose. Oliver Cowdery was the purchaser. He was to pay for it in Kirtland Bank money, Brother Brigham supposing that he would be

helping the bank by taking up money that was in circulation. As soon as he commenced to count the money he saw they were his marked bills which he had deposited a few days before in the bank, and which ought to then be in its vaults. Warren Parrish was the principal operator in this business. He had his partners, and they did not stop until they had taken out all the money there was in the bank, and also signed and issued all the notes they could. Many of the Elders and Saints were very desirous to keep up the credit of the paper, and they would sell anything they had for it, to take it up. This gave Parrish and his confederates great opportunities to swindle the Saints and obtain their property; for when the money was redeemed and returned to the bank, instead of being retained, it was taken out again and given to speculators and gamblers to repeat the same process by buying up more property. All this was done without the knowledge of the Prophet Joseph or the directors, they having issued orders that the money should be retained in the bank as fast as received.

At an assembly of the Church in the Lord's House, on September 10th, Luke S. and Lyman E. Johnson and John F. Boynton came forward and made their confessions and were received into fellowship by the vote of the Church, with the privilege of retaining their Apostleship.

At a conference held in the Kirtland Temple, September 17, 1837, Geo. W. Robinson was unanimously elected Church Recorder in place of Oliver Cowdery, who had removed to Missouri. In the evening Joseph spoke to the Elders in relation to the gathering of the Saints. This conference

was of the opinion that the gathering places already appointed were at that time crowded to overflowing, and that it was necessary that more Stakes of Zion should be appointed, wherefore it was moved, seconded and voted unanimously that Joseph and Sidney Rigdon should be requested by the conference to go and appoint other Stakes or places of gathering. Consequently Joseph and Sidney, accompanied by William Smith and Vinson Knight, started from Kirtland September 27th, and arrived in Far West, Missouri, about the 1st of November. While there Joseph met in council with the Elders and Saints, and regulated matters connected with the town-site of Far West. It was also decided that there was sufficient room in the county for the Saints to continue gathering there from abroad. The previous summer (August 5, 1837), the authorities of the Church in Missouri had resolved in council to go on moderately and build a house unto the name of the Lord in Far West. When Joseph arrived there he counseled that the building of that house should be postponed until the Lord should reveal it to be his will to have it commenced. A general assembly of the Church was also called together, and particulars of the recent reorganization of the Church at Kirtland were given. At this meeting Frederick G. Williams was not sustained as counselor to Joseph, and Hyrum Smith was nominated and sustained in his stead. There was a president and two assistant presidents over the Church in Zion—David Whitmer, John Whitmer and William W. Phelps. They were objected to by the Church; but they made confession and satisfaction

and were sustained in their positions.

Having thus arranged the affairs of the Church in Missouri, Joseph returned to Kirtland about the 10th of December. During his absence Warren Parrish, John F. Boynton, Luke S. Johnson, Joseph Coe and some others united together for the overthrow of the Church, and soon after his return this dissenting band openly and publicly renounced the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and claimed that they were the old standard. They called themselves the Church of Christ, but dropped the name of Saints. They said that Joseph was a fallen prophet and that he and the Church were heretics. As all apostates do, they had to show their blindness. In dropping the name of Saints they thought they were making an improvement; but they forgot that the Lord had said, through the Prophet Daniel, that the Saints should possess the kingdom.

Some time previous to this the publication of the *Messenger and Advocate* had been suspended and a new paper called the *Elders' Journal* had been commenced in its stead. No. 2, or the November number, of the last-named periodical was the last paper published by the Saints in Kirtland, as the printing establishment was attached to satisfy an unjust judgment of the county court, and soon after the whole printing apparatus was burned to the ground through the work of an incendiary.

"On the morning of December 22, 1837," writes Joseph, "Brother Brigham Young left Kirtland, in consequence of the fury of the mob—the spirit that prevailed in the apostates who had threatened to destroy him,

because he would proclaim publicly and privately that he knew by the power of the Holy Ghost that I was a Prophet of the Most High God, and that I had not transgressed or fallen as the apostates declared.

"Apostacy, persecution, confusion and mobocracy strove hard to bear rule at Kirtland, and thus closed the year 1837."

#### CHAPTER 10.

Joseph removes to Missouri.—Reorganization of the Stake in Far West.—The location of the Garden of Eden revealed.—Answers to questions.—Joseph labors among the Saints in Missouri.—Difficulty with Judge Black.—Joseph and Lyman Wight tried in Daviess County.—The Mob-Militia ordered out.

"A new year," writes Joseph "dawned upon the Church in Kirtland in all the bitterness of the spirit of apostate mobocracy, which continued to rage and grow hotter and hotter, until Elder Rigdon and myself were obliged to flee from its deadly influence, as did the Apostles and Prophets of old, and as Jesus said, 'when they persecute you in one city, flee to another.' On the evening of January 12, 1838, about 10 o'clock, we left Kirtland, on horseback, to escape mob violence, which was about to burst upon us under the color of legal process to cover the hellish designs of our enemies, and to save themselves from the just judgment of the law.

"We continued our travels during the night, and at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 13th, arrived among the brethren in Norton Township, Medina County, Ohio, a distance of 60 miles from Kirtland. Here we tarried about thirty-six hours, when our families arrived; and on the 16th we pursued our journey with our families, in covered

wagons, toward the city of Far West, in Missouri. We passed through Dayton and Eaton, Ohio, and Dublin, Indiana. In the latter place we tarried nine days, and refreshed ourselves. \* \*

"The weather was extremely cold, and we were obliged to secrete ourselves in our wagons, sometimes, to elude the grasp of our pursuers, who continued their pursuit more than two hundred miles from Kirtland, armed with pistols and guns, seeking our lives. They frequently crossed our track, twice they were in the houses where we stopped, once we tarried all night in the same house with them, with only a partition between us and them; and heard their oaths and imprecations and threats concerning us, if they could catch us; and late in the evening they came in our room and examined us, but decided we were not the men. At other times we passed them in the streets, and gazed upon them, and they on us, but they knew us not. One Lyons was one of our pursuers.

"I parted with Brother Rigdon at Dublin, and traveling different routes we met at Terre Haute, where, after resting, we separated again, and I pursued my journey, crossing the Mississippi River at Quincy, Illinois.

"When I had arrived within 120 miles of Far West, the brethren met me with teams and money to help me forward; and when eight miles from the city, we were met by an escort, viz., Thomas B. Marsh and others, who received us with open arms; and on the 13th of March, I with my family and some others put up at Brother Barnards' for the night. Here we were met by another escort of the brethren from the town, who came to make us welcome to their little Zion.

"On the 14th of March, as we were about entering Far West, many of the brethren came out to meet us, who also with open arms welcomed us to their bosoms. We were immediately received under the hospitable roof of Brother George W. Harris, who treated us with all possible kindness, and we refreshed ourselves with much satisfaction, after our long and tedious journey, the brethren bringing in such things as we had need of for our comfort and convenience."

Shortly after the Prophet's arrival in Far West, a number of answers to certain questions on Scripture were given by revelation. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 113.)

Joseph's arrival in Far West was very timely, as affairs there were in a bad state. Pres. David Whitmer and his two counselors, who had only retained their standing by confessing their wrongs and making satisfaction, had again commenced the practice of evil, and they had been rejected by the Church while Joseph was on his journey from Kirtland to Far West. About three weeks after his arrival a conference was held, in which Thomas B. Marsh was appointed president of the Church in Missouri for the time being, and David W. Patten and Brigham Young were appointed assistant presidents. A few days later a number of prominent men were excommunicated from the Church, among whom were Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, Luke S. and Lyman E. Johnson and Wm. E. McLellin.

April 17, 1838, Joseph received a revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 114), in which David W. Patten was instructed to get ready for a mission. On the 26th the Saints were commanded by revelation to build a Temple at Far West.

(Doc. & Cov., Sec. 115.) On the 8th of July another revelation was given through the Prophet, commanding William Marks and Newel K. Whitney, to settle up their business in Kirtland and remove to Missouri (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 117); and in answer to the question, "Show us thy will, O Lord, concerning the Twelve?" the following revelation was given (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 118):

"Verily, thus saith the Lord, let a conference be held immediately, let the Twelve be organized, and let men be appointed to supply the place of those who are fallen. Let my servant Thomas remain for a season in the land of Zion, to publish my word. Let the residue continue to preach from that hour, and if they will do this in all lowliness of heart, in meekness and humility, and long-suffering, I, the Lord, give unto them a promise that I will provide for their families, and an effectual door shall be opened for them, from henceforth. And next spring let them depart to go over the great waters, and there promulgate the gospel, the fulness thereof, and bear record of my name. Let them take leave of my Saints in the city of Far West on the 26th day of April next, on the building spot of my house, saith the Lord. Let my servant John Taylor and also my servant John E. Page, and also my servant Wilford Woodruff, and also my servant Willard Richards, be appointed to fill the places of those who have fallen, and be officially notified of their appointment."

In answer to the question, "O Lord, show unto thy servants how much thou requirest of the properties of thy people for a tithing?" a revelation on tithing was given (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 119). A few days later (July 18th) the Lord's will concerning the disposition of property tithings was made known. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 120.)

For a few months Joseph spent his time among the Saints in Caldwell and Daviess counties. He was also engaged in writing and dictating Church history, studying grammar

and law, writing for the *Elders' Journal*, locating the Saints, sitting in council with the brethren and receiving revelations.

The Saints kept gathering from the various States of the Union and Canada, besides a large number who, later in the season, removed from Kirtland and settled at Adam-ondi-Ahman. (See *Kirtland's Camp*.)

The following is Joseph's own account of a trip to Daviess County:

"Friday, May 18th, 1838. I left Far West, in company with Sidney Rigdon, Thos. B. Marsh, David W. Patten, Bishop Partridge, Elias Higbee, Simeon Carter, Alanson Ripley and many others, for the purpose of visiting the north country, and laying off a Stake of Zion, making locations, and laying claims to lands to facilitate the gathering of the Saints, and for the benefit of the poor, in upbuilding the Church of God. We traveled to the mouth of Honey Creek, which is a tributary of Grand River, where we camped for the night. We passed through a beautiful country, the greater part of which is prairie and thickly covered with grass and weeds, among which is plenty of game, such as deer, turkey and prairie hen. We discovered a large black wolf, and my dog gave him chase, but he outran us. We have nothing to fear in camping out, except the rattlesnake, which is native to this country, though not very numerous. We turned our horses loose, and let them feed on the prairie.

"Saturday, 19th. This morning we struck our tents, and formed a line of march, crossing Grand River at the mouth of Honey Creek and Nelson's Ferry. Grand River is a large, beautiful, deep and rapid stream, dur-

ing the high waters of spring, and will undoubtedly admit of navigation by steamboat and other water craft. At the mouth of Honey Creek is a good landing. We pursued our course up the river, mostly through timber, for about eighteen miles, when we arrived at Col. Lyman Wight's home. He lives at the foot of Tower Hill (a name I gave the place in consequence of the remains of an old Nephite altar or tower that stood there), where we camped for the Sabbath. In the afternoon, I went up the river about half a mile to Wight's Ferry, accompanied by President Rigdon and my clerk Geo. W. Robinson, for the purpose of selecting and laying claim to a city plat near said ferry in Daviess County, township 60, ranges 27 and 28, and sections 25, 36, 31 and 30, which the brethren called Spring Hill, but by the mouth of the Lord it was named ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN, because, said he, it is the place where Adam shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days shall sit, as spoken of by Daniel the Prophet. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 116.)

"Sunday 20th. This day was spent by our company principally at Adam-ondi-Ahman; but near the close of the day we struck our tents and traveled about six miles north, and encamped for the night with Judge Morin and company, who were also traveling north.

"Monday 21st. This morning, after making some locations in this place, which is in township 61, ranges 27 and 28, we returned to Robinson's Grove, about two miles, to secure some land near Grand River, which we passed the day previous; and finding a mistake in the former survey, I sent the surveyor south five or six

miles to obtain a correct line, while some of us tarried to obtain water for the camp.

"In the evening I called a council of the brethren, to know whether it was wisdom to go immediately into the north country, or tarry here and hereabouts, to secure land on Grand River, etc. The brethren spoke their minds freely on the subject, when I stated to the council that I felt impressed to tarry and secure all the land near by that is not secured between this and Far West, especially on Grand River. President Rigdon concurred, and the council voted unanimously to secure the land on Grand River, and between this and Far West.

"Tuesday 22nd. President Rigdon went east with a company, and selected some of the best locations in the county, and returned with a good report of that vicinity, and with information of valuable locations which might be secured. Following awhile the course of the company, I returned to camp in Robinson's Grove, and thence went west to obtain some game to supply our necessities. We discovered some antiquities, about one mile west of the camp, consisting of stone mounds, apparently erected in square piles, though somewhat decayed and obliterated by the weather of many years. These mounds were probably erected by the aborigines of the land, to secrete treasures. We returned without game.

"Wednesday 23rd. We all traveled east locating lands, to secure a claim on Grove Creek, and near the 'City of Adam-ondi-Ahman.' Towards evening I accompanied Elder Rigdon to Col. Wight's, and the remainder of the company returned to their tents.

"Thursday 24th. This morning the

company returned to Grove Creek to finish the survey, accompanied by President Rigdon and Col. Wight, and I returned to Far West."

The following is from the *Juvenile Instructor*:

"Great curiosity has been felt by learned men in the world to know the exact spot where the garden of Eden was situated. They have searched all Asia to find the place, but have not been able to decide upon it. But, from the fact that the ark rested on the mountain Ararat, which is in Asia, it has been generally supposed that Adam must have dwelt in Asia. It required the word of the Lord to decide this point. Joseph obtained a revelation on this subject. From the Lord, Joseph learned that Adam had dwelt on the land of America, and that the garden of Eden was located where Jackson County, Missouri, now is.

"In the Book of Doctrine and Covenants it is said that 'Three years previous to the death of Adam, he called Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, and Methuselah, who were all High Priests, with the residue of his posterity who were righteous, into the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman, and there bestowed upon them his last blessing. And the Lord appeared unto them, and they rose up and blessed Adam, and called him Michael, the Prince, the Archangel. And the Lord administered comfort unto Adam, and said unto him, I have set thee to be at the head—a multitude of nations shall come of thee, and thou art a prince over them for ever. And Adam stood up in the midst of the congregation, and notwithstanding he was bowed down with age, being full of the Holy Ghost,

predicted whatsoever should befall his posterity unto the latest generation. These things were all written in the Book of Enoch, and are to be testified of in due time.' How gratifying it is to have doubt removed upon such points, and to have the word of the Lord to depend upon! With what peculiar emotions Joseph and the brethren must have trod upon this holy land, the Lord having told them what had taken place there in the early days of men, and what would yet take place there in the future! The remains of the altar, on which Adam had offered sacrifice, were plainly to be seen."

Subsequently a Stake of Zion was organized in Daviess County. (See *Adam-ondi-Ahman*, page 45.)

May 8, 1838, the following questions, which had previously been asked a number of times, were answered by Joseph Smith, and subsequently published in the *Elders' Journal*, No. 3:

"1st. 'Do you believe the Bible?' If we do, we are the only people under heaven that does, for there are none of the religious sects of the day that do.

"2nd. 'Wherein do you differ from other sects?' Because we believe the Bible and all other sects profess to believe their interpretations of the Bible and their creeds.

"3rd. 'Will everybody be damned but Mormons?' Yes, and a great portion of them, unless they repent and work righteousness.

"4th. 'How and where did you obtain the Book of Mormon?' Moroni, who deposited the plates in a hill in Manchester, Ontario County, New York, being dead and raised again therefrom, appeared unto me, and told me where they were, and gave me directions how to obtain them. I obtained them and the Urim and Thummim with them, by the means of which I translated the plates; and thus came the Book of Mormon.

"5th. 'Do you believe Joseph Smith, jun., to be a Prophet?' Yes, and every other man who has the testimony of Jesus. For the testimony



of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy. (Rev. 19: 10.)

"6th. 'Do the Mormons believe in having all things common?' No!

"7th. 'Do the Mormons believe in having more wives than one?' No, not at the same time.\* But they believe that if their companion dies, they have a right to marry again. But we do disapprove of the custom, which has gained in the world, and has been practised among us, to our great mortification, in marrying in five or six weeks, or even in two or three months, after the death of their companion. We believe that due respect ought to be had of the memory of the dead, and the feelings of both friends and children.

"8th. 'Can they (the Mormons) raise the dead?' No, nor any other people that now lives, or ever did live. But God can raise the dead, through man as an instrument.

"9th. 'What signs does Joe Smith give of his divine mission?' The signs which God is pleased to let him give, according as his wisdom thinks best, in order that he may judge the world agreeably to his own plan.

"10th. 'Was not Joe Smith a money digger?' Yes, but it was never a very profitable job for him, as he only got \$14 a month for it.

"11th. 'Did not Joe Smith steal his wife?' Ask her, she was of age, she can answer for herself.

"12th. 'Do the people have to give up their money when they join his Church?' No other requirement than to bear their proportion of the expenses of the Church, and support the poor.

"13th. 'Are the Mormons Abolitionists?' No, unless delivering the people from priestcraft, and the priests from the power of Satan, should be considered such. But we do not believe in setting the negroes free.

"14th. 'Do they not stir up the Indians to war, and to commit depredations?' No, and they who reported the story knew it was false when they put it in circulation. These and similar reports are palmed upon the people by the priests, and this is the only reason why we ever thought of answering them.

"15th. 'Do the Mormons baptize in the name of Joe Smith?' No, but if they did it would be as valid as the baptism administered by the sectarian priests.

"16th. 'If the Mormon doctrine is true, what has become of all those who died since the days of the Apostles?' All those who have not had

an opportunity of hearing the gospel, and being administered unto by an inspired man in the flesh, must have it hereafter, before they can be finally judged.

"17th. 'Does not Joe Smith profess to be Jesus Christ?' No, but he professes to be his brother, as all other Saints have done and now do. Matt. 12: 49, 50: 'And he stretched forth his hand towards his disciples and said, Behold my mother and my brethren; for whosoever shall do the will of my Father, which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.'

"18th. 'Is there anything in the Bible which licenses you to believe in revelation nowadays?' Is there anything that does not authorize us to believe so? If there is, we have as yet not been able to find it.

"19th. 'Is not the canon of the Scriptures full?' If it is, there is a great defect in the book, or else it would have said so.

"20th. 'What are the fundamental principles of your religion?' The fundamental principles of our religion are the testimony of the Apostles and Prophets concerning Jesus Christ, that he died, was buried, and rose again the third day, and ascended up into heaven; and all other things which pertain to our religion are only appendages to it. But in connection with these, we believe in the gift of the Holy Ghost, the power of faith, the enjoyment of the spiritual gifts according to the will of God, the restoration of the house of Israel, and the final triumph of truth."

In the meantime persecutions were again renewed against the Saints in Missouri, commencing with a riot at Gallatin, Daviess County, August 6th, where the mobbers tried to prevent the brethren from voting. (See *Gallatin*.) The next morning (August 7th) the report reached Far West, through persons who did not belong to the Church, that two or three brethren had been killed by the Missourians, and left dead on the ground, their bodies not being suffered to be interred. This report created some excitement, especially when the brethren heard, also, that the majority of the people of Daviess County were determined to drive the Saints from the county. Joseph writes:

\*This was before the revelation on celestial marriage was given.

"On hearing this report, I started for Gallatin (August 7th) to assist the brethren, accompanied by President Rigdon, Brother Hyrum Smith and fifteen or twenty others, who were armed for their own protection; and the command of the company was given to George W. Robinson.

"On our way we were joined by the brethren from different parts of the country, some of whom were attacked by the mob, but we all reached Colonel Wight's that night in safety, where we found some of the brethren who had been mobbed at Gallatin, with others, waiting for our counsel. Here we received the cheering intelligence that none of the brethren were killed, although several were badly wounded.

"From the best information, about one hundred and fifty Missourians warred against from six to twelve of our brethren, who fought like lions. Several Missourians had their skulls cracked. Blessed be the memory of those few brethren who contended so strenuously for their constitutional rights and religious freedom, against such an overwhelming force of desperadoes!

"Wednesday, 8th. After spending the night in council at Colonel Wight's I rode out with some of the brethren to view the situation of affairs in that region, and among others called on Adam Black, justice of the peace and judge-elect for Daviess County, who had some time previous sold his farm to Brother Vinson Knight, and received part pay according to agreement, and afterwards united himself with a band of mobbers to drive the Saints from, and prevent their settling in, Daviess County. On interrogation, he confessed what he had done, and in consequence of this vio-

lation of his oath, as magistrate, we asked him to give us some satisfaction so that we might know whether he was our friend or enemy, whether or not he would administer the law in justice; and politely requested him to sign an agreement of peace; but being jealous, he would not sign it, but said he would write one himself to our satisfaction and sign it, which he did, as follows:

"I, Adam Black, a Justice of the Peace of Daviess County, do hereby Sertify to the people, *coled Mormin*, that he is bound to suport the Constitution of this State, and of the United State, and he is not attached to any mob, nor will not attach himself to any such people, and so long as they will not molest me, I will not molest them. This the 8th day of August, 1838.

" 'ADAM BLACK, J. P.' "

Hoping that he would abide his own decision and support the law, Joseph and his brethren left Mr. Black in peace and returned to Adam-ondi-Ahman, where they on the day following met in council with some of the leading men of the county. At this meeting both parties entered into a covenant of peace, to preserve each other's rights and stand in their defense, that if any one individual should go wrong, neither party should uphold them or endeavor to screen them from justice, but deliver up all offenders to be dealt with according to law and justice. The assembly dispersed on these friendly terms, after which Joseph and his friends returned to Far West.

It was brotherly and warm feelings towards his friends, who were exposed to danger, which prompted Joseph to hasten to Daviess County to render them what assistance he could; he had no desire to harm anybody. Nevertheless, his enemies spared

no pains to bring him into trouble. Mr. Black, twenty days after giving Joseph and his company that document, made an affidavit that he had been threatened with instant death, by an armed force of 154 men if he did not sign a certain instrument binding himself, as a justice of the peace for said county of Daviess, not to molest the people called Mormons; he also swore that they had threatened the lives of himself and other individuals. William P. Peniston also, who was the candidate at the election, went into Ray County and swore before Judge Austin A. King that a large body of men had committed violence against Adam Black by surrounding his house, and taking him and forcing him, under threats of death, to sign a writing of a very disgraceful character, and that they had threatened to kill him (Peniston) on sight, and also to drive all the old citizens of Daviess County from the county and to take possession of their property. He also swore that Joseph and Lyman Wight were the leaders of this body of men. Three other mobbers swore to the same effect.

Judge King, on the affidavit of Peniston and the others, issued a writ for the arrest of Joseph, for visiting Daviess County. The sheriff of Daviess County called upon Joseph at Far West, and notified him that he had a writ for him to take him to Daviess County for trial. The report had been circulated that Joseph would not suffer himself to be taken by legal process, but he soon relieved the sheriff by telling him that he always intended to submit to the laws of the land; he wished, however, to be tried in his own county, as there was too much excitement and bad feeling in

Daviess County for him to have any hope of obtaining justice there. When the sheriff heard what Joseph had to say, he declined serving the writ upon him, and said he would go and see Judge King on the subject. He went, and when he returned, he found Joseph at home, he having promised the sheriff that he would remain there until his return. He very gravely informed Joseph that he could not act in Caldwell County, and that he, therefore, was out of his jurisdiction, and then withdrew.

But, from this circumstance, the report went out, and was widely spread, that Joseph and Lyman Wight had resisted the officer. This was done to create excitement. The wicked, who were determined to find, if possible, causes of offense against them, went into the surrounding country telling the most adominable lies about Joseph and the Saints. The consequence was that the mob began to collect from all Upper Missouri into Daviess County for the purpose, as they said, of helping to take Joseph and Lyman Wight. About this time Lilburn W. Boggs, who now had become governor of the State of Missouri, issued orders as commander-in-chief of the militia, through his adjutant-general, to Generals David R. Atchison, John B. Clark, Samuel D. Lucas, David Willock, Louis Bolton, Henry W. Crowther and Thomas D. Grant, to have some companies of cavalry and infantry in their several divisions of the militia put in readiness for immediate service. The excuse made by Boggs for this action was that there were signs of Indian disturbances and of civil disturbances in

Caldwell, Daviess and Carroll Counties. The allusion to Indian troubles was merely a blind; Boggs knew that there was no cause to raise the militia to guard against the Indians, but he hoped to have an opportunity to use the troops against the Saints. Lilburn W. Boggs was a base, bad man—a traitor to every republican principle, and a bloody tyrant, who took delight in using his power for the persecution and destruction of the innocent.

To do everything in his power to remove all causes of offence, and to show himself a law-abiding, loyal man, was always a matter of duty with Joseph. If others did wrong, and acted in direct violation of all law and justice by joining together in mobs, he did not desire to follow their example, but always acted in such a manner that he had the law on his side. Those who knew him, therefore, were not surprised at his willingness to volunteer to be tried by Judge King in Daviess County, and that the public might not remain in ignorance about the details of his visit to Daviess County, he made an affidavit, in which he set forth with straightforward plainness all the particulars of his trip.

September 6, 1838, Joseph, accompanied by his brother Hyrum and others of the brethren, left Far West for the place appointed for trial; but the plaintiff was absent, and the court adjourned until the next day. In going there the next day, Joseph deemed it wise to have a company of the brethren accompany him to the line of Caldwell County, and there remain so as to be ready at a moment's warning, if there should be any difficulty at the trial. This was very necessary,

as the excitement was very high, and many threats had been made against Joseph. William P. Peniston was the prosecutor, and his only witness was Adam Black. Upon this occasion Black maintained his old character for lying. He swore by the job; and such lies as he told were probably never exceeded in any court in the world. There were four witnesses who testified for Joseph, but what weight could four truthful Latter-day Saints' testimony have in a court in Missouri against one bad, false man who opposed them? King bound Joseph and Lyman Wight over to court in a \$500 bond, though there was no proof against them to criminate them. But supposing the judge did it to pacify the feelings of the mob, Joseph submitted to the decision, gave the required bonds with sufficient security, and then returned to Far West. The judge afterwards, in the presence of Geo. W. Robinson, stated that there had been nothing proved against them, which should require any security to be given, but it was the mob and not justice which should be satisfied.

In relation to the troubles which he and the Saints had to pass through in those days, Joseph writes:

"They (the mobbers) are continually chafing us, and provoking us to anger if possible, one sign of threatening after another, but we do not fear them, for the Lord God the Eternal Father is our God, and Jesus the Mediator is our Savior, and in the Great I AM is our strength and confidence. We have been driven time after time, and that without cause, and smitten again and again, and that without provocation, until we have proved the world with kindness, and the world proved us that we have no design against any man or set of men, that we injure no man, that we are peaceable with all men, minding our own business and our business only. We have suffered our rights and our liberties to be taken from us; we have not avenged ourselves of those wrongs;

we have appealed to magistrates, to sheriffs, to judges, to government and to the President of the United States, all in vain; yet we have yielded peaceably to all these things. We have not complained at the Great God, we murmured not, but peaceably left all and retired into the back country, in the broad and wild prairie, in the barren and desolate plains, and there commenced anew; we made the desolate places to bud and blossom as the rose; and now the fiend-like race are disposed to give us no rest."

As the particulars of the mobbings in Caldwell, Daviess and Carroll Counties and the part Joseph took in the defense will be given under the headings of *Far West*, *De Witt*, *Haun's Mill Massacre*, *Gallatin*, etc., in subsequent numbers of the RECORD, we will here briefly state that Joseph continued his labors quietly among the Saints, giving them advice and counsel in their afflictions, until he was betrayed into the hands of his enemies by Geo. M. Hinkle, colonel of the militia in Far West, who secretly made an engagement with the mob to deliver up to them the Church leaders to be tried and punished, and also to deliver up the arms of every description belonging to the brethren.

#### CHAPTER 11.

Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Amasa M. Lyman and George W. Robinson betrayed into the hands of the enemy by Geo. M. Hinkle.—Saved by General A. W. Doniphan.—Sentenced to be shot.—Heart-rending scenes in the families of the prisoners.—March to Jackson County.—General Wilson's behavior to the prisoners.—Prophecies and their fulfillment.—The prisoners are marched to Richmond, where they are put in chains and again sentenced to be shot.—Joseph rebukes the guard.—Mock-trial in Richmond.—Joseph and fellow-prisoners incarcerated in Liberty and Richmond jails.

It was towards evening of October 31st, 1838, that George M. Hinkle waited on Joseph Smith, Sidney Rig-

don, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight and George W. Robinson, and stated that the officers of the army wanted a mutual consultation with them, hoping thereby that the difficulties between the Saints and the Missourians might be settled without having occasion to carry into effect the governor's exterminating order. He also assured them that Generals Lucas, Wilson and Doniphan had pledged their sacred honor that they should not be abused or insulted, but that they should be guarded back in safety in the morning, or as soon as the consultation was over. When the brethren got about half way to the camp of the mob-militia, they were met by General Lucas with a strong guard and also a cannon. As Lucas came up, he ordered his men to surround the brethren; after which Hinkle stepped forward and said: "These are the prisoners I agreed to deliver up." Lucas drew his sword and brandished it, and told the brethren that they were his prisoners. Immediately a great number of guns were cocked and some of them were pointed at Joseph and his companions. The Prophet writes:

"Judge of my surprise, when, instead of being treated with that respect which is due from one citizen to another, we were taken as prisoners of war, and treated with the utmost contempt. The officers would not converse with us, and the soldiers, almost to a man, insulted us as much as they felt disposed, breathing out threats against me and my companions. I cannot begin to tell the scene which I there witnessed. The loud cries and yells of more than one thousand voices, which rent the air and could be heard for miles, and the hor-

rid and blasphemous threats and curses which were poured upon us in torrents, were enough to appall the stoutest heart. In the evening we had to lie down on the cold ground, surrounded by a strong guard, who were only kept back by the power of God from depriving us of life. We petitioned the officers to know why we were thus treated, but they utterly refused to give us any answer or to converse with us."

Parley P. Pratt draws the following pen picture:

"If the vision of the infernal regions could suddenly open to the mind, with thousands of malicious fiends, all clamoring, exulting, deriding, blaspheming, mocking, railing, raging and foaming like a troubled sea, then could some idea be formed of the hell which we had entered. . . ."

"No pen need undertake to describe our feelings during that terrible night, while there confined—not knowing the fate of our wives and children, nor of our fellow Saints, and seeing no way for our lives to be saved except by the miraculous power of God. But, notwithstanding all earthly hopes were gone, still we felt a calmness indescribable. A secret whispering to our inmost soul seemed to say: 'Peace, my sons, be of good cheer, your work is not yet done; therefore I will restrain your enemies, that they shall not have power to take your lives.'"

The next day, November 1st, Hyrum Smith and Amasa M. Lyman were torn away from their families and brought as prisoners into the camp of the mob-militia. In the morning of the next day General Lucas demanded that the arms of the militia of Far West be taken away. He promised that the people should be protected and the arms restored; but they received no protection and the arms were never restored to the owners. No sooner had the mob got possession of the arms than they commenced their ravages, plundering the Saints of their bedding, clothing,

money and everything of value which they could lay their hands upon. They also went to Joseph's house, drove his family out of doors and carried away most of his property.

The following night a court martial was held. This court was composed of seventeen preachers and some of the principal officers of the army, Samuel D. Lucas presiding. This court did not bring Joseph or any of the brethren before it, but it sentenced them to be shot at 8 o'clock the next morning in the public square at Far West, and in the presence of their families and friends. When the sentence was passed, General Doniphan arose and said that neither himself nor his brigade should have any hand in the shooting—that it was nothing short of cold-blooded murder, and then left the court martial and ordered his brigade to prepare and march off the ground.

This unexpected and bold action on the part of General Doniphan and a few of the others so alarmed the haughty murderer that he did not dare to put the decree into execution. Not until the next morning were the prisoners apprised of the decision of the court martial, when General Doniphan himself came to the place where the prisoners were under guard and said: "By G—d, you have been sentenced by the court martial to be shot this morning; but I will be d—d if I will have any of the honor of it, or any of the disgrace of it; therefore I have ordered my brigade to take up the line of march, and to leave the camp; for I consider it to be cold-blooded murder, and I bid you farewell." He then went away.

Joseph inquired of General Wil-

son, who had been one of the mob in Jackson County, what he had done that he should be treated with such indignity, stating that he had always been a supporter of the Constitution and of Democracy. His reply was: "I know it, and that is the reason I want to kill you, or have you killed."

In another court martial, which was held subsequently, it was decided to take the brethren as prisoners of war to Jackson County and execute them there. Before starting, and after using many entreaties, Joseph and his companions were permitted, under a strong guard, to go to Far West to take leave of their families.

Joseph writes: "I found my wife and children in tears, who feared we had been shot by those who had sworn to take our lives, and that they would see me no more. When I entered my house, they clung to my garments, their eyes streaming with tears, while mingled emotions of joy and sorrow were manifest in their countenances. I requested to have a private interview with them for a few minutes, but this privilege was denied me by the guard. I was then obliged to take my departure. But who can realize the feelings which I experienced at that time, to be thus torn from my companion, and leave her surrounded with monsters in the shape of men, and my children, too, not knowing how their wants would be supplied; while I was to be taken far from them in order that my enemies might destroy me when they thought proper to do so. My partner wept, my children clung to me until they were thrust from me by the swords of the guards. I felt overwhelmed while I witnessed the scene, and could only commend them to the care of that God whose

kindness had followed me to the present time, and who alone could protect them, and deliver me from the hands of my enemies, and restore me to my family. After this painful scene I was then taken back to the camp, and with the rest of my brethren, namely, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, Amasa M. Lyman and Geo. W. Robinson, started off for Independence, Jackson County."

Parley P. Pratt, another of the prisoners, writes as follows:

"This was the most trying scene of all. I went to my house, being guarded by two or three soldiers; the cold rain was pouring down without, and on entering my little cottage, there lay my wife sick of a fever, with which she had been for some time confined. At her breast was our son Nathan, an infant of three months, and by her side a little girl of five years. On the foot of the same bed lay a woman in travail, who had been driven from here house in the night, and had taken momentary shelter in my hut of ten feet square—my larger house having been torn down. I stepped to the bed; my wife burst into tears. I spoke a few words of comfort, telling her to try to live for my sake and the children's; and expressing a hope that we should meet again, though years might separate us. She promised to try to live. I then embraced and kissed the little babes and departed. Till now I had refrained from weeping; but to be forced from so helpless a family, who were destitute of provisions and fuel, and deprived almost of shelter in a bleak prairie, with none to assist them, exposed to a lawless banditti who were utter strangers to humanity, and this at the approach of winter, was more than nature could well endure.

"I went to General Moses Wilson in tears, and stated the circumstances of my sick, heart-broken and destitute family in terms which would have moved any heart that had a latent spark of humanity yet remaining. But I was only answered with an exultant laugh, and a taunt of reproach by this hardened murderer.

"As I returned from my house towards the troops in the square, I halted with the guard at the door of Hyrum Smith, and heard the sobs and groans of his wife, at his parting

words. She was then near confinement, and needed more than ever the comfort and consolation of a husband's presence. As we returned to the wagon we saw Sidney Rigdon taking leave of his wife and daughters, who stood at a little distance, in tears of anguish indescribable. In the wagon sat Joseph Smith, while his aged father and venerable mother came up overwhelmed with tears, and took each of the prisoners by the hand with a silence of grief too great for utterance.

"In the meantime hundreds of the brethren crowded around us, anxious to take a parting look or a silent shake of the hand, for feelings were too intense to allow of speech. In the midst of these scenes orders were given, and we moved slowly away, under the conduct of General Wilson and his whole brigade. A march of twelve miles brought us to Crooked River, where we camped for the night. Here General Wilson began to treat us more kindly; he became very sociable, conversing very freely on the subject of his former murders and robberies committed against us in Jackson. He did not pretend to deny anything; but spoke upon the whole as freely as if he had been giving the history of other ages or countries, in which his audience had no personal concern. Said he:

"We Jackson County boys know how it is, and therefore have not the extremes of hatred and prejudice which characterize the rest of the troops. We know perfectly well from the beginning the Mormons have not been the aggressors at all. As it began in 1833 in Jackson County, so it has been ever since. You Mormons were crowded to the last extreme, and compelled to self-defence; and this has been construed into treason, murder and plunder. We mob you without law; the authorities refuse to protect you according to law; you then are compelled to protect yourselves, and we act upon the prejudices of the public, who join our forces, and the whole is legalized, for your destruction and our gain. Is not this a shrewd and cunning policy on our part, gentlemen?

"When we drove you from Jackson County, we burned two hundred and three of your houses; plundered your goods; destroyed your press, type, paper, books, office and all—tared and feathered old Bishop Partridge, as exemplary an old man as you can find anywhere. We shot down some of your men, and, if any of you returned the fire, we imprisoned you, and tried you for murder, etc. Damn'd shrewdly done, gentlemen; and I came damn'd near kicking the bucket myself; for on one occa-

sion, while we were tearing down houses, driving families and destroying and plundering goods, some of you good folks put a ball through my son's body, and another through the arm of my clerk, and a third pierced my shirt collar and marked my neck. No blame, gentlemen; we deserved it. And let a set of men serve me as your community have been served, and I'll be damn'd if I would not fight till I died.

"It was repeatedly insinuated by the other officers and troops, that we should hang you prisoners on the first tree we came to on the way to Independence; but I'll be damn'd if anybody shall hurt you. We just intend to exhibit you in Independence, let the people look at you, and see what a damn'd set of fine fellows you are. And, more particularly, to keep you from that G—d damn'd old bigot of a General Clark and his troops, from down country, who are so stuffed with lies and prejudice that they would shoot you down in a moment."

"Such was the tenor of the conversation addressed by General Wilson to his prisoners. Indeed it was now evident that he was proud of his prey, and felt highly enthusiastic in having the honor of returning in triumph to Independence with his prisoners, whom his superstition had magnified into something more than fellow-citizens—something noble or supernatural and worthy of public exhibition.

"As we arose and commenced our march on the morning of the 3rd of November, Joseph Smith spoke to me and the other prisoners, in a low but cheerful and confidential tone; said he: *'Be of good cheer, brethren; the word of the Lord came to me last night that our lives should be given us, and that whatever we may suffer during this captivity, not one of our lives should be taken.'* Of this prophecy I testify in the name of the Lord, and though spoken in secret, its public fulfillment and the miraculous escape of each one of us is too notorious to need my testimony.

"In the after part of the day we came to the Missouri River, which separated us from Jackson County. Here the brigade was halted and the prisoners taken to a public house, where we were permitted to shave, change our linen and partake of some refreshment. This done, we were hurried to the ferry and across the river with the utmost haste in advance of the troops. This movement was soon explained to us. The truth was, General Clark had now arrived near the scene of action, and had sent an express to take us from General Wilson and prevent us from going to Jackson County—



both armies being competitors for the honor of possessing the wonderful, or, in their estimation, royal prisoners.

"Clark and his troops, from a distance, who had not arrived in the city of Far West till after our departure, were desirous of seeing the strange men whom it was said had turned the world upside down and of possessing such a wonderful trophy of victory, or of putting them to death themselves. On the other hand, Wilson and his brigade were determined to exhibit us through the streets of Independence as a visible token of their own achievements. Therefore, when demanded by General Clark's express, they refused to surrender us, and hurried us across the ferry with all possible dispatch. Marching about a mile, we encamped for the night in the wilderness, with about fifty troops for our guard—the remainder not crossing the ferry till the next morning.

"Some of the neighboring citizens visited us next morning—it being Sunday. One of the ladies came up and very candidly inquired of the troops which of the prisoners the 'Mormons' worshipped? One of the guards, pointing to Mr. Smith with a significant smile, said, 'This is he.' The woman then turning to Mr. Smith, inquired whether he professed to be the Lord and Savior?

"Do not smile, gentle reader, at the ignorance of these poor, innocent creatures, who, by the exertions of a corrupt press and pulpit, are kept in ignorance and made to believe in every possible absurdity in relation to the Church or the Saints. Mr. Smith replied, that he professed to be nothing but a man, and a minister of salvation, sent by Jesus Christ to preach the gospel. After expressing some surprise, the lady inquired what was the peculiar nature of the gospel, as held by himself and his Church. At this the visitors and soldiers gathered around, and Mr. Smith preached to them faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, repentance towards God, reformation of life, immersion in water, in the name of Jesus Christ, for remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands.

"All seemed surprised, and the lady, in tears, went her way, praising God for the truth, and praying aloud that the Lord would bless and deliver the prisoners."

Thus was fulfilled a prophecy which Joseph had made in public a few months previous, that a sermon should be preached in Jackson County before the close of the year 1838. Those who

at that time heard Joseph make the prediction could not understand how it could be fulfilled, as the excitement and hatred toward the Saints in that county was so great, that if an Elder should have attempted to preach there he would no doubt have been killed. Elder Pratt continues:

"At 10 o'clock the brigade had all crossed the river and come up with us. We were then marched forward in our carriages, while the troops were formed into a front and rear guard, with quite a martial appearance. As we passed along through the settlements, hundreds of men, women and children flocked to see us. General Wilson often halted the whole brigade to introduce us to the populace, pointing out each of us by name. Many shook us by the hand, and, in the ladies at least, there appeared some feelings of human compassion and sympathy.

"In this way we proceeded till we arrived at Independence. It was now past noon, and in the midst of a great rain; but hundreds crowded to witness the procession, and to gaze at us as we were paraded in martial triumph through the principal streets, the bugles sounding a blast of triumphant joy.

"This ceremony being finished, a vacant house was prepared for our reception, into which we were ushered through the crowd of spectators which thronged every avenue.

"The troops were then disbanded. In the meantime we were kept under a small guard, and were treated with some degree of humanity, while hundreds flocked to see us day after day. We spent most of our time in preaching and conversation, explanatory of our doctrines and practice. Much prejudice was removed, and the feelings of the populace began to be in our favor, notwithstanding their former wickedness and hatred."

Joseph writes: "Shortly after our arrival in Jackson County, Colonel Sterling Price, from the army of General Clark, came with orders from General Clark, who was commander-in-chief of the expedition, to have us forwarded forthwith to Richmond. Accordingly, on Thursday morning, we started with three guards only, and they had been obtained with great

difficulty, after laboring all the previous day to get them. Between Independence and Roy's Ferry, on the Missouri River, they all got drunk, and we got possession of their arms and horses. It was late in the afternoon, near the setting of the sun. We traveled about half a mile after we crossed the river, and put up for the night.

"Friday, 9th. This morning there came a number of men, some of them armed. Their threatenings and savage appearance were such as to make us afraid to proceed without more guards. A messenger was therefore dispatched to Richmond to obtain them.

"We started before their arrival, but had not gone far before we met Colonel Price with a guard of about seventy-four men, and were conducted by them to Richmond, and put in an old vacant house, and a guard set.

"Some time through the course of that day, General Clark came in, and we were introduced to him. We inquired of him the reason why we had been thus carried from our homes, and what were the charges against us. He said that he was not then able to determine, but would be in a short time; and with very little more conversation he withdrew."

Some time after General Clark had withdrawn, Colonel Price came in with two chains in his hands and a number of padlocks. The two chains he fastened together. He also brought with him ten men, who, while these preparations were going on, stood with their thumbs upon the cock of their guns, ready to fire on a moment's notice. He first had the windows nailed down, after which he ordered a man by the name of John Ful-

kerson, whom he brought with him, to chain the brethren, seven in number, with a kind of trace chain, extending from one man's ankle to another and fastened around one ankle of each with a padlock. In this situation, in a room without beds, chairs and other conveniences, they were guarded night and day by about ten men at a time, who stood over them with loaded pistols in hand. At night they were stretched on the floor in a row, upon their backs, and tried to sleep, but the hard floor, the cold, the inability to change their position because of their chains, and the noise of the guards, effectually prevented sleep. The following is from the pen of Apostle Parley P. Pratt:

"In one of those tedious nights we had laid as if in sleep, till the hour of midnight had passed, and our ears and hearts had been pained, while we listened for hours to obscene jests, the horrid oaths, the dreadful blasphemies and filthy language of our guards, Colonel Price at their head, as they recounted to each other their deeds of rapine, murder, robbery, etc., which they had committed among the Mormons while at Far West and vicinity; they even boasted of defiling, by force, wives, daughters and virgins, and of shooting or dashing out the brains of men, women and children. I had listened till I had become so disgusted, shocked, horrified and so filled with the spirit of indignant justice, that I could scarcely refrain from rising upon my feet and rebuking the guards, but had said nothing to Joseph or anyone else, although I lay next to him, and knew he was awake. On a sudden he arose to his feet, and spoke in a voice of thunder, or as the roaring lion, uttering, as near as I can recollect, the following words:

"*"SILENCE! ye fiends of the infernal pit! In the name of Jesus Christ I rebuke you, and command you to be still. I will not live another minute and hear such language. Cease such talk, or you or I die THIS MINUTE!"*

"He ceased to speak. He stood erect in terrible majesty. Chained and without a weapon; calm, unruffled and dignified as an angel, he looked down upon the qualling guards, whose weapons were lowered or dropped to the

ground; whose knees smote together, and who, shrinking into a corner, or crouching at his feet, begged his pardon and remained quiet till a change of guards.

"I have seen the ministers of justice, clothed in magisterial robes, and criminals arraigned before them, while life was suspended upon a breath in the courts of England; I have witnessed a congress in solemn session to give laws to nations; I have tried to conceive of kings, of royal courts, of thrones and crowns, and of emperors assembled to decide the fate of kingdoms; but dignity and majesty have I seen but once, as it stood in chains, at midnight, in a dungeon, in an obscure village of Missouri."

General John Clark spent several days after the arrival of Joseph and fellow - prisoners in Richmond, in searching the law to find authority for trying them by a court martial. "Had he been a lawyer of eminence," writes Joseph, "I should have supposed it no very difficult task to decide that quiet, peaceful, unoffending and private citizens, too, except as ministers of the gospel, were not amenable to a *military tribunal* in a country governed by *civil laws*."

Clark also wrote to Governor Boggs and suggested the propriety of trying Joseph and the other brethren, who were prisoners, by a court martial for mutiny. He added, however, that it being doubtful whether a court martial had the authority to try them, he wished the governor to forward the opinion of the attorney-general of the State. "It will not do," he writes, "to allow these leaders to return to their treasonable work again, on account of their not being indicted in Caldwell. They have committed treason, arson, burglary, robbery, larceny and perjury."

To have had the brethren tried by court martial was no doubt General Clark's greatest desire, as he by this

means thought to get rid of the prisoners in a quick and easy way, having endeavored in vain for some time to take their lives. Brother Jedediah M. Grant, then a young man, happened to put up at the same tavern with General Clark, at Richmond. He saw Clark make choice of his men to shoot Joseph and his fellow-prisoners on Monday, November 12th. He also saw the men who were selected make choice of their rifles, and load them with two bullets each. General Clark then saluted them, and said: "*Gentlemen, you shall have the honor of shooting the Mormon leaders on Monday morning, at 8 o'clock.*"

He soon found out, however, that this plan could not easily be carried out; so he concluded to turn the prisoners over to the civil authorities for trial. A court of inquiry was then instituted, and the trial commenced on the 13th of November before Austin A. King, judge, and Thomas C. Birch, state attorney. Both these men had been on the court martial when Joseph and the other brethren were sentenced to be shot. A little reflection will show how utterly unfit they were to have anything to do with the case.

The trial commenced by summoning witnesses in behalf of the State. These were called and sworn at the point of the bayonet. Doctor Sampson Avard was the first witness brought before the court. He had previously told Mr. Oliver Olney that if he (Olney) wished to save himself, he must swear hard against the heads of the Church, as they were the ones the court wanted to criminate; and if he could swear hard against them, they would not (that

is, neither court nor mob) disturb him. "I intend to do it," said he, "in order to escape, for if I do not, they will take my life." This introduction is sufficient to show the character of his testimony, and he swore just according to the statement he had made, doubtless thinking it a wise course to ingratiate himself into the good graces of the mob.

About forty others, principally apostates, testified upon the same principle as Avar, as only one kind of evidence was admitted—such, of course, as suited the mob. The Church organization was converted, by the testimony of the apostates, into a temporal kingdom, which was to fill the whole earth and subdue all other kingdoms. Much was inquired by the judge (who was a (Methodist) concerning the prophecy of Daniel: "In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall break in pieces all other kingdoms, and stand forever." "And the kingdom and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven, shall be given to the Saints of the Most High."

Having been informed that the Saints believed this prophecy, the judge turned to his clerk and said, "Write that down; it is a strong point for treason." One of the attorneys protested and observed, "Judge, you had better make the Bible treason." The court made no reply, but continued to inquire diligently into the doctrines of the Saints and the affairs of the Church. When it was found that the Church had sent missionaries to England and other foreign countries, this was construed as another evidence of treason against the State of Missouri.

The prisoners were then requested to name their witnesses, and when the names of forty or fifty persons had been given, the notorious bandit, Samuel Bogart, was dispatched to Far West with about fifty soldiers to bring them, but instead of taking them into court, he arrested all he could find and thrust them into prison. Again they were called upon for witnesses, and when these also were imprisoned or driven out of the country, the brethren, advised by their lawyers, General Doniphan and Amos Reed, concluded not to bring their witnesses to Richmond, for if they did, there would not be one of them left for final trial. As to making an impression on Judge King, General Doniphan said that if a cohort of angels were to come down and declare the prisoners innocent, it would be all the same; for the judge had determined from the beginning to cast them into prison.

When the trial was in process, a member of the Church named Allen was seen to pass the window. The prisoners requested that he might be introduced and sworn, which was finally done; but when he began to give his testimony, which went to establish the innocence of the prisoners and to show the murders, robberies, etc., committed by their accusers, the judge soon ordered the guard to put the witness out, which was done amid the yells, threats, insults and violence of the mob, who thronged in and around the court house. He barely escaped with his life. The result of this mock trial, which continued from the 13th to the 28th of November, was that Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae and Caleb Baldwin were sent to Liberty, Clay County,

to jail, to await trial for treason and murder—treason for having whipped the mob out of Daviess County and taking their cannon from them, and murder for the man killed in the Crooked River battle. Parley P. Pratt, Morris Phelps, Luman Gibbs, Darwin Chase and Norman Shearer were incarcerated in the Richmond jail, to stand their trial for the same crimes. All the other prisoners, including Amasa M. Lyman, were released or admitted to bail.

December 16, 1838, Joseph addressed a long letter from Liberty jail to the Saints, in which he gave them much instruction. He wrote in a cheerful and consoling manner. Though in prison his language breathed a spirit of trustfulness and confidence in the Lord. Respecting their persecutions he said:

"But we want you to remember Haman and Mordecai. You know that Haman could not be satisfied as long as he saw Mordecai at the king's gate, and he sought the life of Mordecai and the people of the Jews. But the Lord so ordered it that Haman was hanged upon his own gallows. So shall it come to pass with poor Hamans in the last days—those who have sought, by unbelief and wickedness, and by the principle of mobocracy, to destroy us and the people of God, by killing and scattering them abroad, and wilfully and maliciously delivering us into the hands of murderers, desiring us to be put to death, thereby having us dragged about in chains and cast into prison, and for what cause? It is because we were honest men, and were determined to defend the lives of the Saints at the expense of our own. I say unto you, that those who have thus vilely treated us, like Haman, shall be hanged upon their own gallows; or, in other words, shall fall into their own gin, and share, and ditch, and trap, which they have prepared for us, and shall go backward and stumble and fall, and their names shall be blotted out, and God shall reward them according to all their abominations."

He closed the letter as follows:

"And now, dear and well-beloved brethren—

and when we say brethren, we mean those who have continued faithful in Christ, men, women and children—we feel to exhort you, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to be strong in the faith in the new and everlasting covenant, and nothing frightened at your enemies. For what has happened unto us is an evident token to them of damnation; but unto us, of salvation, and that of God. Therefore, hold on even unto death; for 'he that seeketh to save his life shall lose it; but he that loseth his life for my sake and the gospel's, shall find it,' saith Jesus Christ.

"Brethren, from henceforth, let truth and righteousness prevail and abound in you; and in all things be temperate; abstain from drunkenness, and from swearing, and from all profane language, and from everything which is unrighteous or unholy; also from enmity and hatred, and covetousness, and from every unholy desire. Be honest one with another, for it seemeth that some have come short of these things, and some have been uncharitable, and have manifested greediness because of their debts towards those who have been persecuted and dragged about with chains without cause, and imprisoned. Such characters God hates, and they shall have their turn of sorrow in the rolling of the great wheel, for it rolleth and none can hinder. Zion shall yet live, though she seemeth to be dead. Remember, that whatsoever measure you mete out to others it shall be measured to you again.

"We say unto you, brethren, be not afraid of your adversaries; contend earnestly against mobs and the unlawful works of dissenters and of darkness; and the very God of peace shall be with you, and make a way for your escape from the adversary of your souls. We commend you to God and the work of his grace, which is able to make us wise unto salvation."

In the meantime the Saints in Caldwell County were making preparations to leave Missouri early next spring, agreeable to the exterminating order of Governor Boggs; they were constantly annoyed by the mobocrats. Many of the State journals tried to hide the iniquity of the State by throwing a covering of lies over her atrocious deeds committed. "But," writes Joseph, "can they hide the governor's cruel order for banishment or extermination? Can they conceal the

facts of the disgraceful treaty of the generals with their own officers and men at the city of Far West? Can they conceal the fact that twelve or fifteen thousand men, women and children have been banished from the State without trial or condemnation? And this at an expense of \$200,000—and, this sum appropriated by the State legislature, in order to pay the troops for this act of lawless outrage? Can they conceal the fact that we have been imprisoned for many months, while our families, friends and witnesses have been driven away? Can they conceal the blood of the murdered husbands and fathers, or stifle the cries of the widow and the fatherless? Nay! The rocks and mountains may cover them in unknown depths, the awful abyss of the fathomless deep may swallow them up, and still their horrid deeds will stand forth in the broad light of day, for the wondering gaze of angels and of men! They cannot be hid!" He continues:

"Some time in December, Heber C. Kimball and Alanson Ripley were appointed, by the brethren in Far West, to visit us at Liberty jail as often as circumstances would permit or occasion required, which they faithfully performed. We were sometimes visited by our friends, whose kindness and attention I shall ever remember with feelings of lively gratitude; but frequently we were not suffered to have the privilege. Our victuals were of the coarsest kind, and served up in a manner which was disgusting.

"Thus in a land of liberty, in the town of Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, I and my fellow-prisoners, in chains, dungeons and jail, saw the close of 1838."

## CHAPTER 12.

The case of the prisoners investigated by Judge Thurnham.—Sidney Rigdon released on bail.—Elders H. C. Kimball and Theodore Turley intercede in behalf of the prisoners.—Alexander McRae's narrative.—The prisoners make an unsuccessful attempt to break jail.—Great excitement among the populace.—Hyrum Smith's statement.—Fifty men conspire to kill the Prophet.—Trial in Richmond before a drunken judge and jury.—Change of venue.—Joseph and fellow-prisoners escape from their guards on their journey toward Boone County.—Joseph arrives safely in Quincy, Ill.

"Tuesday, January 1, 1839," writes the Prophet Joseph, "dawned upon us as prisoners of hope, but not as sons of liberty. O Columbia! Columbia! How thou art fallen! 'The land of the free, and the home of the brave!' 'The asylum of the oppressed'—oppressing thy noblest sons, in a loathsome dungeon, without any provocation, only that they have claimed to worship the God of their fathers according to his own word, and the dictates of their own consciences."

But notwithstanding they commenced the year under so unpleasant circumstances, Joseph and his fellow-prisoners were full of hope that their innocence at last would be acknowledged and their deliverance, in consequence, be brought about. Consequently they resigned themselves patiently in the hands of Providence. "It is not our object to complain—to asperse anyone," states a communication which they addressed to the Missouri legislature, "all we ask is a fair and impartial trial. We ask the sympathies of no one; we ask sheer justice. This is all we expect, and all we merit; but we merit that."

Owing to the great excitement prevailing in the northern counties of Missouri, it was supposed that a court

in that part of the country would to a greater or lesser degree be influenced thereby and consequently would hardly be able to render a just decision. Consequently the prisoners petitioned the Supreme Court of Missouri twice for a writ of *habeas corpus*, but this was denied in both instances, by Judge Reynolds, who afterward became governor of the State. After a while they demanded a *habeas corpus* writ of Judge Thurnham, one of the county judges, which, with considerable reluctance, was granted. At that time great threats were uttered by the mob; that if any of the prisoners were liberated, they should never get out of the country alive.

After the investigation, Sidney Rigdon was released from prison on bail, by the decision of the judge, but as the mob threatened to kill him if he was set at liberty, he returned with the other prisoners to jail, where he remained until a favorable opportunity presented itself for him to get away.

Through the friendship of the sheriff, Mr. Samuel Hadley, and the jailer, Mr. Samuel Tillery, he was let out of the jail secretly in the night, after having declared in prison, that the sufferings of Jesus Christ were a fool to him; and being solemnly warned by them to be out of the State with as little delay as possible, he made his escape. Being pursued by a body of armed men, it was through the direction of a kind Providence that he escaped out of their hands, and safely arrived in Quincy, Illinois.

Judge Thurnham acknowledged before Joseph and the other brethren who remained in prison that he knew they were innocent men, but for fear of his own life and that of the pris-

oners, he dared not set them at liberty. Their persecution, arrest, etc., he said, was only a repetition of the scenes in Jackson County, and the whole plan was concocted from the governor down to the lowest judge, for the purpose of stopping their increasing power and influence in the State.

About this time (February, 1839) Elders Heber C. Kimball and Alanson Ripley were at Liberty, where they had been almost weekly importuning at the feet of the judges; and while performing this duty on a certain occasion, Judge Hughes stared them full in the face and observed to one of his associates, that "by the look of these men's eyes they are whipped but not conquered; and let us beware how we treat these men, for their looks bespeak innocence;" and at that time he entreated his associates to admit of bail for all the prisoners; but the hardness of their hearts would not admit of so charitable a deed. They, however, continued to importune at the feet of the judges, and also to visit the prisoners; no one of the ruling part of the community disputed their innocence, but said, in consequence of the fury of the mob, that even-handed justice could not be administered; they were therefore compelled to abandon the idea of importuning at the feet of the judges, and leave the prisoners in the hands of God.

Alexander McRae, a fellow-prisoner with the Prophet Joseph, writes as follows:

"During our imprisonment, we had many visitors, both friends and enemies. Among the latter, many were angry with Brother Joseph, and accused him of killing a son, a brother, or some relative of theirs, at what was called the Crooked River battle. This looked rather strange to me, that so many should claim a son, or a

brother killed there, when they reported only one man killed.

"Among our friends, who visited us, were President Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, of the First Presidency—the latter several times; George A. Smith, of the Quorum of the Twelve; Don Carlos Smith, brother of Joseph, who came several times, and brought some of our families to see us. Benjamin Covey, Bishop of the Twelfth Ward, Salt Lake City, brought each of us a new pair of boots, and made us a present of them. James Sloan, his wife and daughter, came several times. Alanson Ripley also visited us, and many others, whom to name would be too tedious. Orrin P. Rockwell brought us refreshments many times; and Jane Bleven and her daughter brought cakes, pies, etc., and handed them in at the windows. These things helped us much, as our food was very coarse, and so filthy that we could not eat it until we were driven to it by hunger.

"After we had been there some time, and had tried every means we could to obtain our liberty by the law, without effect (except Sidney Rigdon, who was bailed out), and also having heard, from a reliable source, that it had been stated in the public street, by the most influential men in that part of the country, that 'the Mormon prisoners would have to be condemned, or the character of the State would have to go down,' we came to the conclusion that we would try other means to effect it.

"Accordingly, on the 7th day of February, 1839, after counseling together on the subject, we concluded to try to go that evening when the jailer came with our supper; but brother Hyrum, before deciding fully, and to make it more sure, asked Brother Joseph to inquire of the Lord as to the propriety of the move. He did so, and received answer to this effect: that if we were all agreed, we could go clear that evening; and if we would ask, we should have a testimony for ourselves. I immediately asked, and had not more than asked, until I received as clear a testimony as I ever did of anything in my life, that it was true. Brother Hyrum Smith and Caleb Baldwin bore testimony to the same; but Lyman Wight said we might go if we chose, but he would not. After talking with him for some time, he said, 'if we would wait until the next day, he would go with us.' Without thinking we had no promise of success on any other day than the one above stated, we agreed to wait.

"When night came, the jailer came alone with our supper, threw the door wide open, put our supper on the table, and went to the back part of the room, where a pile of books

lay, took up a book and went to reading, leaving us between him and the door, thereby giving us every chance to go if we had been ready. As the next day was agreed upon, we made no attempt to go that evening.

"When the next evening came, the case was very different; the jailer brought a double guard with him, and with them six of our brethren, to wit: Erastus Snow, William D. Huntington, Cyrus Daniels, David Holman, Alanson Ripley and Watson Barlow. I was afterwards informed that they were sent by the Church. The jailer seemed to be badly scared; he had the door locked and everything made secure. It looked like a bad chance to get away, but we were determined to try it; so when the jailer started out, we started too. Brother Hyrum took hold of the door, and the rest followed; but before we were able to render him the assistance he needed, the jailer and guard succeeded in closing the door, shutting the brethren in with us, except Cyrus Daniels, who was on the outside.

"As soon as the attempt was made inside, he took two of the guards, one under each arm, and ran down the stairs that led to the door, it being in the second story. When he reached the ground they got away from him; and seeing we had failed to get out, he started to run, but put his foot in a hole and fell. Just as he fell, a bullet from one of the guards passed very close to his head, and he thinks the fall saved his life.

"The scene that followed this defies description. I should judge, from the number, that all the town and many from the country, gathered around the jail, and every mode of torture and death that their imagination could fancy, was proposed for us, such as blowing up the jail, taking us out and whipping us to death, shooting us, burning us to death, tearing us to pieces with horses, etc. But they were so divided among themselves that they could not carry out any of their plans, and we escaped unhurt. \* \* \* (See page 148.)

"We never suffered ourselves to go into any important measure without asking Brother Joseph to inquire of the Lord in relation to it. Such was our confidence in him as a Prophet, that when he said 'Thus saith the Lord,' we were confident it would be as he said; and the more we tried it, the more confidence we had, for we never found his word fail in a single instance.

"A short time before we were to go to Daviess County for trial, word came to us that either General Atchison or Doniphan would raise a military force, and go with us to pro-



test us from the wrath of the people. The matter was discussed by the brethren (except Brother Joseph), and they naturally enough concluded it would be best; and although I had nothing to say, I concurred with them in my feelings. Brother Hyrum asked Joseph what he thought of it. Brother Joseph hung his head a few moments, and seemed in a deep study, and then raised up and said, 'Brother Hyrum, it will not do: we must trust in the Lord; if we take a guard with us, we shall be destroyed.'

'This was very unexpected to us; but Brother Hyrum remarked, 'If you say it in the name of the Lord, we will rely on it.' Said Brother Joseph, 'In the name of the Lord, if we take a guard with us, we will be destroyed; but if we put our trust in the Lord, we shall be safe and no harm shall befall us, and we shall be better treated than we have ever been since we have been prisoners.'

'This settled the question, and all seemed satisfied, and it was decided that we should have no extra guard, and they had only such a guard as they chose for our safe-keeping. When we arrived at the place where the court was held, I began to think he was mistaken for once, for the people rushed upon us *en masse* crying, 'Kill them; G-d d-n them, kill them.' I could see no chance for escape, unless we could fight our way through, and we had nothing to do it with. At this, Brother Joseph, at whom all seemed to rush, rose up and said, 'We are in your hands; if we are guilty, we refuse not to be punished by the law.' Hearing these words, two of the most bitter mobocrats in the country—one by the name of William Peniston, and the other Kinney or McKinney, I do not remember which—got upon benches and began to speak to the people, saying, 'Yes, gentlemen, these men are in our hands; let us not use violence, but let the law have its course; the law will condemn them, and they will be punished by it. We do not want the disgrace of taking the law into our own hands,' etc.

'In a few minutes they were quieted, and they seemed now as friendly as they had a few minutes before been enraged. Liquor was procured, and we all had to drink in token of friendship. This took place in the court room (a small log cabin about twelve feet square), during the adjournment of the court; and from that time until we got away, they could not put a guard over us who would not become so friendly that they dared not trust them, and the guard was very frequently

changed. We were seated at the first table with the judge, lawyers and others, and had the best the country afforded, with feather beds to sleep on—a privilege we had not before enjoyed in all our imprisonment.

'On one occasion, while we were there, the above-named Peniston, partly in joke and partly in earnest, threw out a rather hard insinuation against some of the brethren. This touched Joseph's feelings, and he retorted a good deal in the same way, only with such power that the earth seemed to tremble under his feet, and said, 'Your heart is as black as your whiskers,' which were as black as any crow. He seemed to quake under it and left the room.

'The guard who had become friendly, were alarmed for our safety, and exclaimed, 'Oh, Mr. Smith, do not talk so; you will bring trouble upon yourself and companions.' Brother Joseph replied, 'Do not be alarmed; I know what I am about.' He always took up for the brethren, when their characters were assailed, sooner than for himself, no matter how unpopular it was to speak in their favor."

Hyrum Smith, another of the prisoners, writes:

"Our place of lodging (in the prison) was the square side of hewed white oak logs, and our food was anything but good and decent. Poison was administered to us three or four times. The effect it had upon our systems was, that it vomited us almost to death, and then we would lay some two or three days in a torpid, stupid state, not even caring or wishing for life.

"The poison would inevitably have proved fatal had not the power of Jehovah interposed in our behalf, to save us from their wicked purpose. We were also subjected to the necessity of eating human flesh! for the space of five days, or go without food, except a little coffee or a little corn bread. I chose the latter alternative. None of us partook of the flesh except Lyman Wight. We also heard the guard, which was placed over us, making sport of us, saying that 'they had fed us upon Mormon beef.'

"I have described the appearance of this flesh to several experienced physicians, and they have decided that it was human flesh. We learned afterwards, through one of the guards, that it was supposed that such acts of cannibalism as feeding us with human flesh would be considered a popular deed. But those concerned, on learning that it would not take,

tried to keep it secret; but the fact was noised abroad before they took that precaution."

In the meantime the Saints made preparations to leave Missouri, in compliance with the governor's exterminating order. On the 7th of February, Joseph's family left Far West in charge of Stephen Markham, and after a journey of almost unsupportable hardships, reached the Mississippi River, opposite Quincy, on the 15th.

March 20th, Joseph and fellow-prisoners sent a lengthy epistle to the Saints at Quincy, Illinois, and scattered abroad, and to Bishop Partridge in particular, of which Sections 121, 122 and 123 of the Doctrine and Covenants are extracts.

In the latter part of March, 1839, Elders Kimball and Turley started on a mission to see the governor. They called on the sheriff of Ray County and jailer for a copy of the mittimus, by which the prisoners were held in custody, but he confessed he had none. They went to Judge King, and he made out a kind of mittimus. At this time Joseph and his brethren had been in prison several months without even a mittimus; and that, too, for crimes said to have been committed in another county.

Elders Kimball and Turley took all the papers by which they were held, or which were then made out for them, with the petitions of the prisoners to the supreme judges, and went to Jefferson City.

The governor was absent. The secretary of State treated them very kindly; and when he saw the papers, could hardly believe those were all the documents by which the prisoners were held in custody, for they were illegal.

Lawyer Doniphan had also de-

ceived them in his papers, and sent them off with such documents that a change of venue could not be effected in time. The secretary was astonished at Judge King acting as he did, but said he could do nothing in the premises, and if the governor were present, he could do nothing; but the secretary wrote a letter to Judge King. The brethren then started to find the supreme judges and get writs of *habeas corpus*.

At last they found the judges (Mathias McGirk, George Thompkins and John C. Edwards), but could not obtain the writ in consequence of the papers being imperfect. There was no order of commitment, without which the judges would not grant the writs. After riding hundreds of miles the brethren returned to Liberty, March 30th, and soon called on Judge King, who was angry because they had reported the case to the governor. "I could," said he, "have done all the business for you properly, if you had come to me; and I would have signed the petition for all, except Joe, and he is not fit to live."

They then visited the prison, but were not permitted to enter; all the communication they had with the prisoners took place through the grate of the dungeon. Joseph bid the brethren to be of good cheer; "for," said he, "we shall be delivered; but no arm but God can deliver us now. Tell the brethren to be of good cheer, and get the Saints away as fast as possible."

On April 5th, Brothers Kimball and Turley returned to Far West. On that day a company of about fifty men in Daviess County swore that they would never eat or drink until they had murdered Joe Smith. Their captain,

William Bowman, swore, in the presence of Theodore Turley, that he would "never eat or drink, after he had seen Joe Smith, until he had murdered him." Also eight men—Captain Bogart, who was the county judge, Doctor Laffity, John Whitmer and five others—came into the committee-room at Far West and there presented to Elder Theodore Turley the paper concerning the revelation of July 8, 1838, to Joseph Smith, that the Twelve were to take their leave on the Temple site at Far West, on April 28th, to go to the Isles of the Sea, and then asked him to read it. Turley said, "Gentlemen, I am well acquainted with it." They said, "Then you, as a rational man, will give up Joseph Smith being a Prophet and an inspired man, now he and the Twelve are scattered all over creation; let them come here, if they dare; if they do, they will be murdered. As that revelation cannot be fulfilled, you will now give up your faith."

Turley jumped up and said, "In the name of God that revelation will be fulfilled." They laughed him to scorn. John Whitmer hung down his head. They said, "If they (the Twelve) come, they will get murdered; they dare not come to take their leave here; that is like all the rest of Joe Smith's damned prophecies." They commenced on Turley and said, "You had better do as John Corrill has done; he is going to publish a book called 'Mormonism Fairly Delineated;' he is a sensible man, and you had better assist him."

Turley said, "Gentlemen, I presume there are men here who have heard Corrill say that 'Mormonism' was true, that Joseph Smith was a Prophet

and inspired of God, etc. I now call upon you, John Whitmer: You say Corrill is a moral and good man; do you believe him when he says the Book of Mormon is true, or when it is not true? There are many things published that they say are true, and again turn round and say they are false."

Whitmer asked, "Do you hint at me?"

Turley replied, "If the cap fits, you may wear it; all I know is that you have published to the world that an angel did present those plates to Joseph Smith."

Whitmer replied, "I now say, I handled those plates; there were fine engravings on both sides. I handled them; they were shown to me by a supernatural power." He described how they were hung and accordingly acknowledged all.

Turley then asked him why the translation was not now at hand. He said, "I cannot read it, and I do not know whether it is true or not." Whitmer testified all this in the presence of eight men.

Judge King, evidently fearing a change of venue, or some movement on the part of the prisoners to get away, and thus escape his unhallowed persecution—and most probably expecting that they would be murdered on the way—hurried them off to Daviess County, on the 6th of April, under a guard of about ten men, commanded by Samuel Tillery, deputy jailer of Clay County. They were promised that they should go through Far West, which was directly on their route; their friends at that place knew this, and thus expected them; but instead of fulfilling their promise they took them around the city, and out of the

direct course 18 miles—far from habitations, where every opportunity presented for a general massacre.

Nevertheless, after a tedious journey—for their long confinement had enfeebled their bodily powers—they arrived in Daviess County on the 8th, and about a mile from Gallatin they were delivered into the hands of William Morgan, sheriff of Daviess County, and his guard, consisting of three men. The Liberty guard then returned.

On the 9th of April the trial of the prisoners was commenced before a drunken jury, consisting principally of men who had taken part in the bloody tragedy at Haun's Mill. Austin A. King, who was as drunk as the jury, was presiding judge, and Lawyer Birch occupied the important position of circuit judge. About this mock-trial, which was continued for several days, Hyrum Smith, one of the prisoners, writes:

"The same jury sat as a jury in the daytime and were over us as a guard by night. They tantalized and boasted over us of their great achievements at Haun's Mill and at other places; telling us how many houses they had burned, and how many sheep, cattle and hogs they had driven off belonging to the 'Mormons;' and how many rapes they had committed, etc.

"These fiends of the lower region boasted of these acts of barbarity and tantalized our feelings with them for several days. We had heard of these acts of cruelty previous to this time; but we were slow to believe that such acts had been perpetrated.

"This grand jury constantly celebrated their achievements with grog and glass in hand, like the Indian warriors at the war dances, singing and telling each of their exploits in murdering the 'Mormons,' in plundering their houses and carrying off their property. All this was done in the presence of Judge Birch, who had previously said in our hearing, that there was no law for the Mormons in the State of Missouri."

Brother Stephen Markham, who by the committee at Far West had been sent to Gallatin to visit the prisoners and had also brought them a hundred dollars from Brother Kimball, was permitted to give his testimony in court. After he had closed, Blakely, one of the guard, came in and said to Markham that he wanted to speak to him. Brother Markham walked out with him and around the end of the house, when Blakely called out, "G—d—n you, you d—d old Mormon, I'll kill you," and struck at Markham with his fist and then with a club. Markham took the club and threw it over the fence. There were ten of the mob, who immediately rushed upon Markham to kill him, Col. Wm. P. Peniston, captain of the guard, being one of the number. But Markham told them he could kill the whole bunch of them at one blow apiece, and drove them off. The court and grand jury stood and saw the affray, and heard the mob threaten Markham's life by all the oaths they could invent, but they took no cognizance of it.

The ten mobbers went home after their guns to shoot Markham, and the grand jury brought in a bill for "murder, treason, burglary, arson, larceny, theft and stealing," against Joseph Smith, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, Caleb Baldwin and Hyrum Smith.

Joseph writes: "During this night visions of the future were opened to my understanding; when I saw the ways and means and near approach of my escape from imprisonment, and the danger that my beloved Brother Markham was in. I awoke Brother Markham, and told him if he would rise very early and not wait for the judge and lawyers, as he had contemplated, but ride briskly, he would get safe home,

almost before he was aware of it; and if he did not, the mob would shoot him on the way; and tell the brethren to be of good cheer, and lose no time in removing from the country."

The next morning Elder Markham arose at the dawn of day and rode rapidly to Far West, where he arrived before 9 a. m. The mobbers pursued to shoot him, but did not overtake him.

The prisoners asked for a change of venue from Daviess to Marion County, which was not granted, but at last they succeeded in getting a change of venue from Daviess to Boone County. A mittimus was accordingly made out by the pretended Judge Birch, without date, name or place, and the prisoners were fitted out with a two-horse wagon and horses, and four men besides the sheriff to be their guard. With this outfit they started from Gallatin late in the afternoon of April 15, 1839. They spent the first night in Adamondi-Ahman, where they bought two horses of the guard. The following day (Tuesday, April 16th) they traveled 20 miles, and the sheriff told them on the night before retiring to rest that he should take a drink of grog and they might do as they pleased. Accordingly the sheriff and three of the guards went to bed drunk, and the other guard was willing to assist them in saddling their horses and getting away. Joseph writes:

"We thought it a favorable opportunity to make our escape, knowing that the only object of our enemies was our destruction, and likewise knowing that a number of our brethren had been massacred by them on Shoal Creek, amongst whom were two children, and that they sought every

opportunity to abuse others who were left in that State, and that they were never brought to an account for their barbarous proceedings, which were winked at and encouraged by those in authority. We thought that it was necessary for us, inasmuch as we loved our lives, and did not wish to die by the hand of murderers and assassins, and inasmuch as we loved our families and friends, to deliver ourselves from our enemies, and from that land of tyranny and oppression, and again take our stand among a people in whose bosoms dwell those feelings of republicanism and liberty which gave rise to our nation; feelings which the inhabitants of the State of Missouri were strangers to. Accordingly, we took advantage of the situation of our guard and departed, and that night we traveled a considerable distance.

\* \* \*

"We continued our journey, both by night and by day; and after suffering much fatigue and hunger, I arrived in Quincy, Illinois (Monday, April 22nd), amidst the congratulations of my friends and the embraces of my family, whom I found as well as could be expected, considering what they had been called to endure. Before leaving Missouri I had paid the lawyers at Richmond \$34,000 in cash, lands, etc.; one lot which I let them have, in Jackson County, for \$7,000 they were soon offered \$10,000, but would not accept it. For other vexatious suits, which I had to contend against, the few months I was in this State, I paid lawyers' fees to the amount of about \$16,000, making in all about \$50,000, for which I received very little in return; for sometimes they were afraid to act on account of

the mob, and sometimes they were so drunk as to incapacitate them for business. But there were a few honorable exceptions.

"Among those who have been the chief instruments and leading characters in the cruel persecutions against the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the following stand conspicuous, viz., Generals Clark, Wilson and Lucas, Colonel Price and Cornelius Gillium; also Captain Bogart, whose zeal in the cause of oppression and injustice was unequalled, and whose delight has been to rob, murder and spread devastation among the Saints. He stole a valuable horse, saddle and bridle from me, which cost \$200, and then sold the same to General Wilson. On understanding this, I applied to General Wilson for the horse, who assured me upon the honor of a gentleman and an officer, that I should have the horse returned to me; but this promise has not been fulfilled.

"All the threats, murders and robberies, which these officers have been guilty of, are entirely overlooked by the Executive of the State, who, to hide his own iniquity, must of course shield and protect those whom he employed to carry into effect his murderous purposes.

"I was in their hands, as a prisoner, about six months; but notwithstanding their determination to destroy me, with the rest of my brethren who were with me, and although at three different times (as I was informed) we were sentenced to be shot, without the least shadow of law (as we were not military men), and had the time and place appointed for that purpose, yet through the mercy of God, in answer to the prayers of

the Saints, I have been preserved and delivered out of their hands, and can again enjoy the society of my friends and brethren, whom I love, and to whom I feel united in bonds that are stronger than death; and in a State where I believe the laws are respected, and whose citizens are humane and charitable.

"During the time I was in the hands of my enemies, I must say, that although I felt great anxiety respecting my family and friends, who were so inhumanly treated and abused, and who had to mourn the loss of their husbands and children who had been slain, and, after having been robbed of nearly all that they possessed, were driven from their homes, and forced to wander as strangers in a strange country, in order that they might save themselves and their little ones from the destruction they were threatened with in Missouri, yet as far as I was concerned, I felt perfectly calm, and resigned to the will of my Heavenly Father. I knew my innocence, as well as that of the Saints, and that we had done nothing to deserve such treatment from the hands of our oppressors. Consequently, I could look to that God who has the lives of all men in his hands, and who had saved me frequently from the gates of death, for deliverance; and notwithstanding that every avenue of escape seemed to be entirely closed, and death stared me in the face, and that my destruction was determined upon, as far as man was concerned, yet from my first entrance into the camp, I felt an assurance that I, with my brethren and our families, should be delivered. Yes, that still small voice, which has so often whispered consolation to my soul, in the depth of sorrow and distress, bade

me be of good cheer, and promised deliverance, which gave me great comfort. And although the heathen raged, and the people imagined vain things, yet the Lord of Hosts, the God of Jacob, was my refuge; and when I cried unto him in the day of trouble, he delivered me; for which I call upon my soul, and all that is within me, to bless and praise his holy name. For although I was 'troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.'

"The conduct of the Saints, under their accumulated wrongs and sufferings, has been praiseworthy; their courage in defending their brethren from the ravages of the mobs; their attachment to the cause of truth, under circumstances the most trying and distressing which humanity can possibly endure; their love to each other; their readiness to afford assistance to me and my brethren who were confined in a dungeon; their sacrifices in leaving Missouri, and assisting the poor widows and orphans, and securing them houses in a more hospitable land; all conspire to raise them in the estimation of all good and virtuous men, and has secured them the favor and approbation of Jehovah, and a name as imperishable as eternity. And their virtuous deeds and heroic actions, while in defense of truth and their brethren, will be fresh and blooming, when the names of their oppressors shall be either entirely forgotten, or only remembered for their barbarity and cruelty.

"Their attention and affection to me, while in prison, will ever be remembered by me; and when I have seen them thrust away and abused

by the jailer and guard, when they came to do any kind offices, and to cheer our minds while we were in the gloomy prison house, gave me feelings which I cannot describe; while those who wished to insult and abuse us by their threats and blasphemous language, were applauded, and had every encouragement given them.

"However, thank God, we have been delivered. And although some of our beloved brethren have had to seal their testimony with their blood, and have died martyrs to the cause of truth

"Short though bitter was their pain,  
"Everlasting is their joy.

"Let us not sorrow as 'those without hope;' the time is fast approaching when we shall see them again and rejoice together, without being afraid of wicked men. Yes, those who have slept in Christ, shall he bring with him, when he shall come to be glorified in his Saints, and admired by all those who believe, but to take vengeance upon his enemies and all those who obey not the gospel.

"At that time the hearts of the widows and fatherless shall be comforted, and every tear shall be wiped from their faces. The trials they have had to pass through shall work together for their good, and prepare them for the society of those who have come up out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

"Marvel not, then, if you are persecuted; but remember the words of the Savior: 'The servant is not above his Lord; if they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also;' and that all the afflictions through which the Saints have to pass, are the fulfilment of the words of the Prophets

which have spoken since the world began.

"We shall therefore do well to discern the signs of the times as we pass along, that the day of the Lord may not 'overtake us as a thief in the night.' Afflictions, persecutions, imprisonments and deaths we must expect, according to the Scriptures, which tell us, that the blood of those whose souls were under the altar could not be avenged on them that dwell on the earth, until their brethren should be slain as they were.

"If these transactions had taken place among barbarians, under the authority of a despot, or in a nation where a certain religion is established according to law, and all others proscribed, then there might have been some shadow of defense offered. But can we realize that in a land which is the cradle of liberty and equal rights, and where the voice of the conquerors who had vanquished our foes had scarcely died away upon our ears, where we frequently mingled with those who had stood amidst 'the battle and the breeze,' and whose arms have been nerved in the defense of their country and liberty, whose institutions are the theme of philosophers and poets, and held up to the admiration of the whole civilized world—in the midst of all these scenes, with which we were surrounded, a persecution the most unwarrantable was commenced, and a tragedy the most dreadful was enacted, by a large portion of the inhabitants of one of those free and sovereign States which comprise this vast Republic; and a deadly blow was struck at the institutions for which our fathers had fought many a hard battle, and for which many a patriot had shed his blood.

Suddenly was heard, amidst the voice of joy and gratitude for our national liberty, the voice of mourning, lamentation and woe. Yes! in this land, a mob, regardless of those laws for which so much blood has been spilt, dead to every feeling of virtue and patriotism which animated the bosom of freemen, fell upon a people whose religious faith was different from their own, and not only destroyed their homes, drove them away, and carried off their property, but murdered many a free-born son of America—a tragedy which has no parallel in modern and hardly in ancient times; even the face of the Red Man would be ready to turn pale at the recital of it.

"It would have been some consolation, if the authorities of the State had been innocent in this affair; but they are involved in the guilt thereof, and the blood of innocence, even of children, cry for vengeance upon them.

"I ask the citizens of this Republic, whether such a state of things is to be suffered to pass unnoticed, and the hearts of widows, orphans and patriots to be broken, and their wrongs left without redress? No! I invoke the genius of our constitution. I appeal to the patriotism of Americans to stop this unlawful and unholy procedure; and pray that God may defend this nation from the dreadful effects of such outrages.

"Is there no virtue in the body politic? Will not the people rise up in their majesty, and with that promptitude and zeal, which are so characteristic of them, discountenance such proceedings by bringing the offenders to that punishment which they



so richly deserve, and save the nation from that disgrace and ultimate ruin, which otherwise must inevitably fall upon it?"

### CHAPTER 13.

Fulfillment of a revelation.—Joseph selects Commerce, Hancock County, Illinois, as a new gathering place for the Saints.—Meets with the Twelve Apostles in Quincy, Illinois.—Removes with his family to Commerce.—Important item of instruction.—Miraculous cases of healing.—Joseph and others visit Washington, D. C., to lay the grievances of the Saints before the Federal Government.—President Van Buren's answer.—Congress refuses to redress the wrongs of the Saints. Joseph preaches in Philadelphia.—Returns to Nauvoo.

April 24, 1839, two days after Joseph's arrival from Missouri, a council was held in Quincy, Illinois, in which it was "resolved that Joseph Smith, jun., Vinson Knight and Alanson Ripley should visit Iowa Territory immediately for the purpose of making a location for the Church." These three brethren, who started for Iowa the following day, examined several places in Lee County, Iowa, and Hancock County, Illinois. These two counties were situated opposite each other, Hancock County on the east and Lee County on the west side of the Mississippi River. Commerce in Hancock County was chosen as the most suitable place for the Saints to locate, and large tracts of land were subsequently purchased by the Saints there. (See *Nauvoo*.) Joseph returned to his family (who stopped temporarily with Brother Cleveland, near Quincy) on the 3rd of May. On that day he met the Twelve Apostles for the first time after his escape from Missouri, they having returned from Far West the day previous. This meeting was a joyful and happy one indeed, and Joseph

felt like a father who, after suffering under the hands of wicked tyranny and oppression, again was free in the midst of his children. The three following days (May 4th, 5th and 6th) the Church held a conference on the Presbyterian camp ground, near Quincy, at which Joseph presided. Among other resolutions passed on that occasion was one sanctioning the proceedings of the Twelve and their friends on the Temple spot at Far West, on Friday, April 26, 1839.

May 9th, Joseph, together with his family, left Quincy for Commerce, where he arrived the following day, and took up his residence in a small log house on the bank of the river, about a mile south of the village of Commerce. Having arranged his private affairs as well as he could under the circumstances, he directed his time and attention to the welfare and wants of the Saints, who had just been stripped of almost everything in the shape of earthly possessions, and they naturally looked to him with trustful anxiety as the man to counsel and guide them in their trying situation. Thus he was constantly kept busy giving counsel, administering to the sick, writing letters, dictating history, preparing documents (setting forth the grievances of the Saints) to send to Washington, laying out city lots and discharging numerous other duties. He also gave much instruction concerning doctrine. Of a sermon which he preached June 27, 1839, the following are extracts:

"Faith comes by hearing the word of God, through the testimony of the servants of God; that testimony is always attended by the spirit of prophecy and revelation.

"Repentance is a thing that cannot be trifled with every day. Daily transgression and daily

repentance is not that which is pleasing in the sight of God.

"Baptism is a holy ordinance preparatory to the reception of the Holy Ghost; it is the channel and key by which the Holy Ghost will be administered.

"The gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands cannot be received through the medium of any other principle than the principle of righteousness, for if the proposals are not complied with, it is of no use, but withdraws.

"Tongues were given for the purpose of preaching among those whose language is not understood, as on the day of Pentecost, etc., and it is not necessary for tongues to be taught to the Church particularly, for any man that has the Holy Ghost can speak of the things of God in his own tongue as well as to speak in another; for faith comes not by signs, but by hearing the word of God.

"The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead and the eternal judgment are necessary to preach among the first principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

"The doctrine of election. St. Paul exhorts us to make our calling and election sure. This is the sealing power spoken of by Paul in other places (Eph. 1:13, 14): 'In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation; in whom also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory,' that we may be sealed up unto the day of redemption. This principle ought (in its proper place) to be taught, for God hath not revealed anything to Joseph but what he will make known unto the Twelve, and even the least Saint may know all things as fast as he is able to bear them, for the day must come when no man need say to his neighbor, Know ye the Lord; for all shall know him (who remain), from the least to the greatest. How is this to be done? It is to be done by this sealing power, and the other Comforter spoken of, which will be manifest by revelation. There are two Comforters spoken of. One is the Holy Ghost, the same as given on the day of Pentecost, and that all Saints receive after faith, repentance and baptism. This first Comforter or Holy Ghost has no other effect than pure intelligence. It is more powerful in expanding the mind, enlightening the understanding, and storing the intellect with present knowledge, of a man who is the literal seed

of Abraham, than one that is a Gentile, though it may not have half as much visible effect upon the body; for as the Holy Ghost falls upon one of the literal seed of Abraham, it is calm and serene; and his whole soul and body are only exercised by the pure spirit of intelligence; while the effect of the Holy Ghost upon a Gentile is to purge out the old blood and make him actually of the seed of Abraham. That man that has none of the blood of Abraham (naturally), must have a new creation by the Holy Ghost. In such a case there may be more of a powerful effect upon the body, and visible to the eye, than upon an Israelite, while the Israelite at first might be far before the Gentile in pure intelligence.

"The other Comforter spoken of is a subject of great interest, and perhaps understood by few of this generation. After a person has faith in Christ, repents of his sins and is baptized for the remission of his sins, and receives the Holy Ghost (by the laying on of hands), which is the first Comforter, then let him continue to humble himself before God, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and living by every word of God, and the Lord will soon say unto him: Son, thou shalt be exalted, etc. When the Lord has thoroughly proved him, and finds that the man is determined to serve him at all hazards, then the man will find his calling and his election made sure; then it will be his privilege to receive the other Comforter, which the Lord hath promised the Saints, as is recorded in the testimony of St. John (John 14:16-18, 21, 23): 'And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you; I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you. \* \* \* He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him. \* \* \* If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.'

"Now, what is this other Comforter? It is no more or less than the LORD JESUS CHRIST himself; and this is the sum and substance of the whole matter; that when any man obtains this last Comforter, he will have the personage of Jesus Christ to attend him,

or appear unto him from time to time, and even he will manifest the Father unto him, and they will take up their abode with him, and the visions of the heavens will be opened unto him, and the Lord will teach him face to face, and he may have a perfect knowledge of the mysteries of the Kingdom of God; and this is the state and place the ancient Saints arrive at when they had such glorious visions—Isaiah, Ezekiel, John upon the Isle of Patmos, St. Paul in the three heavens, and all the Saints who held communion with the general assembly and Church of the First Born.

*"The Spirit of Revelation* is in connection with these blessings. A person may profit by noticing the first intimations of the spirit of revelation; for instance, when you feel pure intelligence flowing into you, it may give you sudden strokes of ideas, so that by noticing it, you may find it fulfilled the same day or soon; that is, those things that were presented unto your minds by the Spirit of God, will come to pass; and thus by learning the Spirit of God and understanding it, you may grow into the principle of revelation, until you become perfect in Christ Jesus.

*"An Evangelist* is a Patriarch, even the oldest man of the blood of Joseph or of the seed of Abraham. Wherever the Church of Christ is established in the earth, there should be a Patriarch for the benefit of the posterity of the Saints, as it was with Jacob in giving his patriarchal blessing unto his sons."

At the time Joseph and his brethren were making their escape from prison, the last of the Saints left Missouri. (*See Far West.*) The time also arrived for the fulfilment of the revelation given to Joseph July 8, 1838, in which the Twelve were commanded to take leave of the Saints on the Temple site in Far West, April 26, 1839, to start on their mission across the great waters. It seemed almost impossible that the prediction could be fulfilled, as the Saints had all been driven out of Missouri, and it would, according to the threats of the mob, be as much as an Apostle's life was worth to be seen in Far West. Some of the leading men in the Church thought that

in view of the persecutions and scattered condition of the Saints at that time, the Lord would not require the Twelve to fulfil his words to the letter, but that, under the circumstances, he would take the will for the deed. The apostates and mobbers rejoiced at what they thought would be the failure of one of the revelations given through the Prophet Joseph; they thought that surely in this instance, at least, his words would be vain.

But this was not the feeling of President Young and those of the Twelve Apostles who were with him. He asked them individually what their feelings were upon the subject. Their desires were, they said, to fulfil the revelation. He told them the Lord had spoken, and it was their duty to obey, and leave the event in his hands, and he would protect them. Consequently, Brigham Young, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith and Alpheus Cutler left Quincy for Far West to fulfil the revelation. They met John E. Page, who was an Apostle at that time, on the road, and told him they wanted him to go to Far West with them, which he did.

Just before reaching Far West, they met three brethren who had been left at that place as a committee to attend to the removal of the poor Saints, but had been driven from the town. They informed the Apostles that the mob had come into Far West and tantalized them on the subject of the revelation, saying that it was one of Joseph Smith's revelations which could not be fulfilled, as the Twelve Apostles were scattered to the four winds; and they threatened them severely if they were found in Far West the next day. They, however, turned around and accompanied the Apostles and the

other brethren to the house of Father Timothy B. Clark, near Far West.

Early on the morning of the 26th of April—the day mentioned in the revelation—a conference was held, 31 persons were cut off from the Church, and the Apostles and Saints proceeded to the building spot of the Lord's house. Elder Cutler, the master workman of the house, then recommenced laying the foundation, agreeable to revelation, by rolling up a large stone near the southeast corner. The following of the Twelve were present: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John E. Page and John Taylor, who proceeded to ordain Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith Apostles, to fill the places of those who had fallen. Darwin Chase and Norman Shearer, who had just been liberated from Richmond prison, and arrived the evening previous, were each ordained to the office of a Seventy. The Twelve then offered up vocal prayer in the following order: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith. They then sang "Adam-ondi-Ahman;" after which they took their leave of eighteen Saints, agreeable to the revelation. The conference was then adjourned.

As the Saints were passing away from the meeting, Theodore Turley said to Elders Page and Woodruff, "Stop a bit, while I bid Isaac Russell good-bye," and knocking at his door called Brother Russell, whose wife answered, "Come in; it is Brother Turley."

Russell replied, "It is not; he left here two weeks ago." He appeared quite alarmed; but on finding it was Turley, asked him to sit down, but

he replied, "I cannot; I shall lose my company."

"Who is your company?" inquired Russell.

"The Twelve."

"The Twelve?"

"Yes; don't you know that this is the 26th, and the day the Twelve were to take leave of their friends on the foundation of the Lord's house, to go to the islands of the sea? The revelation is now fulfilled, and I am going with them."

Russell was speechless and Turley bid him farewell.

Thus was that revelation fulfilled, concerning which the enemies said: If all the other revelations of Joseph Smith were fulfilled, that one should not be, as it had place and date to it.

June 24, 1839, the Church purchased the little town of Nashville, in Lee County, Iowa, and about twenty thousand acres of land adjoining it, and on July 2nd following, Joseph, in company with Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, Bishops Newel K. Whitney and Vinson Knight and others, examined another tract of land purchased by Bishop Knight on the Iowa side of the Mississippi River, with a view to making it a gathering place for the Saints. Joseph advised that a town be built there and called Zarahemla. (See *Zarahemla*.) In the afternoon, at a meeting held in Commerce, he blessed Wilford Woodruff and Geo. A. Smith, who had recently been ordained to the Apostleship; also Theodore Turley, one of the Seventies. After this the Prophet spoke as follows:

"Ever keep in exercise the principle of mercy, and be ready to forgive our brother on the first intimation of repentance, and asking forgiveness; and should we even forgive our brother, or even our enemy, before they repent or ask forgiveness, our Heavenly

Father would be equally as merciful unto us.

"Again: Let the Twelve and all Saints be willing to confess all their sins, and not keep back a part; and let the Twelve be humble and not be exalted, and beware of pride, and not seek to excel one above another, but act for each other's good, and pray for one another, and honor our brother or make honorable mention of his name, and not backbite and devour our brother. Why will not man learn wisdom by precept at this late age of the world, when we have such a cloud of witnesses and examples before us, and not be obliged to learn by sad experience everything we know? Must the new ones that are chosen to fill the places of those that are fallen, of the quorum of the Twelve, begin to exalt themselves, until they exalt themselves so high that they will soon tumble over and have a great fall, and go wallowing through the mud and mire and darkness, Judas-like, to the buffetings of Satan, as several of the quorum have done, or will they learn wisdom and be wise? O God! give them wisdom, and keep them humble, I pray.

"When the Twelve or any other witnesses stand before the congregations of the earth, and they preach in the power and demonstration of the Spirit of God, and the people are astonished and confounded at the doctrine, and say, 'That man has preached a powerful discourse, a great sermon,' then let that man or those men take care that they do not ascribe the glory unto themselves, but be careful that they are humble, and ascribe the praise and glory to God and the Lamb; for it is by the power of the Holy Priesthood and Holy Ghost they have power thus to speak. What art thou, O man, but dust? And from whom receivest thou thy power and blessings but from God?

"Then, O ye Twelve! notice this KEY, and be wise for Christ's sake, and your own soul's sake. Ye are not sent out to be taught, but to teach. Let every word be seasoned with grace. Be vigilant; be sober. It is a day of warning, and not of many words. Act honestly before God and man. Beware of Gentile sophistry; such as bowing and scraping unto men in whom you have no confidence. Be honest, open and frank in all your intercourse with mankind.

"O ye Twelve! and all Saints! profit by this important KEY—that in all your trials, troubles, temptations, afflictions, bonds, imprisonments and death, see to it that you do not betray heaven; that you do not be-

tray Jesus Christ; that you do not betray the brethren; that you do not betray the revelations of God, whether in the Bible, Book of Mormon, or Doctrine and Covenants, or any other that ever was or ever will be given and revealed unto man in this world or that which is to come. Yea, in all your kicking and floundering, see to it that you do not this thing, lest innocent blood be found upon your skirts, and you go down to hell. All other sins are not to be compared to sinning against the Holy Ghost, and proving a traitor to the brethren.

"I will give you one of the KEYS of the mysteries of the kingdom. It is an eternal principle, that has existed with God from all eternity: That man who rises up to condemn others, finding fault with the Church, saying that they are out of the way, while he himself is righteous, then know assuredly that that man is in the high road to apostasy; and if he does not repent, will apostatize, as God lives. The principle is as correct as the one that Jesus put forth in saying, that he who seeketh a sign is an adulterous person; and that principle is eternal, undeviating and firm as the pillars of heaven; for whenever you see a man seeking after a sign, you may set it down that he is an adulterous man."

About this time Joseph, in reply to many inquiries, gave an explanation of the Priesthood and several principles connected therewith, of which the following is a brief synopsis:

"The Priesthood was first given to Adam; he obtained the First Presidency, and held the keys of it from generation to generation. He obtained it in the creation, before the world was formed, as in Gen. 1: 26, 28. He had dominion given him over every living creature. He is Michael the Archangel, spoken of in the Scriptures. Then to Noah, who is Gabriel; he stands next in authority to Adam in the priesthood; he was called of God to this office, and was the father of all living in his day, and to him was given the dominion. These men held keys first on earth and then in heaven.

"The Priesthood is an everlasting principle, and existed with God from eternity, and will to eternity, without beginning of days or end of years. The keys have to be brought from heaven whenever the gospel is sent. When they are revealed from heaven, it is by Adam's authority. Daniel, in his 7th chapter, speaks of the Ancient of Days; he means

the oldest man, our Father Adam, Michael; he will call his children together and hold council with them to prepare them for the coming of the Son of Man. He (Adam) is the father of the human family, and presides over the spirits of all men, and all that have had the keys must stand before him in this grand council. This may take place before some of us leave this stage of action. The Son of Man stands before him, and there is given him glory and dominion. Adam delivers up his stewardship to Christ, that which was delivered to him as holding the keys of the universe, but retains his standing as head of the human family.

"The spirit of man is not a created being; it existed from eternity, and will exist to eternity. Anything created cannot be eternal; and earth, water, etc., had their existence in an elementary state, from eternity. Our Savior speaks of children and says, Their angels always stand before my Father. The Father called all spirits before him at the creation of man, and organized them. He (Adam) is the head, and was told to multiply. The keys were first given to him, and by him to others. He will have to give an account of his stewardship, and they to him.

"The Priesthood is everlasting. The Savior, Moses and Elias gave the keys to Peter, James and John, on the mount, when they were transfigured before him. The Priesthood is everlasting—without beginning of days or end of years; without father, mother, etc. If there is no change of ordinances, there is no change of Priesthood. Wherever the ordinances of the gospel are administered, there is the Priesthood.

"How have we come at the Priesthood in the last days? It came down, down, in regular succession. Peter, James and John had it given to them, and they gave it to others. Christ is the Great High Priest; Adam next. Paul speaks of the Church coming to an innumerable company of angels—to God the Judge of all—the spirits of just men made perfect; to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, etc. (Heb. 12:23-24.)

"I saw Adam in the valley of Adam-ondi-Ahman. He called together his children and blessed them with a patriarchal blessing. The Lord appeared in their midst, and he (Adam) blessed them all, and foretold what should befall them to the latest generation. (See Doc. & Cov., Sec. 107, Verse 56.)

"This is why Adam blessed his posterity; he wanted to bring them into the presence

of God. They looked for a city, etc. Moses sought to bring the children of Israel into the presence of God, through the power of the Priesthood, but he could not. In the first ages of the world they tried to establish the same thing; and there were Eliases raised up who tried to restore these very glories, but did not obtain them; but they prophesied of a day when this glory would be revealed. Paul spoke of the dispensation of the fulness of times, when God would gather together all things in one, etc., and those men to whom these keys have been given will have to be there; and they without us cannot be made perfect.

"These men are in heaven, but their children are on earth. Their bowels yearn over us. God sends down men for this reason (Matt. 13:41): 'And the Son of Man shall send forth his angels,' etc. All these authoritative characters will come down and join hand in hand in bringing about this work.

"The Kingdom of Heaven is like a grain of mustard seed. The mustard seed is small, but brings forth a large tree, and the fowls lodge in the branches. The fowls are the angels. Thus angels come down, combine together to gather their children, and gather them. We cannot be made perfect without them, nor they without us; when these things are done, the Son of Man will descend, the Ancient of Days sit; we may come to an innumerable company of angels, have communion with and receive instruction from them. Paul told about Moses' proceedings; spoke of the children of Israel being baptized. (I Cor. 10:1-4.) He knew this, and that all the ordinances and blessings were in the Church. Paul had these things, and we may have the fowls of heaven lodge in the branches.

"The Horn made war with the Saints and overcame them, until the Ancient of Days came; judgment was given to the Saints of the Most High from the Ancient of Days; the time came that the Saints possessed the Kingdom. This not only makes us ministers here, but in eternity.

"Salvation cannot come without revelation; it is in vain for any one to minister without it. No man is a minister of Jesus Christ without being a Prophet. No man can be the minister of Jesus Christ except he has the testimony of Jesus; and this is the spirit of prophecy. Whenever salvation has been administered, it has been by testimony. Men of the present time testify heaven and of

hell, and have never seen either; and I will say that no man knows these things without this.

"Men profess to prophesy. I will prophesy that the signs of the coming of the Son of Man are already commenced. One pestilence will desolate after another. We shall soon have war and bloodshed. The moon will be turned to blood. I testify of these things, and that the coming of the Son of Man is nigh, even at your doors. If our souls and our bodies are not looking forth for the coming of the Son of Man; and after we are dead, if we are not looking forth, we shall be among those who are calling for the rocks to fall upon them.

"The hearts of the children of men will have to be turned to the fathers, and the fathers to the children, living or dead, to prepare them for the coming of the Son of Man. If Elijah did not come, the whole earth would be smitten.

"There will be here and there a Stake of Zion for the gathering of the Saints. Some may have cried peace, but the Saints and the world will have little peace from henceforth. Let this not hinder us from going to the Stakes, for God has told us to flee, not dallying, or we shall be scattered, one here, and another there. There your children shall be blessed, and you in the midst of friends where you may be blessed. The gospel net gathers of every kind.

"I prophesy, that that man who carries after he has an opportunity of going, will be afflicted by the devil. Wars are at hand; we must not delay; but are not required to sacrifice. We ought to have the building up of Zion as our greatest object. When wars come, we shall have to flee to Zion. The cry is to make haste. The last revelation says, 'Ye shall not have time to have gone over the earth, until these things come.' It will come as did the cholera, war, fires and earthquakes; one pestilence after another, until the Ancient of Days comes, then judgment will be given to the Saints.

"Whatever you may hear about me or Kirtland, take no notice of it; for if it be a place of refuge, the devil will use his greatest efforts to trap the Saints. You must make yourselves acquainted with those men who like Daniel pray three times a day towards the House of the Lord. Look to the Presidency and receive instruction. Every man who is afraid, covetous, will be taken in a snare. The time is soon coming, when no man will have any peace but in Zion and her Stakes.

"I saw men hunting the lives of their own

sons, and brother murdering brother, women killing their own daughters, and daughters seeking the lives of their mothers. I saw armies arrayed against armies. I saw blood, desolation, fires, etc. The Son of Man has said that the mother shall be against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother. These things are at our doors. They will follow the Saints of God from city to city. Satan will rage, and the spirit of the devil is now enraged. I know not how soon these things will take place; but with a view of them, shall I cry peace? No! I will lift up my voice and testify of them. How long you will have good crops, and the famine be kept off, I do not know; when the fig tree leaves, know then that the summer is nigh at hand.

"We may look for angels and receive their ministration, but we are to try the spirits and prove them, for it is often the case that men make a mistake in regard to these things. God has so ordained that when he has communicated, no vision is to be taken, but what you see by the seeing of the eye, or what you hear by the hearing of the ear. When you see a vision, pray for the interpretation; if you get not this, shut it up; there must be certainty in this matter. An open vision will manifest that which is more important. Lying spirits are going forth in the earth. There will be great manifestations of spirits, both false and true.

"Being born again comes by the Spirit of God through ordinances. An angel of God never has wings. Some will say that they have seen a spirit; that he offered them his hand, but they did not touch it. This is a lie. First, it is contrary to the plan of God; a spirit cannot come but in glory; an angel has flesh and bones; we see not their glory. The devil may appear as an angel of light. Ask God to reveal it; if it be of the devil, he will flee from you; if of God, he will manifest himself, or make it manifest. We may come to Jesus and ask him; he will know all about it; if he comes to a little child, he will adapt himself to the language and capacity of a little child.

"Every spirit, or vision, or singing, is not of God. The devil is an orator; he is powerful; he took our Savior on to a pinnacle of the Temple, and kept him in the wilderness for forty days. The gift of discerning spirits will be given to the presiding Elder. Pray for him that he may have this gift. Speak not in the gift of tongues without understanding it, or without interpretation. The devil can speak in tongues; the adversary

will come with his work; he can tempt all classes; can speak in English or Dutch. Let no one speak in tongues unless he interpret, except by the consent of the one who is placed to preside; then he may discern or interpret, or another may. Let us seek for the glory of Abraham, Noah, Adam, the Apostles, who have communion with these things, and then we shall be among that number when Christ comes."

On the 4th of July Parley P. Pratt and Morris Phelps made their escape from the prison in Columbia, Boone County, Missouri, and arrived among their friends in Illinois after several days' severe sufferings. King Follett was acquitted a few months later. And last of all, Luman Gibbs, who had apostatized during his imprisonment, was set at liberty. Thus Joseph's prophecy to the prisoners on the morning of November 3, 1838, was literally fulfilled, for although they suffered much and were often exposed to the greatest danger, none of them lost their lives; they all enjoyed the privilege of again meeting their families and friends as free men.

"In consequence of the persecutions of the Saints in Missouri," writes Wilford Woodruff, "and the exposures to which they were subjected, many of them were taken sick soon after their arrival at Commerce, afterwards called Nauvoo; and as there were but a small number of dwellings for them to occupy, Joseph had filled his house and tents with them, and through constantly attending to their wants, he soon fell sick himself. After being confined to his house several days, and while meditating upon his situation, he had a great desire to attend to the duties of his office. On the morning of the 22nd of July, 1839, he arose from his bed and commenced to administer to the sick in his own house and doorway, and he commanded them in the

name of the Lord Jesus Christ to arise and be made whole; and the sick were healed upon every side of him.

"Many lay sick along the bank of the river, and Joseph walked along up to the lower stone house, occupied by Sidney Rigdon, and he healed all the sick that lay in his path. Among the number was Henry G. Sherwood, who was nigh unto death. Joseph stood in the mouth of his tent and commanded him in the name of Jesus Christ to arise and come out of his tent, and he obeyed him and was healed. Brother Benjamin Brown and his family also lay sick, the former appearing to be in a dying condition. Joseph healed them in the name of the Lord. After healing all that lay sick upon the bank of the river as far as the stone house, he called upon Elder Kimball and some others to accompany him across the river to visit the sick at Montrose. Many of the Saints were living at the old military barracks. Among the number were several of the Twelve. On his arrival, the first house he visited was that occupied by Elder Brigham Young, the president of the Quorum of the Twelve, who lay sick. Joseph healed him, when he arose and accompanied the Prophet on his visit to others who were in the same condition. They visited Elder Wilford Woodruff, also Elders Orson Pratt and John Taylor, all of whom were living in Montrose. They also accompanied him. The next place they visited was the home of Elijah Fordham, who was supposed to be about breathing his last. When the company entered the room, the Prophet of God walked up to the dying man and took hold of his right hand and spoke to him; but Brother Fordham was unable to speak, his eyes were set in his head like glass,



and he seemed entirely unconscious of all around him. Joseph held his hand and looked into his eyes in silence for a length of time. A change in the countenance of Brother Fordham was soon perceptible to all present. His sight returned, and upon Joseph asking him if he knew him, he, in a low whisper, answered 'Yes.' Joseph asked him if he had faith to be healed. He answered, 'I fear it is too late; if you had come sooner, I think I could have been healed.' The Prophet said, 'Do you not believe in Jesus Christ?' He answered in a feeble voice, 'I do.' Joseph then stood erect, still holding his hand in silence several moments; then he spoke in a very loud voice, saying, 'Brother Fordham, I command you in the name of Jesus Christ to arise from this bed and be made whole.' His voice was like the voice of God, and not of man. It seemed as though the house shook to its very foundation. Brother Fordham arose from his bed, and was immediately made whole. His feet were bound in poultices, which he kicked off; then putting on his clothes, he ate a bowl of bread and milk and followed the Prophet into the street. The company next visited Brother Joseph Bates Noble, who lay very sick. He also was healed by the Prophet. By this time the wicked became alarmed, and followed the company into Brother Noble's house. After Brother Noble was healed, all knelt down to pray. Brother Fordham was mouth, and, while praying, he fell to the floor. The Prophet arose, and looking around, he saw quite a number of unbelievers in the house, whom he ordered out. When the room was cleared of the wicked, Brother Fordham came to and finished his prayer.

"After healing the sick in Montrose,

all the company followed Joseph to the bank of the river, where he was going to take the boat to return home. While waiting for the boat, a man from the West, who had seen that the sick and dying were healed, asked Joseph if he would not go to his house and heal two of his children, who were very sick. They were twins and were three months old. Joseph told the man he could not go, but he would send some one to heal them. He told Elder Woodruff to go with the man and heal his children. At the same time he took from his pocket a silk bandanna handkerchief, and gave it to Brother Woodruff, telling him to wipe the faces of the children with it and they should be healed; and remarked at the same time: 'As long as you keep that handkerchief it shall remain a league between you and me.' Elder Woodruff did as he was commanded, and the children were healed, and he keeps the handkerchief to this day.

"There were many sick whom Joseph could not visit, so he counseled the Twelve to go and visit and heal them, and many were healed under their hands. On the day following that upon which the above-described events took place, Joseph sent Elders George A. and Don Carlos Smith up the river to heal the sick. They went up as far as Ebenezer Robinson's—one or two miles—and did as they were commanded, and the sick were healed."

While sickness yet prevailed to a considerable extent, the Twelve Apostles took leave of their families and friends in Commerce and Montrose, and started on their mission to England.

At a meeting held in Joseph's

house, Sunday, September 29, 1839, the Prophet gave some excellent instructions to the Elders. He explained the uselessness of preaching to the world about great judgments; it was better to preach the simple gospel. "It is a false idea," said he further, "that the Saints will escape all the judgments, whilst the wicked suffer; for all flesh is subject to suffer, and 'the righteous shall hardly escape;' still many of the Saints will escape, for the just shall live by faith; yet many of the righteous shall fall a prey to disease, to pestilence, etc., by reason of the weakness of the flesh, and yet be saved in the Kingdom of God. So that it is an unhallowed principle to say that such and such have transgressed because they have been preyed upon by disease or death, for all flesh is subject to death; and the Savior has said, 'Judge not, lest ye be judged.'"

On Saturday, October 5, 1839, a general conference of the Church met at Commerce, and was continued for three days. Joseph, who presided over the conference, spoke at some length upon the situation of the Church, the difficulties the Saints had to contend with, and the manner in which they had been led to the place where they were now locating. He asked the brethren present for their views respecting making Commerce a Stake of Zion; he himself thought it a suitable place. It was then unanimously agreed upon that it should be appointed a Stake and a place of gathering for the Saints, over which Wm. Marks was appointed president. (See *Nauvoo*.)

A short time previous, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon had been appointed by the unanimous vote of the Saints to go to the city of Wash-

ington for the purpose of laying the grievances which the Saints had endured in Missouri before the Congress of the United States. On the second day of the conference Elias Higbee was appointed to accompany them.

On the 29th (October) Joseph, accompanied by Sidney Rigdon, Elias Higbee and Orrin P. Rockwell, left Commerce in a two-horse carriage for Washington. Passing through Carthage they stayed over night with Judge Higbee, and the following day arrived in the city of Quincy, where they remained one day to complete the necessary papers for their mission. On the 2nd of November they continued their journey towards Springfield, where they arrived on the 4th. In the meantime they had been joined by Doctor Robert D. Foster, who accompanied them on their journey to wait on Sidney Rigdon, whose health was poor. At Springfield, where they remained until the 8th, Joseph preached several times. Continuing their journey in their carriage through Indiana to Columbus, Ohio, they found the roads in a bad condition for traveling, and this, in connection with Elder Rigdon's enfeebled state of health, caused their progress to be somewhat slow. Joseph, deeming it necessary for the committee, of which he was a member, to be in Washington as soon as possible, therefore concluded to change his mode of travel, and on the 18th of November, in company with Judge Higbee, he started by the quickest route for Washington, leaving Elders Rigdon, Rockwell and Foster near Columbus, to come on in their carriage at their leisure.

On the 27th, while traveling over

the mountains some distance from Washington, the driver of the stage they were in stepped into a public house to get some liquor. While he was gone, the horses took fright and ran down the hill at full speed. A number of passengers who were on board the coach became very excited. Joseph did all he could to calm them, and to have them keep their seats; but he had to hold one woman to keep her from throwing her infant out of the coach. As soon as possible he opened the door of the coach, and, securing his hold on the side the best way he could, he succeeded in getting into the driver's seat. He then got hold of the reins and was soon able to check the horses. They ran some two or three miles, but the coach, horses and passengers all escaped without injury. The passengers were loud in their praises of his daring. They thought his conduct most heroic, and, when they found the horses quiet and themselves safe, their gratitude was unbounded. There were in the stage some members of Congress, who thought there should be some public mention made of the daring deed, and they proposed naming it to Congress. But upon inquiring of Joseph what his name was, to mention as the author of their safety, and thus found that their deliverer was Joseph Smith, the "Mormon Prophet," as they called him, their manner underwent a great change, and Joseph heard no more of their praise, gratitude or reward.

On the morning of November 28th, he and Judge Higbee arrived at Washington, and on the following day (29th) they went to the White House, the residence of the President of the United States. They were soon shown

into an upper apartment, where they met President Van Buren and were introduced into his parlor. There they presented their letters of introduction to him. As soon as he had read one of them, he looked upon Brothers Joseph and Higbee with a kind of half frown, and said, "What can I do? I can do nothing for you! If I do anything I shall come in contact with the whole State of Missouri." But the brethren were not to be thus intimidated; they demanded a hearing and constitutional rights, when the President finally promised to reconsider what he had said, and observed that he felt to sympathize with the Saints because of their sufferings. During the interview Van Buren asked Joseph wherein the religion of the Saints differed from the other religions of the day. Joseph explained the difference and bore a faithful testimony that it was the work of God.

Van Buren did not make a favorable impression upon Joseph, who describes him as a small man with sandy complexion, ordinary features, a frowning brow and an ill-proportioned body; "and, to come directly to the point," he adds, "he is so much a fop or a fool (for he judged our case before he knew it), that we could find no place to put truth into him."

After their interview with the President they visited the members of Congress from Illinois, and delivered the letters of introduction which they had for them. These members were generally disposed to favor Joseph and the Saints, and this was not without cause. The Saints who had moved to Illinois were numerous, and the men and party in whose

favor their votes would be cast at an election would be sure to win, as the great political parties in the State were about equally divided as to number at that time. The members of Congress knew this, and as politicians it was to their interest to do what they could for the Saints. Consequently they met together and decided, after discussing the subject, that a memorial and petition should be drawn up in a concise manner, and that Judge Young, who was senator from Illinois, should present the same to the Senate. It was expected that the matter would be referred to the proper committee, with all the accompanying documents, and be printed. But all of Joseph's exertions, as well as the testimonies, affidavits and other documents which they laid before Congress, failed to have any effect. Neither the President, nor the Senate and House of Representatives would do anything to call the State of Missouri to account for the inhuman wrongs which her people had inflicted upon unoffending, free-born American citizens. The Church had appealed to governors and judges and rulers, and now, through its President, it appealed to the Chief Executive of the nation and the Congress, in which every State in the Republic was represented—the highest authority in the land. There was no redress to be obtained from them; nothing further could be done, therefore, but to leave them in the hands of the Lord, who, in his own due time, will plead the cause of his people.

It is interesting to read Joseph's views respecting the men he was thrown in contact with at Washington. "For a general thing," he said "there is but little solidity and hon-

orable deportment among those who are sent to represent the people; but a great deal of pomposity and show.

\* \* There is such an itching disposition to display their oratory on the most trivial occasions, and so much etiquette, bowing and scraping, twisting and turning to make a display of their witticisms, that it seems to us rather a display of folly and show, more than substance and gravity, such as becomes a great nation like ours. However, there are some exceptions."

From Washington Joseph proceeded by railroad to Philadelphia, where he arrived December 21, 1839. He left Brothers Rockwell and Higbee to follow in the carriage, and Sidney Rigdon stayed there sick, with Dr. Foster to attend to him. He spent several days at Philadelphia, preaching and visiting from house to house among the brethren and others. He also visited the Saints in New Jersey, and Chester County, Pennsylvania.

While staying in Washington, a large church was opened for him to preach in, and about three thousand people assembled to hear him. Sidney Rigdon spoke first, and dwelt on the gospel, illustrating his doctrine by the Bible. When he was through, Joseph arose like a lion about to roar, and, being full of the Holy Ghost, spoke in great power, bearing testimony of the visions he had seen, the ministering of angels which he had enjoyed, and how he found the plates of the Book of Mormon and translated them by the gift and power of God. He commenced by saying that if nobody else had the courage to testify of so glorious a message from heaven, and of the finding of so glorious a record, he felt to do it in justice to the people and leave the

event with God. The entire congregation were astounded—electrified, as it were, and overwhelmed with the sense of the truth and power by which he spoke and the wonders which he related. A lasting impression was made and multitudes were subsequently baptized in Philadelphia and in the regions around, while at the same time branches were springing up in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and other places.

In the latter part of January, 1840, Joseph left Philadelphia, accompanied by Brothers Rockwell, Higbee and Foster, and again visited Washington. Sidney Rigdon joined Joseph at Philadelphia, but was still sick, and had to be left there. On his second visit to the capital, Joseph had another interview with President Van Buren, who treated him very insolently. He listened very reluctantly to what Joseph had to say, and in reply uttered that sentiment which has obtained such a deservedly widespread notoriety among the Latter-day Saints:

*"Gentlemen, your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you; and if I take up for you, I shall lose the vote of Missouri."*

Respecting this interview, Joseph remarks: "His whole course went to show that he was an office-seeker, that self-aggrandizement was his ruling passion, and that justice and righteousness were no part of his composition. I found him such a man as I could not conscientiously support at the head of our great Republic." Joseph also had an interview with John C. Calhoun, senator from South Carolina; but his treatment of Joseph was such as very ill became his station. While conversing with him

concerning the persecutions of the Saints, this renowned statesman said: "It involves a nice question—the question of States rights; it will not do to agitate it." Henry Clay, another prominent senator, whose assistance Joseph also sought, coldly remarked, in alluding to the Saints: "You had better go to Oregon."

During his sojourn at Washington, Joseph had several opportunities to speak in public. A member of Congress by the name of M. L. Davis, who was present on one of these occasions, expressed his views concerning the Prophet in the following language, writing to his wife under date of February 6, 1840:

"I went last evening to hear 'Joe Smith,' the celebrated Mormon, expound his doctrine. I, with several others, had a desire to understand his tenets as explained by himself.

"He is not an educated man; but he is a plain, sensible, strong-minded man. Every thing he says is said in a manner to leave an impression that he is sincere. There is no levity, no fanaticism, no want of dignity in his deportment. He is apparently from forty to forty-five years of age, rather above the middle stature, and what your ladies would call a very good looking man. In his garb there are no peculiarities; his dress being that of a plain, unpretending citizen. He is by profession a farmer, but is evidently well read. \* \* \*

"During the whole of his address, and it occupied more than two hours, there was no opinion or belief that he expressed, that was calculated, in the slightest degree, to impair the morals of society, or in any manner to degrade and brutalize the human species. There was much in his precepts, if they were followed, that would soften the asperities of man towards man, and that would tend to make him a more rational being than he is generally found to be. There was no violence, no fury, no denunciation. His religion appears to be the religion of meekness, lowliness and mild persuasion. \* \* \*

"Throughout his whole address he displayed strongly a spirit of charity and forbearance. The Mormon Bible, he said, was communicated to him direct from heaven.

If there was such a thing on earth as the author of it, then he (Smith) was the author; but the idea that he wished to impress was that he had penned it as dictated by God.  
 . . .

"I have changed my opinion of the Mormons. They are an injured and much-abused people."

About four hundred and ninety-one persons held claims against Missouri. These Joseph had presented to Congress. These claims amounted, in all, to one million three hundred and eighty-one thousand and forty-four dollars and fifty one and a half cents. But they were not all. There was a multitude of similar bills which were to be presented, and respecting which Joseph said: "If not settled immediately, they will ere long amount to a handsome sum, increasing by compound interest."

Becoming satisfied that there was very little use for him to tarry to press the just claims of the Saints on the attention of the President and Congress, he left Washington, in company with Brother Orrin P. Rockwell and Doctor Foster, and started on the homeward journey February 6, 1840.

Brother Elias Higbee stayed at Washington to have further interviews with the congressional committee, and for several years he labored faithfully, introducing additional testimony concerning the Missouri persecutions. But his efforts were unavailing. The committee reported against Congress doing anything about the business; and that redress could only be had in the Missouri courts and legislature.

Joseph and his companions traveled by railway and stage to Dayton, Ohio, where they found the horses they left on their journey to Wash-

ington. Brother Rockwell stopped at Dayton, and Joseph and Doctor Foster continued their journey on horseback. The roads being exceedingly bad, the traveling was slow and wearisome.

"Wednesday, March 4, 1840," writes Joseph, "I arrived safely at Nauvoo, after a wearisome journey through alternate snows and mud, having witnessed many vexatious movements in government officers, whose sole object should be the peace and prosperity and happiness of the whole people; but instead of this, I discovered that popular clamor and personal aggrandizement were the ruling principles of those in authority; and my heart faints within me when I see, by the visions of the Almighty, the end of this nation, if she continues to disregard the cries and petitions of her virtuous citizens, as she has done, and is now doing.

"I have also enjoyed many precious moments with the Saints during my journey.

"On my way home I did not fail to proclaim the iniquity and insolence of Martin Van Buren towards myself and an injured people, which will have its effect upon the public mind; and may he never be elected again to any office of trust or power by which he may abuse the innocent and let the guilty go free."

In speaking about the refusal of the government to grant the Saints redress for the wrongs they had suffered, he says:

"Since Congress has decided against us, the Lord has begun to vex the nation, and he will continue to do so, except they repent; for they now stand guilty of murder, robbery and plunder, as a nation, because they have refused to protect their citizens and to execute justice according to their own Constitution."

## CHAPTER 14.

General conferences in Nauvoo.—John C. Bennett joins the Church.—Governor Boggs, of Missouri, makes a demand on Joseph.—New Stakes organized.—Instructions on Priesthood.—Nauvoo, Incorporated.—Joseph elected trustee-in-trust.—Acts as a member of the city council of Nauvoo.—Receives revelations.—The corner stones of the Nauvoo Temple laid.—Joseph arrested in Quincy.—Tried before Judge Stephen A. Douglas in Monmouth and discharged.

April 6th and 7th, 1840, a conference was held at Commerce (or Nauvoo, which name by this time had been given to the place). Joseph presided and gave much good instruction to the Saints. Frederick G. Williams came before the conference and humbly asked forgiveness for his past conduct, and expressed his determination to do the will of God in the future. He was frankly forgiven and received back into fellowship. A committee, appointed for the purpose, drafted and presented a number of resolutions, in which the conference disapproved of the action of the Judiciary Committee in relation to the Saints' petition to the Federal Government. These resolutions were ordered published in the Quincy papers. A hearty vote of thanks was tendered Joseph and the other delegates, who accompanied him to Washington, for the prompt and efficient manner in which they had discharged their duties. Elders Orson Hyde and John E. Page were appointed by the conference to go on a mission to Jerusalem. (See *Palestine Mission*.) During the conference seventy persons were baptized and about fifty received into the Seventies' quorums.

In July, 1840, Joseph began to receive communications from Dr. John C. Bennett. In every letter this

man (who afterwards became prominent in the Church, but subsequently apostatized) took pains to state how much sympathy he felt for the Saints while they were being persecuted in Missouri. Had not the conflict terminated so speedily, he said, he would have been with them there, and they would have had the aid of his "military knowledge and prowess."

September 14, 1840, Patriarch Joseph Smith, sen., the Prophet's father, died in Nauvoo. (See sketch on pages 89 and 90.)

Joseph had scarcely the opportunity to bury his father before his enemies again were on his track. After a silence of two years, Governor Boggs, of Missouri, at last made a demand on Governor Carlin, of Illinois, for Joseph Smith, jun., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin and Alanson Brown as fugitives from justice. Governor Carlin seemed to favor the demand, and an order was promptly issued for their apprehension; but when the sheriff made his appearance in Nauvoo, September 15, 1840, to arrest them, they made themselves invisible to that officer, as they did not feel disposed to again try the solemn realities of mob law in a State where they already had suffered so much injustice and loss. Consequently the sheriff had to return without accomplishing the object of his visit.

"What right have they," records the Church historian, "to demand of Governor Carlin, as fugitives from justice, men against whom no process had ever been found in that State—no, not so much as the form of a process? They were taken by a mob-militia and dragged from everything that was dear and sacred,

and tried (without their knowledge) by a court martial, condemned to be shot, but this failing, they were forced into confinement, galled with chains, deprived of the comforts of life, and even that which was necessary to save life, then brought to a pretended trial, without even having a legal process served, and then deprived of the privilege of defence. They were taken by a mob, tried, condemned and imprisoned by the same, and this Missouri cannot deny.

"What a beautiful picture Governor Boggs had presented to the world, after driving twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants from their homes, forcing them to leave the State under the pain of extermination, and confiscating their property and murdering innocent men, women and children; then, because that a few made their escape from his murdering hand, and have found protection in a land of equal rights, so that his plans and designs have all been unfruitful, to that extent that he has caused 'Mormonism' to spread with double vigor, he now has the presumption to demand them back, in order that his thirst for innocent blood may yet be satiated.

"He has no business with them; they have not escaped from justice, but from the hands of a cursed, infuriated, inhuman set or race of beings, who are enemies of their country, to their God, to themselves and to every principle of righteousness and humanity. They loathe Christianity and despise the people of God; they war against truth and inherit lies; virtue they tread under their feet, while vice (with her ten thousand offspring) is their welcome associate; therefore, men on whom Missouri

has no claim, she cannot, no, she never shall have."

On the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of October, 1840, a general conference of the Church was held in Nauvoo, in which Elders Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight and Almon W. Babbitt were appointed a committee to organize Stakes of Zion between Nauvoo and Kirtland. Also the condition of the Stake of Kirtland itself was taken into consideration and the Saints in the East counseled to gather there. (See *Kirtland*.) It was also resolved that the Saints should build a House of the Lord in Nauvoo. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.) The glorious principle of baptism for the dead, concerning which Joseph had received a revelation some time previously, was dwelt upon by him in an interesting discourse; it was listened to with great attention by the vast multitude assembled, while the Spirit of God bore testimony to its truthfulness, and joy filled the hearts of the Saints in learning to understand that the great plan of salvation contained provisions for their dead friends and relatives to become participants in the benefits and blessings of the gospel. Elder Robert B. Thompson read to the conference an article, written by Joseph, on the subject of the Priesthood, of which the following are extracts:

"Many may have supposed that the doctrine of translation was a doctrine whereby men were taken immediately into the presence of God, and into an eternal fulness, but this is a mistaken idea. Their place of habitation is that of the terrestrial order, and a place prepared for such characters, he held in reserve to be ministering angels unto many planets, and who as yet have not entered into so great a fulness as those who are resurrected from the dead. \* \* \* This distinction is made between the doctrine of the actual resurrection and translation; translation obtains deliverance from the tortures and suffer-



ings of the body, but their existence will prolong as to the labors and toils of the ministry, before they can enter into so great a rest and glory. \* \* \*

"It is generally supposed that sacrifice was entirely done away when the Great Sacrifice [i. e., the sacrifice of the Lord Jesus] was offered up, and that there will be no necessity for the ordinance of sacrifice in the future; but those who assert this are certainly not acquainted with the duties, privileges and authority of the Priesthood, or with the prophets. \* \* \*

"These sacrifices, as well as every ordinance belonging to the Priesthood, will, when the Temple of the Lord shall be built, and the sons of Levi be purified, be fully restored and attended to in all their powers, ramifications and blessings. This ever did and will exist when the powers of the Melchizedek Priesthood are sufficiently manifest; else how can the restitution of all things spoken of by the holy Prophets be brought to pass? It is not to be understood that the law of Moses will be established again with all its rites and variety of ceremonies; this has never been spoken of by the Prophets; but those things which existed prior to Moses' day, namely, sacrifice, will be continued."

Shortly after this conference, Stakes for the gathering of the Saints were organized at Lima, Quincy, Mount Hope, Geneva and other places in Illinois.

At this time Joseph exerted himself to obtain a charter from the legislature of the State of Illinois for the city of Nauvoo. He had a charter drawn up which, to use his own words, was intended "for the salvation of the Church, and on principles so broad, that every honest man might dwell secure under its protective influence without distinction of sect or party." December 16, 1840, the acts incorporating the "City of Nauvoo," the "Nauvoo Legion" and the "University of the City of Nauvoo" were signed by the governor of Illinois, having previously passed the House and Senate. (See *Nauvoo*.)

January 15, 1841, Joseph and his two counselors—Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith—published a proclamation to the Saints abroad, in which full details were given respecting the progress of the work and other matters of interest. On the 19th Joseph received a lengthy revelation concerning the building of the Nauvoo Temple, the Nauvoo House, etc. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 124.)

As Joseph's father, Joseph Smith, sen., had passed away, it became necessary to appoint another in his stead to officiate as Patriarch to the Church. Hyrum Smith, his eldest living son, accordingly received the appointment and was chosen to act in that position. This caused a vacancy in the First Presidency, of which Hyrum was a member, and William Law was, by revelation, appointed to the position. George Miller had been chosen presiding Bishop of the Church, by revelation, in place of Edward Partridge, deceased.

At a special conference held at Nauvoo, January 30, 1841, Joseph was unanimously elected sole Trustee-in-Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to hold that office during life, his successors to be the First Presidency of the Church.

When the first election for members of the city council of Nauvoo was held, February 1, 1841, Joseph was elected one of the councilors, and subsequently took a very active part in the city council, introducing a great variety of important bills in relation to the local government of the city, the organization of the university, the Nauvoo Legion, etc. In one of the first meetings of the council he also introduced a bill in relation to temperance, which, after some discussion, passed.

This prohibited the vending of whisky in a less quantity than a gallon, or other spirituous liquors in a less quantity than a quart, excepting on the recommendation of a physician. He was determined to discountenance bar-rooms and drinking saloons, and to make the drinking of liquor in places of resort punishable. In the discussion of this bill he spoke at great length on the use of liquors, and showed that they were unnecessary. They operate as a poison in the stomach, and roots and herbs can be found to effect all necessary purposes.

On the 4th of February, the Nauvoo Legion was organized, and Joseph was elected its lieutenant-general, subsequently receiving his commission from the governor. (See *Nauvoo Legion*.)

In March, 1841, Joseph received the following revelation, in answer to the question, "What is the will of the Lord concerning the Saints in the Territory of Iowa?"

"Verily, thus saith the Lord, to those who call themselves by my name, and are essaying to be my Saints, if they will do my will and keep my commandments concerning them: let them gather themselves together unto the places which I shall appoint unto them by my servant Joseph, and build up cities unto my name, that they may be prepared for that which is in store for a time to come. Let them build up a city unto my name upon the land opposite to the city of Nauvoo, and let the name of Zarahemla be named upon it. And let all those who come from the east, and the west, and the north, and the south, that have desires to dwell therein, take up their inheritances in the same, as well as in the city of Nashville, or in the city of Nauvoo, and in all the Stakes which I have appointed, saith the Lord."

April 6, 1841, the corner stones of the Nauvoo Temple were laid. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.) This occasion was a time of much rejoicing for Joseph and the Saints generally. After all their sufferings from mobocracy they

had at last reached a place where they could rest for a season and commence the erection of a House of the Lord. The Lord had a great endowment in store for his Saints, but a suitable house was necessary in which to bestow this endowment—a place where the holy ordinances of the gospel could be administered. After the foundation stones were laid, many and fervent were the prayers which were offered up that the Saints might be permitted to complete it, and Joseph especially was eager to push the work ahead. The people were sick and poor, and it seemed like a very heavy undertaking for so few people as there were there to attempt the erection of such a house. But God had commanded it, and they stepped forth cheerfully to obey.

On the following day (April 7th) a general conference was held in Nauvoo, at which a report of the First Presidency was read, setting forth the progress of the work in Europe, through the labors of those of the Twelve Apostles who were there; also the joyous and encouraging results which attended the preaching of the gospel throughout the States. Attention was called to the building of the Temple, and the zeal of the Saints in Nauvoo was held up as an example for the brethren and sisters in the various Stakes and branches of the Church to imitate.

A committee was then chosen to build another house to the name of the Lord, to be known as the Nauvoo House. "It shall be," the Lord said, "a house for boarding, a house that strangers may come from afar to lodge herein; therefore let it be a good house, worthy of all acceptance, that the worthy traveler may find

health and safety while he shall contemplate the work of the Lord, and the corner-stone I have appointed for Zion."

On the 8th of April, Lyman Wight was nominated as one of the Twelve Apostles, instead of Elder David W. Patten, who was killed in Missouri. The weather being so unfavorable for meetings, Joseph informed the conference that much instruction that was to have been given would be omitted.

On the 24th of May Joseph wrote a short epistle, in which he called upon the Saints who resided outside of Hancock County to make ready to move into it without delay. He wished the energy and enterprise of the people concentrated to accomplish the erection of the Temple and other buildings. He also wished it understood that all the Stakes, excepting those in Hancock County, and across the river in Lee County, Iowa, were discontinued.

On Tuesday, June 1, 1841, Joseph accompanied his brother Hyrum and William Law as far as Quincy, on their mission to the East. On the 4th he called on Governor Carlin, at his residence in Quincy.

"During my visit with the governor," writes the Prophet, "I was treated with the greatest kindness and respect; nothing was said about any requisition having come from the governor of Missouri for my arrest. In a very few hours after I had left the governor's residence, he sent Thomas King, sheriff of Adams County, Thomas Jasper, a constable of Quincy, and some others, as a posse, with an officer from Missouri, to arrest me and deliver me up to the authorities of Missouri.

"Saturday, 5th. While I was staying at Heberlin's Hotel, Bear Creek, about twenty-eight miles south of Nauvoo, Sheriff King and posse arrested me. Some of the posse, on learning the spirit of the officer from Missouri, left the company in disgust and returned to their own homes. I accordingly returned to Quincy and obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* from Chas. A. Warren, Esq., master in chancery; and Judge Stephen A. Douglas, happening to come to Quincy that evening, he appointed to give a hearing on the writ on the Tuesday following, in Monmouth, Warren County, where the court would then commence a regular term.

"Sunday, 6th. News of my arrest having arrived in Nauvoo last night, and being circulated through the city, Hosea Stout, Tarleton Lewis, Wm. A. Hickman, John S. Higbee, Elijah Able, Uriel C. Nickerson and George W. Clyde started from the Nauvoo landing in a skiff, in order to overtake me and rescue me, if necessary. They had a heavy head wind, but arrived in Quincy at dusk; went up to Benjamin Jones' house, and found that I had gone to Nauvoo in charge of two officers.

"I returned to Nauvoo in charge of the officers, and notified several of my friends to get ready and accompany me the next morning. Sheriff King had been suddenly seized with sickness; I nursed and waited upon him in my own house, so that he might be able to go to Monmouth.

"Monday, 7. I started very early for Monmouth, 75 miles distant (taking Mr. King along with me, and attending him during his sickness), accompanied by Charles C. Rich, Amasa M. Lyman, Shadrach Roundy, Reyn-

olds Cahoon, Charles Hopkins, Alfred Randall, Elias Higbee, Morris Phelps, John P. Greene, Henry G. Sherwood, Joseph Younger, Darwin Chase, Ira Miles, Joel S. Miles, Lucien Woodworth, Vinson Knight, Robert B. Thompson, George Miller and others. We traveled very late, camping about midnight in the road.

"Tuesday morning, 8th. Arrived at Monmouth, and procured breakfast at the tavern; found great excitement prevailing in the public mind, and great curiosity was manifested by the citizens, who were extremely anxious to obtain 'a sight of the Prophet,' expecting to see me in chains. Mr. King, whose health was now partly restored, had considerable difficulty in protecting me from the mob that had gathered there. Mr. Sidney H. Little, for the defense, mentioned 'that the case of Mr. Smith should be taken up,' but was objected to by the State attorney *pro tem.*, on account of his not being prepared, not having had sufficient notice of the trial. It was accordingly, by mutual consent, postponed until Wednesday morning.

"In the evening great excitement prevailed, and the citizens employed several attorneys to plead against me.

"I was requested to preach to the citizens of Monmouth; but as I was a prisoner I kept closeted in my room, for I could not even come down stairs to my meals but the people would be crowding the window to get a peep at me, and therefore appointed Elder Amasa M. Lyman to preach in the court house on Wednesday evening.

"Wednesday, 9th. At an early hour the court house was filled with

spectators desirous to hear the proceedings.

"Mr. Morrison, on behalf of the people, wished for time to send to Springfield for the indictment, it not being found with the rest of the papers. This course would have delayed the proceedings, and, as it was not important to the issue, the attorneys for the defense admitted that there was an indictment, so that the investigation might proceed.

"Mr. Warren, for the defense, then read the petition, which stated that I was unlawfully held in custody, and that the indictment, in Missouri, was obtained by fraud, bribery and duress, all of which I was prepared to prove.

"Mr. Little then called upon the following witnesses, viz., Mr. Morris Phelps, Elias Higbee, Reynolds Cahoon and George W. Robinson, who were sworn. The counsel on the opposite side objected to hearing evidence on the merits of the case, as they could not go beyond the indictment. Upon this, a warm and long discussion occurred, which occupied the attention of the court during the entire day.

"All the lawyers on the opposite side, excepting two, viz., Messrs. Knowlton and Jennings, confined themselves to the merits of the case, and conducted themselves as gentlemen; but it was plainly evident that the design of Messrs Knowlton and Jennings was to excite the public mind still more on the subject, and inflame the passions of the people against me and my religion.

"The counsel on behalf of the defense, Messrs. Charles A. Warren, Sidney H. Little, O. H. Browning, James H. Ralston, Cyrus Walker and Archibald Williams, acted nobly and

honorably, and stood up in the defense of the persecuted, in a manner worthy of high-minded and honorable gentlemen. Some had even been told that if they engaged on the side of the defense, they need never look to the citizens of that county for any political favors. But they were not to be overawed by the popular clamor, or be deterred from an act of public duty by any insinuations or threats whatever, and stated that if they had not before determined to take a part in the defense, they, after hearing the threats of the community, were now fully determined to discharge their duty. The counsel for the defense spoke well, without exception, and strongly urged the legality of the court examining testimony to prove that the whole proceedings, on the part of Missouri, were base and illegal, and that the indictment was obtained through fraud, bribery and corruption.

"The court, after hearing the counsel, adjourned about half past six o'clock p. m.

"When I was at dinner, a man rushed in and said, 'Which is Joe Smith? I have got a five-dollar Kirtland bill, and I'll be d—d if he don't take it back, I'll sue him, for his name is to it.' I replied, 'I am the man,' took the bill and paid him the specie, which he took very reluctantly, being anxious to kick up a fuss.

"The crowd in the court was so intense, that Judge Douglas ordered the sheriff of Warren County to keep the spectators back; but he neglected doing so, when the judge fined him ten dollars. In a few minutes he again ordered the sheriff to keep the men back from crowding the prisoner and witnesses. He replied, 'I have told a

constable to do it,' when the judge immediately said, 'Clerk, add ten dollars more to that fine.' The sheriff, finding neglect rather expensive, then attended to his duty.

"A young lawyer from Missouri volunteered to plead against me; he tried his utmost to convict me, but was so high with liquor, and chewed so much tobacco, that he often called for cold water. Before he had spoken many minutes he turned sick, requested to be excused by the court and went out of the court-house, puking all the way down stairs. (As the Illinoisians call the Missouri people *pukes*, this circumstance caused considerable amusement to the members of the bar.) During his plea his language was so outrageous that the judge was twice under the necessity of ordering him to be silent.

"Mr. O. H. Browning then commenced his plea, and in a short time the puking lawyer returned, and requested the privilege of finishing his plea, which was allowed.

"Afterwards Mr. Browning resumed his pleadings, which were powerful; and when he gave a recitation of what he himself had seen at Quincy, and on the banks of the Mississippi River, when the Saints were exterminated from Missouri, \* \* \* they were so affecting that the spectators were often dissolved in tears. Judge Douglas himself and most of the officers wept."

This Mr. Browning, who afterwards became a member of President Johnson's cabinet, concluded his speech as follows:

"Great God! have I not seen it? Yes, my eyes have beheld the blood-stained traces of innocent women and children, in the drear winter, who had traveled hundreds of miles barefoot, through frost and snow, to seek a refuge

from their savage pursuers. 'Twas a scene of horror, sufficient to enlist sympathy from an adamant heart. And shall this unfortunate man, whom their fury has seen proper to select for sacrifice, be driven into such a savage land, and none dare to enlist in the cause of justice? If there was no other voice under heaven ever to be heard in this cause, gladly would I stand alone, and proudly spend my latest breath in defence of an oppressed American citizen."

The next morning, June 10th, Judge Douglas delivered his opinion in the case, which was to the effect that Joseph should be discharged. Joseph continues:

"This decision was received with satisfaction by myself and the brethren, and all those whose minds were free from prejudice. It is now decided that before another writ can issue, a new demand must be made by the governor of Missouri. Thus have I been once more delivered from the fangs of my cruel persecutors, for which I thank God, my heavenly Father.

"I was discharged about 11 a. m., when I ordered dinner for my company, now increased to about sixty men; and when I called for the tavern bill, the unconscientious fellow replied, 'Only one hundred and sixty dollars.'

"About 2 p. m. the company commenced their return, traveled about twenty miles and camped by the way-side.

"Friday, 11th. Started very early, arrived at La Harpe for dinner, and returned safely to Nauvoo by 4 p. m., where I was met by the acclamations of the Saints."

The proceedings in this case, including the expense of counsel, fees of attendants, witnesses, etc., cost upwards of three thousand dollars, which was no inconsiderable sum for a per-

son who had just been robbed of nearly all he owned in Missouri.

## CHAPTER 15.

The Twelve Apostles return from their foreign mission.—Joseph visited by Sac and Fox Indians.—Instructions on baptism for the dead and other doctrines.—Nauvoo infested with thieves.—Modern conception of the appearance of a Prophet.—The First Female Relief Society organized at Nauvoo.—Extracts from a funeral sermon by the Prophet.—Important items of instruction.—Conspiracy against Joseph's household.

July 1, 1841, Apostles Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and John Taylor returned to Nauvoo from their mission to England. The other brethren, who had been with them to England, were detained by business and visiting relatives, and arrived in Nauvoo later. Under date of August 1st, Joseph writes:

"All the quorum of the Twelve Apostles who were expected here this season, with the exception of Elders Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff, have arrived. We have listened to the accounts which they give of their success, and the prosperity of the work of the Lord in Great Britain, with pleasure. They certainly have been the instruments in the hands of God of accomplishing much, and must have the satisfaction of knowing that they have done their duty. Perhaps no men ever undertook such an important mission under such peculiarly distressing and unpropitious circumstances. Most of them when they left this place, nearly two years ago, were worn down with sickness and disease, or were taken sick on the road. Several of their families were also afflicted and needed their aid and support. But knowing that they

had been called by the God of heaven to preach the gospel to other nations, they conferred not with flesh and blood, but obedient to the heavenly mandate, *without purse or scrip*, commenced a journey of five thousand miles entirely dependent on the providence of that God, who had called them to such a holy calling. While journeying to the seaboard, they were brought into many trying circumstances; after a short recovery from severe sickness, they would be taken with a relapse, and have to stop among strangers, without money and without friends. Their lives were several times despaired of, and they have taken each other by the hand, expecting it would be the last time they should behold one another in the flesh. However, notwithstanding their afflictions and trials, the Lord always interposed in their behalf, and did not suffer them to sink in the arms of death. Some way or other was made for their escape—friends rose up when they most needed them, and relieved their necessities; and thus they were enabled to pursue their journey and rejoice in the Holy One of Israel. They truly 'went forth weeping, bearing precious seed,' but have 'returned with rejoicing, bearing their sheaves with them.'"

August 7th, 1841, Don Carlos Smith, Joseph's youngest brother, died in Nauvoo. (See *Don Carlos Smith*.)

In August, 1841, a considerable number of Sac and Fox Indians encamped in the neighborhood of Montrose, Iowa. On the morning of August 12th the ferrymen brought over a great number of them on the ferryboat and two flat-boats. They came for the purpose of visiting Joseph. The military band and a detachment

of 'Invincibles' were on shore ready to receive and escort them to the grove, but they refused to come on shore until Joseph came. He accordingly went down and met Keokuk, Kish-ku-kosh, Appenoose and about one hundred chiefs and braves of those tribes, with their families, at the landing, introduced his brother Hyrum to them, and, after the usual salutations, conducted them to the meeting ground in the grove, and instructed them in many things which the Lord had revealed in relation to their fathers, and the promises that were made concerning them in the Book of Mormon. He advised them to cease killing each other and warring with other tribes, and keep peace with the whites, all of which was interpreted to them.

Keokuk replied that he had a Book of Mormon at his wick-i-up, which Joseph had given him some years before. "I believe," said he, "that you are a great and good man. I look rough, but I also am a son of the Great Spirit. I've heard your advice—we intend to quit fighting and follow the good talk you have given us."

After the conversation they were feasted on the green with good food, dainties and melons by the brethren; and they entertained the spectators with a specimen of their dancing.

On the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of October, 1841, a general conference was held in Nauvoo. By request of the Twelve, Joseph gave instructions on the doctrine of baptism for the dead, which was listened to with intense interest by the large assembly. The historian writes:

"He presented baptism for the dead as the only way that men can appear as saviors on Mount Zion.

"The proclamation of the first principles of the gospel was a means of salvation to men individually; and it was the truth, not men, that saved them; but men, by actively engaging in rites of salvation substitutionally, became instrumental in bringing multitudes of their kindred into the kingdom of God.

"He explained the difference between an angel and a ministering spirit—the one a resurrected or translated body, with its spirit ministering to embodied spirits; the other a disembodied spirit, visiting and ministering to disembodied spirits. Jesus Christ became a ministering spirit (while his body was lying in the sepulchre) to the spirits in prison, to fulfill an important part of his mission, without which he could not have perfected his work or entered into his rest.

"After his resurrection he appeared as an angel to his disciples, etc. Translated bodies cannot enter into rest until they have undergone a change equivalent to death. Translated bodies are designed for future missions. The angel that appeared to John on the Isle of Patmos was a translated or resurrected body [i. e., personage]. Jesus Christ went in body, after his resurrection, to minister to resurrected bodies. There has been a chain of authority and power from Adam down to the present time. \* \* \* It is no more incredible that God should save the dead than that he should raise the dead.

"There is never a time when the spirit is too old to approach God. All are within the reach of pardoning mercy who have not committed the unpardonable sin, which hath no forgiveness, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. There is a way to release the spirit of the dead; that is by the power and authority of the Priesthood—by binding and loosing on earth. This doctrine appears glorious, inasmuch as it exhibits the greatness of divine compassion and benevolence in the extent of the plan of human salvation.

"The glorious truth is well calculated to enlarge the understanding and to sustain the soul under troubles, difficulties and distresses. For illustration, suppose the case of two men, brothers, equally intelligent, learned, virtuous and lovely, walking in uprightness and in all good conscience, so far as they have been able to discern duty from the muddy stream of tradition, or from the blotted page of the book of nature. One dies and is buried, having never heard the gospel of reconciliation; to the other the message of salvation is sent, he hears and embraces it and is made the heir of eternal

life. Shall the one become a partaker of glory and the other be consigned to hopeless perdition? Is there no chance for his escape? Secarianism answers, "none!" Such an idea is worse than atheism. The truth shall break down and dash in pieces all such bigoted Pharisaism; the sects shall be sifted, the honest in heart brought out and their priests left in the midst of their corruption.

"Many objections are urged against the Latter-day Saints for not admitting the validity of sectarian baptism, and for withholding fellowship from sectarian churches. Yet to do otherwise would be like putting new wine into old bottles, and putting old wine into new bottles. What! new revelations in the old churches? New revelation would knock out the bottom of their bottomless pit. New wine into old bottles! The bottles burst and the wine runs out. What! Sadducees in the new church? Old wine in new leathern bottles will leak through the pores and escape; so the Sadducee Saints mock at authority, kick out of the traces and run to the mountains of perdition, leaving the long echo of their braying behind them.

"He then referred to the [lack of] charity of the sects in denouncing all who disagree with them in opinion, and in joining in persecuting the Saints who believe that even such may be saved in this world and in the world to come (murderers and apostates excepted).

"This doctrine presents in a clear light the wisdom and mercy of God in preparing an ordinance for the salvation of the dead, being baptized by proxy, their names recorded in heaven, and they judged according to the deeds done in the body. This doctrine was the burden of the scriptures. Those Saints who neglect it in behalf of their deceased relatives, do it at the peril of their own salvation. The dispensation of the fulness of times will bring to light the things that have been revealed in all former dispensations; also other things that have not been before revealed. He shall send Elijah the Prophet, etc., and restore all things in Christ."

Joseph then announced that there would be no more baptisms for the dead, until the ordinance could be attended to in the font of the Lord's House, and that the Church should not hold another general conference until it could meet in that house, "for thus saith the Lord." The baptismal font



was dedicated November 8th, following. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

At a meeting held in Nauvoo, November 7th, Joseph said, in speaking of temperance, faith, virtue, charity and truth:

"If you do not accuse each other, God will not accuse you. If you have no accuser, you will enter heaven, and if you will follow the revelations and instructions which God gives you through me, I will take you into heaven as my back load. If you will not accuse me, I will not accuse you. If you will throw a cloak of charity over my sins, I will over yours, for charity covereth a multitude of sins. What many people call sin, is not sin. I do many things to break down superstition, and I will break it down."

In council with the Twelve Apostles at the house of Brigham Young, November 28th, the Prophet, in conversing with the brethren on a variety of subjects, told them "that the Book of Mormon was the most correct of any book on earth, and the keystone of our religion, and a man would get nearer to God abiding by its precepts than by any other book." On the 19th of December he preached an interesting discourse, in which he said:

"Some people say I am a fallen Prophet because I do not bring forth more of the word of the Lord. Why do I not do it? Are we able to receive it? No! not one in this room. \* \* \*

"Because we will not receive chastisement at the hand of the Prophet and Apostles, the Lord chastiseth us with sickness and death. Let not any man publish his own righteousness, for others can see that for him; sooner let him confess his sins, and then he will be forgiven, and he will bring forth more fruit. When a corrupt man is chastised, he gets angry and will not endure it. The reason we do not have the secrets of the Lord revealed unto us, is because we do not keep them, but reveal them. We do not keep our own secrets, but reveal our difficulties to the world, even to our enemies, then how would we keep the secrets of the Lord. I can keep a secret till Doomsday. What greater love hath any man than that he lay down his life for his friend; then why not fight for our friend until we die?"

"There were a number of bad men in those days," writes George Q. Cannon in the *Juvenile Instructor*, "who, professing to be Latter-day Saints, were guilty of many evil practices. Not content with doing wrong themselves, they tried to lead others to engage with them by telling them that Joseph knew all about their acts, and that he had given them authority to steal. They endeavored to screen themselves by using the names of Joseph and Hyrum and other leading men. They said it was not wrong to take anything from a Gentile; the Prophet Isaiah had said that Zion should suck the milk of the Gentiles; and Micah had said that the gain of the Gentiles was to be consecrated to the Lord and their substance to the Lord of the whole earth. When, therefore, they stole property from men who did not belong to the Church, they said they were 'consecrating,' or they were 'milking the Gentiles,' and justified themselves for so doing, and called it perfectly right. Of course, when such actions became known, the whole Church had to take the blame, for these wicked men told that it was a doctrine of the Church and that Joseph had taught it. This wickedness was a cause of sorrow to Joseph and Hyrum and the leading Elders. They did all they could to bring such things to light, and they cut every one off from the Church whom they knew to be guilty. Joseph and Hyrum each published statements informing the Church and the public that such doctrines had never been taught by them, and that they held themselves and their property ready to be used to support the laws in punishing men guilty of stealing and other crimes. They made oath to these

statements before the mayor of the city and a justice of the peace, and published their affidavits. The Twelve Apostles also published an epistle, in which they spoke in very strong language about those thieves, and quoted from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants to show what the Lord had said about those who would rob and steal.

"In the days of Joseph, to appear like a Prophet, according to the popular idea, a man should wear a long beard, long hair, and dress in an outlandish style. If he did not wash himself and clean and pare his nails it would be all the better. He should not smile and be merry. When he spoke, his voice should be deep and solemn; when he walked, his tread should be slow and measured. If he lived in a cave, it would suit many people better than if he lived in a house. He should be different to other men in every respect. Of course, those who had these ideas of what a Prophet should be were much disappointed in Joseph, for if a Prophet should talk, dress and act in this manner, he was very unlike one. He wore no beard, did not have long hair, and was very cleanly in his person, dressed with taste, had a pleasant face, a sweet smile, a cheerful and joyous manner, and was natural. He was the very opposite of what a religious bigot would think a Prophet ought to be; and he never took any pains to be otherwise. He was a great hater of sham. He disliked long-faced hypocrisy, and numerous stories are told of his peculiar manner of rebuking it. He knew that what many people call sin is not sin, and he did many things to break down superstition. He would

wrestle, play ball, and enjoy himself in physical exercises, and he knew that he was not committing sin in so doing. The religion of heaven is not to make men sorrowful, to curtail their enjoyment and to make them groan and sigh and wear long faces, but to make them happy. This Joseph desired to teach the people, but in doing so, he, like our Savior, when he was on the earth, was a stumbling-block to bigots and hypocrites. They could not understand him; he shocked their prejudices and traditions. A great change has taken place in the feelings of the world on these subjects since his death. The course taken by the Latter-day Saints, with their teachings, have had the effect of helping to bring about this change. We prove to the world that we can dance and have other amusements, and yet be happy and free from sin. The strong blows which Joseph dealt to sectarianism and sham were felt, and good effects have followed."

Joseph labored incessantly in various ways to advance the cause of truth; and was constantly kept busy by looking after the general welfare of the Church, receiving revelations, translating, preaching, writing letters, etc. He also commenced the publication of the Book of Abraham (which he had translated from the papyrus) in the *Times and Seasons*. The Saints exerted themselves to build the Temple, and private dwellings arose in every quarter of the city. Also a number of flourishing villages were commenced in various parts of Hancock County, Illinois, and Lee County, Iowa.

March 17, 1842, Joseph assisted in commencing the organization of the

"Female Relief Society of Nauvoo." Emma Smith, Joseph's wife, was elected president, with Elizabeth Ann Whitney and Sarah M. Cleveland as counselors. On that occasion Joseph gave much instruction, read in the New Testament and Book of Doctrine and Covenants concerning the Elect Lady, and showed that the elect meant to be elected to a certain work, etc., and that the revelation was then fulfilled by Sister Emma's election to the presidency of the Society, she having previously been ordained to expound the Scriptures. Emma was blessed and her counselors were set apart by Elder John Taylor.

The organization of the Relief Society was completed March 24th; its object was to help the poor, nurse the sick, relieve the wants of the widows and orphans, and for the exercise of all benevolent purposes.

Sunday, March 20, 1842, Joseph preached to a large congregation in the grove west of the Temple. The body of Windsor P. Lyon's deceased child, which was placed before the assembly, gave occasion for the Prophet to make some interesting remarks of which the following are extracts:

"President Smith read the 14th chapter of Revelations, and said: We have again the warning voice sounded in our midst, which shows the uncertainty of human life; and in my leisure moments I have meditated upon the subject, and asked the question why it is that infants, innocent children, are taken away from us, especially those that seem to be the most intelligent and interesting. The strongest reasons that present themselves to my mind are these: This world is a very wicked world; and it is a proverb that the 'world grows weaker and wiser;' if that is the case, the world grows more wicked and corrupt. In the earlier ages of the world a righteous man, and a man of God and of intelligence, had a better chance to do good, to be believed and

received than at the present day; but in these days such a man is much opposed and persecuted by most of the inhabitants of the earth, and he has much sorrow to pass through here. The Lord takes many away, even in infancy, that they may escape the envy of man and the sorrows and evils of this present world; they were too pure, too lovely, to live on earth; therefore, if rightly considered, instead of mourning we have reason to rejoice, as they are delivered from evil, and we shall soon have them again.

"What chance is there for infidelity when we are parting with our friends almost daily? None at all. The infidel will grasp at every straw for help until death stares him in the face, and then his infidelity takes its flight, for the realities of the eternal world are resting upon him in mighty power; and when every earthly support and prop falls him, he then sensibly feels the eternal truths of the immortality of the soul. We should take warning and not wait for the death-bed to repent; as we see the infant taken away by death, so may the youth and middle-aged, as well as the infant, be suddenly called into eternity. Let this, then, prove as a warning to all not to procrastinate repentance, or wait till a death-bed, for it is the will of God that man should repent and serve him in health, and in the strength and power of his mind, in order to secure his blessing, and not wait until he is called to die.

"The doctrine of baptizing children, or sprinkling them, or they must welter in hell, is a doctrine not true, not supported in holy writ, and is not consistent with the character of God. All children are redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, and the moment that children leave this world, they are taken to the bosom of Abraham. The only difference between the old and young dying is: one lives longer in heaven and eternal light and glory than the other, and is freed a little sooner from this miserable, wicked world. Notwithstanding all this glory, we for a moment lose sight of it and mourn the loss, but we do not mourn as those without hope."

In relation to the first principles of the gospel, the Prophet, in the same discourse, said:

"Baptism is a sign to God, to angels and to heaven, that we do the will of God; and there is no other way beneath the heavens whereby God hath ordained for man to come to him to be saved and enter into the kingdom of God, except faith in Jesus Christ, repentance and baptism for the remission of sins, and any

other course is in vain; then you have the promise of the gift of the Holy Ghost.

"What is the sign of the healing of the sick? The laying on of hands is the sign or way marked out by James, and the custom of the ancient Saints as ordered by the Lord, and we cannot obtain the blessing by pursuing any other course except the way marked out by the Lord. What if we should attempt to get the gift of the Holy Ghost through any other means except the signs or way which God hath appointed—would we obtain it? Certainly not; all other means would fail. The Lord says do so and so, and I will bless you.

"There are certain key words and signs belonging to the Priesthood which must be observed in order to obtain the blessing. The sign of Peter was to repent and be baptized for the remission of sins, with the promise of the gift of the Holy Ghost; and in no other way is the gift of the Holy Ghost obtained.

"There is a difference between the Holy Ghost and the gift of the Holy Ghost. Cornelius received the Holy Ghost before he was baptized, which was the convincing power of God unto him of the truth of the gospel, but he could not receive the gift of the Holy Ghost until after he was baptized. Had he not taken this sign or ordinance upon him, the Holy Ghost which convinced him of the truth of God would have left him. Until he obeyed these ordinances and received the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, according to the order of God, he could not have healed the sick or commanded an evil spirit to come out of a man, and it obey him; for the spirits might say unto him, as they did to the sons of Sceva; 'Paul we know, and Jesus we know, but who are ye?' It mattereth not whether we live long or short on the earth after we come to a knowledge of these principles and obey them unto the end. I know that all men will be damned if they do not come in the way which he hath opened, and this is the way marked out by the word of the Lord.

"As concerning the resurrection, I will merely say that all men will come from the grave as they lie down, whether old or young; there will not be 'added unto their stature one cubit,' neither taken from it; all will be raised by the power of God, having spirit in their bodies, and not blood. Children will be enthroned in the presence of God and the Lamb, with bodies of the same stature that they had on earth, having been redeemed by the blood of the Lamb;

they will there enjoy the fulness of that light, glory and intelligence which is prepared in the celestial kingdom."

At the close of the meeting Joseph announced that he should attend to the ordinance of baptism in the river, near his house, at 2 o'clock; and at the appointed hour the bank of the Mississippi was lined with a multitude of people, and Joseph went into the river and baptized eighty persons for the remission of their sins; and what added joy to the scene was that the first person baptized was L. D. Wasson, a nephew of Emma Smith—the first of her kindred who embraced the fulness of the gospel. After baptism, the congregation again repaired to the grove near the Temple, to attend to the ordinance of confirmation, and notwithstanding the Prophet had spoken in the open air to the people and stood in the water so long, about fifty of those baptized received their confirmation under his hands in the after part of the day.

On the 6th, 7th and 8th of April, 1842, a special conference was held in Nauvoo, on which occasion 275 brethren were ordained Elders under the hands of the Twelve Apostles, and soon afterwards sent out to preach the gospel. On account of the bad weather this conference was not so well attended as usual.

Preaching a funeral sermon on April 9, 1842, the Prophet said:

"Some have supposed that Brother Joseph could not die; but this is a mistake; it is true there have been times when I have had the promise of my life to accomplish such and such things, but, having now accomplished those things, I have not at present any lease on my life; I am as liable to die as other men. \* \* \*

"When we lose a near and dear friend, upon whom we have set our hearts, it should be a

caution unto us not to set our affections too firmly upon others, knowing that they may in like manner be taken from us. Our affections should be placed upon God and his work more intensely than upon our fellow-beings."

On the following day (April 10th), in preaching to a large assembly in the grove, Joseph pronounced a curse upon all adulterers, fornicators and unvirtuous persons, and those who had made use of his name to carry on their iniquitous designs. He also said:

"If you wish to go where God is, you must be like God, or possess the principles which God possesses, for if we are not drawing towards God in principle, we are going from him and drawing towards the devil. \* \* \*

"A man is saved no faster than he gets knowledge, for if he does not get knowledge, he will be brought into captivity by some evil power in the other world, as evil spirits will have more knowledge and consequently more power than many men who are on the earth. Hence it needs revelation to assist us, and give us knowledge of the things of God."

In speaking to the members of the Female Relief Society, April 28, 1842, the Prophet showed how the sisters would come in possession of the privileges, blessings and gifts of the Priesthood, and that the signs should follow them, such as the healing of the sick, the casting out of devils, etc. They might attain unto these blessings by a virtuous life and conversation, and diligence in keeping the commandments of God. He also said that:

"Some little foolish things were circulating in the Society against some sisters not doing right in laying hands on the sick. Said that if the people had common sympathies, they would rejoice that the sick could be healed. \* \* \*

"No matter who believeth, these signs, such as healing the sick, casting out devils, etc., should follow all that believe, whether male or female. He asked the Society if they could not see by this sweeping promise, that wherein they are ordained, it is the privilege of those set apart to administer in that authority, which is conferred on them; and if the sisters should have faith to heal the sick, let all hold their

tongues, and let everything roll on. \* \* \*

"Respecting females administering for the healing of the sick, he further remarked, there could be no evil in it, if God gave his sanction by healing; that there could be no more sin in any female laying hands on and praying for the sick than in wetting the face with water; it is no sin for anybody to administer that has faith, or if the sick have faith to be healed by their administration. \* \* \*

"President Smith continued by speaking of the difficulties he had to surmount ever since the commencement of the work, in consequence of aspiring men—'great big Elders,' as he called them, who had caused him much trouble; to whom he had taught the things of the kingdom in private councils, they would then go forth into the world and proclaim the things he had taught them, as their own revelations; said the same aspiring disposition will be in this Society, and must be guarded against; that every person should stand and act in the place appointed, and thus sanctify the society and get it pure. \* \* \*

"As he had this opportunity, he was going to instruct the ladies of this society, and point out the way for them to conduct themselves, that they might act according to the will of God; that he did not know that he should have many opportunities of teaching them, as they were going to be left to themselves; they would not long have him to instruct them; that the Church would not have his instructions long, and the world would not be troubled with him a great while, and would not have his teachings [in person].

"He spoke of delivering the keys of the Priesthood to the Church, and said that the faithful members of the Relief Society should receive them in connection with their husbands; that the Saints whose integrity has been tried and proved faithful might know how to ask the Lord and receive an answer; for according to his prayers God had appointed him elsewhere.

"He exhorted the sisters always to concentrate their faith and prayers for and place confidence in their husbands, whom God has appointed for them to honor, and in those faithful men whom God has placed at the head of the Church to lead his people; that we should arm and sustain them with our prayers; for the keys of the kingdom are about to be given to them, that they may be able to detect everything false; as well as to all the Elders who shall prove their integrity in due season. \* \* \*

"How precious are the souls of men! The female parts of the community are apt to be

contracted in their views. You must not be contracted, but you must be liberal in your feelings. Let this society teach women how to behave towards their husbands, to treat them with mildness and affection. When a man is borne down with trouble, when he is perplexed with care and difficulty, if he can meet a smile instead of an argument or a murmur—if he can meet with mildness, it will calm down his soul and soothe his feelings; when his mind is going to despair, it needs a solace of affection and kindness. . . .

"I now turn the key in your behalf in the name of the Lord, and this society shall rejoice, and knowledge and intelligence shall flow down from this time henceforth; this is the beginning of better days to the poor and needy, who shall be made to rejoice and pour forth blessings on your heads.

"When you go home, never give a cross or unkind word to your husband, but let kindness, charity and love crown your works henceforward; don't envy the finery and fleeting show of sinners, for they are in a miserable situation; but as far as you can, have mercy on them, for in a short time God will destroy them, if they will not repent and turn unto him. . . .

"If any have a matter to reveal, let it be in your own tongue; do not indulge too much in the exercise of the gift of tongues, or the devil will take advantage of the innocent and unwary. You may speak in tongues for your own comfort, but I lay this down for a rule, that if anything is taught by the gift of tongues, it is not to be received for doctrine.

"President Smith then gave instruction respecting the propriety of females administering to the sick by the prayer of faith, the laying on of hands, or the anointing with oil; and said it was according to revelation that the sick should be nursed with herbs and mild food, and not by the hand of an enemy. Who are better qualified to administer than our faithful and zealous sisters, whose hearts are full of faith, tenderness, sympathy and compassion? No one."

The Spirit of God was poured out in a very powerful manner, never to be forgotten by those who were present on this interesting occasion.

Under date of April 29th, Joseph writes:

"A conspiracy against the peace of my household was made manifest, and it gave me some

trouble to counteract the design of certain base individuals, and restore peace. The Lord makes manifest to me many things, which it is not wisdom for me to make public until others can witness the proof of them."

## CHAPTER 16.

The first endowments given in this dispensation.—The Nauvoo Legion on parade.—Joseph's life saved through the admonition of the Holy Spirit.—John C. Bennett's wickedness, apostasy and lying.—Joseph predicts that the Saints shall become a mighty people in the Rocky Mountains.—He is falsely accused of being accessory to the shooting of ex-Governor Lilburn W. Boggs.—Hides to escape arrest.—Orrin P. Rockwell's trying experience.

On Sunday, May 1, 1842, Joseph preached in the Grove on the keys of the kingdom, charity, etc., saying among other things:

"The keys are certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders till the Temple is completed. The rich can only get them in the Temple, the poor may get them on the mountain top, as did Moses. The rich cannot be saved without charity, giving to feed the poor when and how God requires, as well as building. There are signs in heaven, earth and hell; the Elders must know them all, to be endowed with power, to finish their work and prevent imposition. The devil knows many signs, but does not know the sign of the Son of Man, or Jesus. No one can truly say he knows God until he has handled something, and this can only be in the Holiest of Holies."

"Wednesday, May 4, 1842," writes Joseph, "I spent in the upper part of the store, that is, in my private office (so called, because in that room I keep my sacred writings, translate ancient records and receive revelations), and in my general business office or lodge room (that is, where the masonic fraternity meet occasionally, for want of a better place), in council with General James Adams of Spring-

field, Patriarch Hyrum Smith, Bishops Newel K. Whitney and George Miller, and President Brigham Young, and Elders Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, instructing them in the principles and order of the Priesthood, attending to washings, anointings, endowments and the communication of keys pertaining to the Aaronic Priesthood, and so on to the highest order of Melchizedek Priesthood, setting forth the order pertaining to the Ancient of Days, and all those plans and principles by which any one is enabled to secure the fulness of those blessings which have been prepared for the Church of the First Born, and come up and abide in the presence of the Elohim in the eternal worlds. In this council was instituted the ancient order of things for the first time in these last days. And the communications I made to this council were of things spiritual, and to be received only by the spiritual-minded; and there was nothing made known to these men but what will be made known to all the Saints of the last days, so soon as they are prepared to receive and a proper place is prepared to communicate them, even to the weakest of the Saints; therefore, let the Saints be diligent in building the Temple, and all houses which they have been or shall hereafter be commanded of God to build; and wait their time with patience in all meekness, faith, perseverance unto the end, knowing assuredly that all these things referred to in this council are always governed by the principle of revelation.

"Thursday, 5th. General Adams started for Springfield, and the remainder of the council of yesterday continued their meeting at the same

place, and myself and Brother Hyrum received in turn from the other the same I had communicated to them the day previous."

On the 7th of May the Nauvoo Legion was on parade and was reviewed by Joseph. Judge Stephen A. Douglas was holding court at the time at Carthage, but there was so much curious excitement prevailing respecting this military parade and review that he adjourned the circuit court. He and some of the principal lawyers came to Nauvoo for the occasion, and there were also a large number of other strangers present. After the review the generals and their staffs, with their wives, and Judge Douglas and his friends, dined at Joseph's house. In the afternoon the Legion was separated into cohorts and fought an animated sham battle. In relation to this sham battle and John C. Bennett's conduct on that occasion in regard to himself Joseph writes:

"I was solicited by General Bennett to take command of the first cohort during the sham battle; this I declined. General Bennett next requested me to take my station in the rear of the cavalry, without my staff, during the engagement; but this was counteracted by Captain Albert P. Rockwood, commander of my life guards, who kept close to my side, and I chose my own position. And if General Bennett's true feelings towards me are not made manifest to the world in a very short time, then it may be possible that the gentle breathings of that Spirit, which whispered me on parade that "there was mischief concealed in that sham battle," were false; a short time will determine the point. Let John C. Bennett answer at the day of judgment, 'Why

did you request me to command one of the cohorts, and also take my position without my staff, during the sham battle on the 7th of May, 1842, where my life might have been the forfeit, and no man have known who did the deed?"

Joseph was right; John C. Bennett's subsequent conduct proved the correctness of the Prophet's apprehensions. This man came to Nauvoo and professed to have a great desire to see the Saints enjoy their rights. He was a man of some ability, and had a little influence, yet those who knew him best had but little confidence in him. After he came to Nauvoo he joined the Church, and he was, apparently, very zealous and devoted to the cause of God. He soon became prominent among the people, obtained the office of major-general in the Nauvoo Legion, which he was very active in getting organized, and was also mayor of the city of Nauvoo. When the news spread about that Doctor Bennett had joined the Church, a letter was written to Nauvoo by a former neighbor of Bennett's, in which it was stated that he had a wife and two children in Ohio. The writer warned the people respecting him, and stated that he was a very mean man. Not much importance was attached to this letter at the time it was received. It was known that good men were sometimes spoken evil against, and it was thought that the statements of the writer of the letter might be untrue. On this account the letter was kept quiet, but it was held in reserve.

For a while after his baptism he kept up a good appearance, and was anxious to have Joseph and the people think he was a true Saint. But this

did not last long. He tried to keep his wickedness secret, but it soon came to light. Joseph was not long in finding out that he was acting the hypocrite. To gain his ends with the sisters he told them many very wicked lies about Joseph. He said that Joseph taught doctrines in secret which he dared not make public; or, in other words, he preached one thing in public and practiced another in private. By means of these lies he deceived several women, led them astray and ruined them to gratify his lusts. Joseph had done all he could to save him, but it was for no avail; he was a corrupt, bad man.

When Joseph learned that Bennett was continuing his wickedness, he charged him with it. Bennett admitted it was true. Joseph was resolved to put a stop to such actions, and he publicly proclaimed against him.

At a special session of the city council held in Nauvoo, May 19, 1842, Bennett, "having discovered that his whoredoms and abominations were fast coming to light, and the indignation of an insulted and abused people was rising rapidly against him, thought best to make a virtue of necessity, and try to make it appear that he was innocent by resigning his office as mayor." The council most gladly accepted his resignation and Joseph was elected mayor in his stead.

Because of the numerous reports circulating in the city, and to quiet the public mind, Joseph asked Bennett if he had aught against him, when Bennett arose before the council and a house filled with spectators, and said that he had not had any difficulties with any of the leading men of the Church. Joseph asked: "Will you



please state definitely whether you know anything against my character, either in public or private?" Bennett replied: "I do not; in all my intercourse with General Smith, in public and in private, he has been strictly virtuous."

Bennett also gave the following testimony under oath before Alderman Daniel H. Wells:

"NAUVOO, ILL., May 17, 1842.

"Personally appeared before me, Daniel H. Wells, an alderman of said city of Nauvoo, John C. Bennett, who, being duly sworn according to law, deposeth and saith, that he never was taught anything in the least contrary to the strictest principles of the gospel, or of virtue, or of the laws of God or man, under any circumstances, or upon any occasion, either directly or indirectly, in word or deed, by Joseph Smith; and that he never knew the said Smith to countenance any improper conduct whatever, either in public or in private; and that he never did teach men in private that an illegal, illicit intercourse with females was, under any circumstances, justifiable, and that I never knew him so to teach others.

"JOHN C. BENNETT."

When Bennett gave this testimony he professed that he intended to repent and do right, but it was not long before he again committed himself. On the 25th of May he was notified that the First Presidency, the Twelve and the Bishops had withdrawn fellowship from him, and were about to publish him in the papers. He begged them so humbly not to do this for his mother's sake, that the notice was withdrawn from the papers. The next day he attended a meeting at the Masonic Lodge rooms, where about one hundred of the brethren were present, and acknowledged his wicked and licentious conduct; he cried like a child, and said he was worthy of the severest chastisement; but he begged that he might be spared. His sorrow appeared so deep for the moment, or

he pretended to feel so penitent, that Joseph plead for mercy, and he was forgiven still.

Soon after this he left Nauvoo, and shortly afterwards commenced circulating every kind of slander and falsehood against Joseph and the Saints. According to his statements they were unfit to live. While he was professing to be a member of the Church, and to have great faith in the work, he wrote several fierce articles about the persecutions which the Saints had endured in Missouri. He did not publish his own name to these, but signed them "Joab, General in Israel." After he left Nauvoo, in writing against Joseph and the Church, he quoted from these articles. He did this to show the public what a treasonable, blood-thirsty people the "Mormons" were; but he took care not to tell them that he was the "Joab" who had written the articles. Afterwards he published a book filled with the blackest lies about Joseph and the Saints, which created a little excitement, but did not last long. He lived to be despised by every one who knew him, and those who did not know him, but only heard his stories or read his book, looked upon him as a traitor and a bad man. For some years before his death he suffered from violent fits; he also partly lost the use of his limbs and of his tongue, and it was difficult for him to make himself understood. He dragged out a miserable existence, without a person scarcely to take the least interest in his fate, and died without a soul to mourn his departure.

Sidney Rigdon and his family, who sympathized with Bennett, had partaken of his spirit. The sickness of

one of Sidney Rigdon's daughters, and her wonderful restoration to health, and the reproofs she gave the family, had the effect to stir him up again to a sense of his duties, and for a little while he sought to do better.

The following is an extract from an editorial, written by Joseph and published in the *Times and Seasons*, June 15, 1842:

"Seek to know God in your closets, call upon him in the fields. Follow the direction of the Book of Mormon, and pray over and for your families, your cattle, your flocks, your herds, your corn and all things that you possess; ask the blessing of God upon all your labors, and everything that you engage in. Be virtuous and pure; be men of integrity and truth; keep the commandments of God, and then you will be able more perfectly to understand the difference between right and wrong—between the things of God and the things of men; and your path will be like that of the just, 'which shineth brighter and brighter unto the perfect day.'

"Be not so curious about tongues, do not speak in tongues except there be an interpreter present; the ultimate design of tongues is to speak to foreigners, and if persons are very anxious to display their intelligence, let them speak to such in their own tongues. The gifts of God are all useful in their place, but when they are applied to that which God does not intend, they prove an injury, a snare and a curse instead of a blessing."

"Saturday, 6th, (August, 1842)," writes Joseph, "I passed over the river to Montrose, Iowa, in company with General Adams, Colonel Brewer and others, and witnessed the installation of the officers of the Rising Sun Lodge of Ancient York Masons, at Montrose, by General James Adams, deputy grand master of Illinois. While the deputy grand master was engaged in giving the requisite instructions to the master-elect, I had a conversation with a number of brethren in the shade of the building on the subject of our persecutions in Missouri, and the con-

stant annoyance which has followed us since we were driven from that State. I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors, or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease, and 'some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.'"

Only a few could realize then that this prophecy would be fulfilled so soon afterwards. The Saints did continue to suffer much affliction, many apostatized, others were killed by their persecutors, others lost their lives through exposure, being driven away from their homes by mobs, and others have lived to reach the Rocky Mountains, have assisted in making settlements and building cities, and have seen the Saints become a mighty people there, but Joseph himself did not live in the flesh to see his own prediction fulfilled.

May 6, 1842, Lilburn W. Boggs, who was governor of Missouri at the time the Saints were driven out of that State, was shot at and wounded at his home at Independence, Jackson County, Missouri. On the 20th of July following he went before Samuel Weston, a justice of the peace at Independence, and stated under oath that he believed it was Orrin P. Rockwell who had shot him; and he applied to the governor of Missouri to make a demand on the governor of Illinois for the said Orrin P. Rockwell to be delivered up and brought to Jackson County. Later, Boggs also swore that he believed Joseph Smith was

"an accessory before the fact, to an assault with an intent to kill made by one Orrin P. Rockwell on Lilburn W. Boggs." Governor Reynolds, of Missouri, then sent a requisition to Governor Carlin, of Illinois, for Joseph and Orrin P. Rockwell to be given up to him. Governor Carlin promptly issued a warrant, on the strength of which Joseph and Orrin P. Rockwell were arrested in Nauvoo on the 8th of August. Immediately after their arrest the municipal court of Nauvoo issued a writ of *habeas corpus* demanding that Joseph and Rockwell should be brought before that tribunal for trial. The officers, however, refused to acknowledge the right of the municipal court in the case, and consequently returned to Governor Carlin for further instructions.

This demand that Joseph should be taken to Missouri was not only unjust but illegal, for even if he had been guilty of the crime of which Boggs falsely accused him, there was no law by which he could have been brought to Missouri for trial. The whole affair was a mere pretext on the part of Boggs to get Joseph in his hands for the purpose of murdering him. Remembering the words of Solomon, that "a prudent man foreseeth the evil and hideth himself, but the simple pass on and are punished," Joseph deemed it wise for him and Orrin P. Rockwell to absent themselves from the city before the sheriff returned. Consequently he crossed the river to his uncle John Smith's house, in Iowa, where he remained a couple of days, and then recrossed the river and stopped with Brother Edward Sayer, who lived in the woods a few miles north of Nauvoo. There he remained

until there was a rumor in the city that his place of refuge was known, when he removed to Carlos Granger's.

While Joseph was absent from the city there were a great many stories in circulation about the course the officers intended to take to get him. If they could not find him themselves, it was said, they were going to bring to Nauvoo a force of men so numerous that they could search every house, and if he could not be found there, they would search the State, and not rest until they had him in their power. These rumors caused some little uneasiness and anxiety among some of the brethren, but Joseph himself felt quite calm and advised the people not to pay any attention to such rumors.

From his hiding places he wrote and received numerous letters, and thus attended to his usual routine of business. In a letter which he received from Wilson Law, who had been elected major-general in the Legion instead of John C. Bennett, the writer says:

"I do respond with my whole heart to every sentiment you have so nobly and so feelingly expressed, and while my heart beats, or this hand, which now writes, is able to draw and wield a sword, you may depend on it being at your service in the glorious cause of liberty and truth."

It is hardly credible, that the man who wrote these lines in less than eighteen months should descend so low as to conspire against his pretended friend, and yet such was the case. Both Wilson and William Law (the latter one of Joseph's counselors) turned out to be wicked and corrupt men. Both apostatized and became two of Joseph's most bitter enemies. They entered into league with the

mob and did more, probably, than any other two men to bring about the murder of the Prophet and his brother Hyrum.

Orrin Porter Rockwell, to be free from the annoyances to which he was subjected because of Boggs' affidavit, made a visit to the Eastern States. He remained there until the latter part of the winter 1842-43, when he started back to Nauvoo. On his way, he touched at St. Louis, and on March 4, 1843, was arrested by a man named Fox, on the oath of a man named Elias Parker, who swore that he was the Orrin P. Rockwell who was said to have tried to kill Lilburn W. Boggs. He was taken before a magistrate at St. Louis, and afterwards put in jail. A pair of iron hobbles was fastened on his ankles, and he was kept prisoner there two days, after which he was carried to Independence, Jackson County. There he was treated with great indignity and several plans were formed to kill him.

Soon after Joseph heard of Brother Rockwell's arrest, he prophesied, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, that he would get away honorably from the Missourians. This prediction was fulfilled. God preserved Brother Rockwell; for his power alone could have preserved him. He was often threatened with death, and on two occasions, while he was being carried to be tried at Liberty, Clay County, and on his return from there men had planned to waylay him and kill him; but they failed. The grand jury could not find any evidence to prove that he had shot at Boggs, much as the mob would have liked them to do so.

Brother Rockwell was told by Joseph H. Reynolds, the sheriff of Jack-

son County, that he was going to arrest Joseph. He proposed to Brother Rockwell to go with him and betray Joseph into his hands. Reynolds said that he could have any sum of money he would name if he would do so. Brother Rockwell rejected his offer with indignation. When Reynolds started to go to Nauvoo in June, 1843, Brother Rockwell knew that he and his partners were after Joseph; yet he was a prisoner, and had no means of informing him of the danger he was in. He knew that they were determined to kill Joseph, and his anxiety was so intense upon the subject, that his flesh twitched on his bones. Twitch it would, and he could not help it. While he was in this condition he heard a dove alight on the the window in the upper room of the jail where he was confined. The dove commenced cooing and then went off. In a short time it came back to the window, where a pane was broken and crept through between the bars of iron, which were about two and half inches apart. It flew around the trap door several times; did not alight, but continued cooing until it crept through the bars again, and flew out through the broken window. This proved a comfort to Brother Rockwell and he accepted it as a favorable sign. The twitching of his flesh ceased, and he was fully satisfied from that moment that they would not get Joseph in Missouri, and that he should regain his own freedom. As near as could be found out, this happened at the time that Joseph was in the custody of Reynolds, an account of which will be given hereafter. It was the only time he had a visit from the dove.

December 13, 1843, Brother Rock-

well was released from jail, having been a prisoner upwards of nine months and suffering everything almost but death. He had been imprisoned without any form of law, chained hand and foot in a filthy dungeon, without fire or enough clothing to keep him warm, and without being allowed to change his clothes and half-fed on miserable food, until he was reduced to a mere skeleton. When the irons were taken off, he was so weak that he had to be led! And yet nothing could be proved against him.

After suffering many hardships, he reached Nauvoo on the evening of December 25, 1843, and immediately went to Joseph's residence—the Mansion. Joseph had a company of his friends that evening at his house. In the midst of the festivities a man with his hair long and falling over his shoulders, and apparently drunk, came in and acted like a Missourian. Joseph requested the captain of police, who was present, to put him out of doors. A scuffle ensued, and Joseph had an opportunity of looking the man full in the face. It was no drunken man; it was no Missourian; "but," as Joseph writes in his history, "to my great surprise and untold joy, I discovered it was my long-trying, warm, but cruelly persecuted friend, Orrin Porter Rockwell, just arrived from nearly a year's imprisonment, without conviction, in Missouri."

Agreeable to Joseph's counsel, a special conference was held in Nauvoo, August 29, 1842, for the purpose of calling a number of Elders to go out in different directions and by their preaching deluge the States with a flood of truth, to allay the excitement which had been raised by the falsehoods put in circulation by John

C. Bennett and others. Joseph, who had kept himself concealed for about three weeks, again appeared in public on the day of the conference. He writes:

"I was rejoiced to look upon the Saints once more, whom I had not seen for about three weeks. They also were rejoiced to see me, and we all rejoiced together. My sudden appearance on the stand, under the circumstances which surrounded us, caused great animation and cheerfulness in the assembly. Some had supposed that I had gone to Washington, and some that I had gone to Europe, while some thought I was in the city; but whatever difference of opinion had prevailed on that point, we were now all filled with thanksgiving and rejoicing.

"When Hyrum had done speaking, I arose and congratulated the brethren and sisters on the victory I had once more gained over the Missourians. I had told them formerly about fighting the Missourians, and about fighting alone. I had not fought them with the sword, or by carnal weapons; I had done it by stratagem, by outwitting them; and there had been no lives lost, and there would be no lives lost, if they would hearken to my counsel.

"Up to this day God has given me wisdom to save the people who took counsel. None had ever been killed who abode by my counsel. At Haun's Mill, the brethren went contrary to my counsel; if they had not, their lives would have been spared.

"I had been in Nauvoo all the while, and outwitted Bennett's associates, and attended to my own business in the city all the time. We

want to whip the world mentally, and they will whip themselves physically."

During Joseph's address, an indescribable transport of good feeling was manifested by the assembly, and about three hundred and eighty Elders volunteered to go immediately on the proposed mission.

#### CHAPTER 17.

Joseph writes two epistles to the Saints in relation to baptism for the dead.—His house is searched by the officers.—He again absents himself from home to escape arrest.—Goes to Springfield, where he is granted a fair trial and gets an honorable discharge.—Rejoicing among the Saints.—Questions answered concerning John the Baptist.—Grand keys revealed by which to know the spirits.—The Prophet's financial embarrassment.—His experience in blessing children at Ramus.

September 1, 1842, Joseph wrote an address to the Saints on the subject of baptism for the dead. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 127.) In that address he also informed the Saints that inasmuch as the Lord had revealed to him that his enemies, both in Missouri and Illinois, were again in pursuit of him, he had thought it wisdom for his own safety and the safety of the people to again leave Nauvoo for a short season.

On the 3rd (September), about noon, Deputy Sheriff Pitman and two other men came in a sneaking manner into Joseph's house. It appeared that they had come up the river side, and hitched their horses below the Nauvoo House, and then proceeded on foot, undiscovered, until they got into the house. When they arrived, Joseph was in another apartment of the building, eating dinner with his family. John Boynton happened to be the first person discovered by the sheriffs, and they began to ask him where Mr.

Smith was. He answered that he saw him early in the morning; but did not say that he had seen him since.

While this conversation was going on Joseph passed out of the back door, and through the corn in his garden to Newel K. Whitney's house. He went upstairs undiscovered. In the meantime his wife Emma went and conversed with the sheriffs. Pitman said he wanted to search the house for Mr. Smith. In answer to a question by Sister Emma, he said he had no warrant authorizing him to search, but insisted upon searching the house anyway. She did not refuse, and accordingly they searched through, but to no effect.

"This," writes the Church historian, "is another testimony and evidence of the mean, corrupt, illegal proceedings of our enemies, notwithstanding the Constitution of the United States, Article 4th, says:

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

"Yet these men audaciously, impudently and altogether illegally searched the house of President Joseph Smith, even without any warrant or authority whatever. Being satisfied that he was not in the house, they departed. They appeared to be well armed, and, no doubt, intended to take him either dead or alive."

It was rumored that there were fifteen men in the city along with the sheriffs, and that they started from Quincy the day before, expecting and fully determined to reach Nauvoo in the night, and fall upon Jo-

seph's house unawares; but it was reported they lost the road and got scattered away one from another, and could not get along until daylight. This was in all probability true, as they appeared much fatigued, and complained of being weary and sore from riding.

Joseph, accompanied by Erastus H. Derby, left Bishop Whitney's house about 9 o'clock, and went to Brother Edward Hunter's, where he was welcomed and made comfortable by the family. There he considered himself safe from the hands of his enemies for the time being.

On the 6th (September, 1842), Joseph wrote another epistle to the Saints, giving further instructions respecting baptism for the dead (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 128). This communication made a deep and solemn impression on the Saints, who manifested their intention to obey the instructions to the letter. Joseph sent word to those of the Twelve who were going on missions that he wished them to labor in Illinois and to preach against mobocracy. On the 10th he concluded to return to his own house again, thinking he would be safe there. On the 2nd of October word reached Nauvoo that Governor Carlin had offered a reward of \$200 for Joseph and \$200 for Orrin Porter Rockwell, and that Governor Reynolds of Missouri also offered a reward of \$300 apiece for them. Rumor, furthermore, had it that Carlin intended to have Joseph arrested with an illegal writ, hoping to draw him to Carthage to get acquitted by *habeas corpus* by Judge Stephen A. Douglas; then he would have men waiting with a legal writ to serve on him as soon as he was released under the other one, and bear

him away without further ceremony, to Missouri. Many of the Missourians were also coming to unite with the militia of Illinois of their own free will and at their own expense, so that if they did not take him there, they would come and search the city. These were reports only; but Joseph knew very well that his enemies were capable of taking these measures to get him into their power, or any others that might be suggested to them. Consequently, on October 7th, he concluded to leave his home again for a short season. After a tedious journey of one night and part of a day, which he made in the company of several of the brethren, he reached Father Taylor's, the father of President John Taylor. He remained there nearly two weeks, and then he returned to Nauvoo to see his wife whom he left sick. He went back to Father Taylor's the next day, and stayed another week. On the 28th of October he returned to Nauvoo.

On the 30th of October the Saints met for public worship for the first time within the walls of the Nauvoo Temple, where a temporary floor had been laid for that purpose. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.) November 15th Joseph informed the public that the multitude of other business devolving upon him made it impossible for him to fulfil the arduous duties as editor of the *Times and Seasons*. Consequently that responsibility was placed upon Apostle John Taylor.

December 9, 1842, Willard Richards, Heber C. Kimball, William Clayton and a number of other brethren started for Springfield, the capital of the State of Illinois, to present testimony to the government that Joseph was in Illinois at the time Boggs was shot. As

he was in Illinois at the time, he could not be a fugitive from the justice of Missouri. The object of the brethren in making this move was to procure a discharge from Governor Ford, the newly created governor of the State, on Governor Carlin's writ for Joseph's arrest. A petition was presented to Governor Ford to revoke the writ and proclamation of Governor Carlin for his apprehension. They also made affidavit that Joseph was in Illinois on the 6th of May, the day when Boggs was said to have been shot. Governor Ford stated, in reply, that he had no doubt but that the writ of Governor Carlin was illegal; but he also doubted his own power to interfere with his acts. However, he submitted the case and all the papers relating thereto to six of the judges of the Supreme Court. They were unanimous in the opinion that the requisition from Missouri was illegal and insufficient to cause Joseph's arrest, but were divided in opinion as to Governor Ford's power to interfere with Governor Carlin's acts. Ford wrote a letter to Joseph informing him of the judges' views, and declining, himself, to interfere in the case. He advised Joseph to have a judicial investigation of his case, and if he should conclude to go to Springfield to have the case tried, he said he did not believe there would be any disposition to use violence towards him, for he should feel it his duty to protect him with any necessary amount of force from mob violence.

In order to have his case properly tried at Springfield, on the charge of being accessory to the shooting of Lilburn W. Boggs, and of being a fugitive from justice, Joseph was arrested at Nauvoo on the 26th of December,

and on the 27th he started in custody of Wilson Law for Springfield, in company with Hyrum Smith, Willard Richards, John Taylor, William Marks, Levi Moffit, Peter Haws and Lorin Walker. Joseph writes:

"There was considerable snow and the traveling heavy; but we arrived at my brother Samuel's, in Plymouth, a little after sunset, and we were soon joined by Edward Hunter, Theodore Turley, Dr. Tate and Shadrach Roundy. I supped with Brother William Smith's family, who lived under the same roof, slept with Dr. Willard Richards on a buffalo skin spread upon the floor, and dreamed that I was by a beautiful stream of water and saw a noble fish, which I threw out. Soon after, I saw a number more, and threw them out. I afterwards saw a multitude of fish, and threw out a great abundance, and sent for salt and salted them.

"Wednesday, 28th. The morning was wet. We started about 8 o'clock, and arrived at Mr. Stevenson's tavern, in Rushville, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, about twenty miles. Brother William's wife, who was sick, went with us, accompanied by Sister Durephy, who went with us from Nauvoo to take care of her. \* \* \*

"On my return to the tavern, the brethren took my height, which was six feet, and my brother Hyrum the same.

"Thursday, 29th. Started early; crossed the Illinois River at 11 o'clock, and arrived at Captain Dutche's before 5 o'clock in the evening, about thirty-two miles; the weather extremely cold."

Referring to a previous incident Joseph writes:

"We applied to all the taverns for



admission in vain; we were 'Mormons,' and could not be received. Such was the extreme cold that in one hour we must have perished. We pleaded for our women and children in vain. We counseled together, and the brethren agreed to stand by me, and we concluded that we might as well die fighting as freeze to death.

"I went into a tavern and pleaded our cause to get admission. The landlord said he could not keep us for love or money. I told him we must and would stay, let the consequence be what it might; for we must stay or perish. The landlord replied, 'We have heard the Mormons are very bad people; and the inhabitants of Paris have combined not to have anything to do with them, or you might stay.' I said to him, 'We will stay; but no thanks to you. I have men enough to take the town; and if we must freeze, we will freeze by the burning of these houses.' The taverns were then opened, and we were accommodated, and received many apologies in the morning from the inhabitants for their abusive treatment."

Joseph continues his narrative as follows:

"Friday, Dec. 30, 1842. Started at 8 o'clock this morning, and arrived at Judge Adams', in Springfield, at half past 2 o'clock in the afternoon, where I saw Justin Butterfield, Esq., United States' district attorney, who told me that Judge Pope had continued the court two or three days on account of my case, and would close on the morrow, and that he should try my case on its merits, and not on any technicality. \* \* \*

"While in conversation at Judge Adams' during the evening, I said 'Christ and the resurrected Saints will

reign over the earth during the thousand years. They will not probably dwell upon the earth, but will visit it when they please, or when it is necessary to govern it. There will be wicked men on the earth during the thousand years. The heathen nations who will not come up to worship will be visited with the judgments of God, and must eventually be destroyed from the earth.' \* \* \*

"Saturday, 31st. At 9 o'clock in the morning, Mr. Butterfield called and informed me that King had the original writ; and I signed a petition to Governor Ford to issue a new writ, that my case might be tried thereon, as well as on the proclamation. My petition was granted, and at 11 o'clock I was arrested thereon by a deputy, Mr. Maxey, in presence of Mr. Butterfield, my attorney, who immediately wrote a petition to Judge Pope for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which I signed, and at half past 11 in the morning went before Judge Pope.

"Mr. Butterfield read my petition, and stated that the writ and warrant were different from the requisition of the governor of Missouri. He then read Governor Ford's warrant, Watson's affidavit, Governor Reynolds' requisition on the governor of Illinois, and the proclamation of Governor Carlin, showing that Reynolds had made a false statement, as nothing appeared in the affidavits to show that Smith was in Missouri. He also stated that all the authority for transportation of persons from one State to another rests on the Constitution and the laws of Congress. We ask for *habeas corpus* because the papers are false, and because we can prove that Joseph Smith was in this State at the time of the commission of the crime.

"The writ was granted, returned and served in one minute, and I walked up to the bar, Mr. Butterfield read the *habeas corpus*, and moved the court to take bail till I could have a hearing, which was granted. \* \* \*

"This afternoon, a team ran away, and went past the State House, when the hue-and-cry was raised, 'Joe Smith is running away!' which produced great excitement and a sudden adjournment of the House of Representatives."

On Sunday, January 1, 1843, Elders Orson Hyde and John Taylor preached in the State House, the use of which was tendered to Joseph by the speaker of the House of Representatives. Most of the members of the legislature and the various departments of the State were present. In conversation with Judge Stephen A. Douglas, Justin A. Butterfield, U. S. district attorney for Illinois, and some other prominent men, Joseph, in reply to their questions, explained the nature of a prophet:

"If any person should ask me if I were a prophet, I should not deny it, as that would give me the lie; for, according to John, the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy; therefore, if I profess to be a witness or teacher, and have not the spirit of prophecy, which is the testimony of Jesus, I must be a false witness; but if I be a true teacher and witness, I must possess the spirit of prophecy, and that constitutes a prophet; and any man who says he is a teacher or preacher of righteousness, and denies the spirit of prophecy, is a liar, and the truth is not in him, and by this key false teachers and imposters may be detected."

In reply to Mr. Butterfield, he also stated that the most prominent point of difference in sentiment between the Latter-day Saints and sectarians was, that the latter were all circumscribed by some peculiar creed, which de-

prived its members the privilege of believing anything not contained therein, whereas the Latter-day Saints have no creed, but are ready to believe *all true principles* that exist, as they are made manifest from time to time.

On the following day (Monday, January 2nd), Joseph prophesied in the name of the Lord, that he should not go to Missouri dead or alive. He repaired to the court-room, where Judge Pope, accompanied by several ladies, took his seat on the bench at 10 o'clock a. m. Joseph's case was called, but at the request of Josiah Lamborn, the attorney-general of Illinois, it was continued for two days.

At 9 o'clock on Wednesday, January 4, 1843, the court was opened. Judge Pope on the bench. He had ten ladies by his side, the first time, the marshal of the district said, during his administration, that ladies had attended court on a trial.

Mr. Lamborn, in opening the case for the State, was not severe. He said little more, apparently, than his relation to the case demanded. Joseph's lawyers wanted to read, in evidence, affidavits of several persons, showing conclusively that he was at Nauvoo on the whole of the 6th and 7th days of May, 1842; and on the evenings of those days was more than three hundred miles distant from Jackson County, Missouri, where it was alleged that Boggs was shot; and that he had not been in the State of Missouri at any time between the 10th day of February and the 1st day of July, 1842. Mr. Lamborn objected to the reading of these affidavits; but the court decided that they should be read.

B. S. Edwards, Esq., opened the de-

fense for Joseph in an animated speech, and made some very pathetic allusions to the sufferings of the Saints in Missouri. He was followed by Mr. Butterfield, who managed the case very judiciously and his plea was a powerful one. He showed that Governor Reynolds, of Missouri, had subscribed to a lie in his demand for Joseph, and that Governor Carlin would not have given up his dog on such a requisition. He said that such an attempt struck at all the liberty of the institutions of the country. What was Joseph's fate that day might be their fate the next day. It was a matter of history that Joseph and his people had been murdered or driven from the State of Missouri. If he were to go there, it would be only to be murdered, and he had better be sent to the gallows. He was an innocent and unoffending man, and if there was any difference between him and other men, it was that this people believe in prophecy and others do not.

The court-room was crowded during the trial; the utmost good order and good feelings prevailed, and much prejudice was allayed. The court adjourned till the next day, at 9 o'clock, for the making up of its opinion. In the afternoon Mr. Prentiss, the marshal of the district, sent his carriage to bring Joseph to his house. A number of the leading men of the town were there and took supper with him.

The next day (January 5th), a bevy of ladies accompanied Judge Pope to the court-room to give his decision. The place was crowded with spectators and Joseph was the hero of the day, being the observed by everybody. In reviewing the case at considerable length, the judge passed some very severe strictures on the action of the

different governors and officers who had taken part in the case, and Joseph was discharged.

Thus another instance had happened in which, after suffering contumely and abuse and being persecuted and dogged and almost harassed out of his life, nothing could be proved against him. He stood an innocent man in the face of the world and before his enemies, who were unable to sustain any of their cruel charges.

During his stay in Springfield, Joseph had ample opportunity of conversing with the judge, the lawyers and various officers, and he talked freely to them about religion and generally made a very favorable impression upon them. His plain, simple and yet powerful and truthful teaching, his affable manners, the kind smile that illuminated his face, his angelic countenance and noble and dignified form and the Spirit of God which rested down upon him, convinced them, in spite of themselves, that he was a much-abused, wronged and innocent man. Prejudice began to melt away, and there was a disposition manifested to grant him justice.

From many distinguished men he also received invitations to visit them, but time would not permit him to do so. In conversing with some of the brethren in relation to doctrine, on a certain occasion while in Springfield, he said:

"Because faith is wanting, the fruits are. No man since the world was had faith without having something along with it. The ancients quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, women received their dead, etc. By faith the worlds were made. A man who has none of the gifts has no faith; and he deceives himself, if he supposes he has. Faith has been wanting, not only among the heathen, but in professed Christendom also, so that

tongues, healings, prophecy and Prophets and Apostles, and all the gifts and blessings, have been wanting."

On Saturday, January 7th, Joseph and his friends left Judge Adams at Springfield. The weather was cold and disagreeable, making the traveling tedious and hard, through snow and mud. They arrived at Captain Dutche's in the evening and remained over night. On the following day they crossed the Illinois River on the ice and spent the night in Rushville. On Monday the 9th, the journey was continued toward Plymouth. When about two miles west of Brooklyn, at half past 12 p. m., the horses of one of the carriages slipped and became unmanageable; and horses and carriage, with Lorin Walker and Doctor Richards in it, went off the embankment some six or eight feet perpendicular, doing no damage except breaking the fore-axle-tree and top of the carriage. It was a remarkable interposition of Providence that neither of the brethren was injured in the least. "The company," writes Joseph, "agreed that Lilburn W. Boggs should pay the damage, cut down a small tree, spliced the axle, drove on and arrived at Brother Samuel Smith's, in Plymouth, about 4 p. m. After supper, I visited my sister, Catherine Salisbury, accompanied by Doctor Richards and Sister Durphy. This was the first time I had visited her in the State of Illinois, and the circumstances brought vividly to my mind many things pertaining to my father's house, of which I spake freely, and particularly of my brother Alvin. He was a very handsome man, surpassed by none but Adam and Seth, and of great strength. When two Irishmen were fighting, and one was about to gouge the other's eyes, Alvin

took him by his collar and breeches and threw him over the ring, which was composed of men standing around to witness the fight."

"While there," said Dr. Richards, "my heart was pained to see a sister of Joseph's almost barefoot, and four lovely children entirely so, in the middle of a severe winter. What has not Joseph and his father's family suffered to bring forth the work of the Lord in these latter days!"

On the 10th the company arrived in Nauvoo. It was a time of jubilee when Joseph returned safe once more to his home and the Saints, and the people rejoiced as none but those could who have suffered so severely from the hands of their enemies. A day of humiliation, prayer and thanksgiving was appointed for the Saints on the 17th of January, when well attended meetings were held in various parts of the city.

By Joseph's invitation a numerous company of his friends spent the 18th of January, 1843, at his house. While they were together Joseph read to them a letter written by John C. Bennett to Sidney Rigdon, in which he threatened Joseph in the most vindictive manner. He said new proceedings had been gotten up on the old charges, and nothing could save him; they would carry him off to Missouri and there deal with him. If Rigdon could have had his way he would have kept this letter from Joseph, as he did not want it known that he had received such a letter, but there was good reason to believe that Sidney Rigdon was acting traitorously with him, and that he was in secret correspondence with his enemies.

On Sunday, January 22nd, Joseph

preached at the Temple. In the course of his remarks he said: "I shall not be sacrificed until my time comes; then I shall be offered freely." Remarkable words! and remarkably fulfilled!

The next Sunday (January 29th), he answered two questions which had been asked him concerning his discourse the previous Sunday:

"The first question arose from the saying of Jesus: 'Among those that are born of women, there hath not arisen a greater Prophet than John the Baptist: nevertheless, he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.' (Matth. 11: 11.) How is it that John was considered one of the greatest of Prophets? His miracles could not have constituted his greatness.

"First. He was entrusted with a divine mission of preparing the way before the face of the Lord. Whoever had such a trust committed to him before or since? No man.

"Secondly. He was entrusted with the important mission, and it was required at his hands, to baptize the Son of Man. Whoever had the honor of doing that? Whoever had so great a privilege and glory? Whoever led the Son of God into the waters of baptism, and had the privilege of beholding the Holy Ghost descend in the form of a dove, or rather in the sign of a dove, in witness of that administration? The sign of the dove was instituted before the creation of the world a witness for the Holy Ghost, and the devil cannot come in the sign of a dove. The Holy Ghost is a personage, and is in the form of a personage. It does not confine itself to the form of a dove but in sign of a dove. The Holy Ghost cannot be transformed into a dove; but the sign of a dove was given to John to signify the truth of the deed, as the dove is an emblem or token of truth and innocence.

"Thirdly. John, at that time, was the only legal administrator in the affairs of the kingdom there was then on the earth and holding the keys of power. The Jews had to obey his instructions or be damned, by their own law; and Christ himself fulfilled all righteousness in becoming obedient to the law which he had given to Moses on the mount, and thereby magnified it and made it honorable, instead of destroying it. The son of Zacharias wrested the keys, the kingdom, the power, the glory from the Jews, by the holy anointing and de-

cree of heaven; and these three reasons constitute him the greatest Prophet born of a woman.

"Second question: How was the least in the kingdom of heaven greater than he?

"In reply, I asked: Whom did Jesus have reference to as being the least? Jesus was looked upon as having the least claim in all God's kingdom, and was least entitled to their credulity as a Prophet, as though he had said: 'He that is considered the least among you is greater than John—that is, I myself.'"

February 6, 1843, at the municipal election, Joseph was unanimously elected mayor of the city of Nauvoo. He marked out very plainly the course which he wished to see officers take in relation to salaries, fees, etc. He prophesied to James Sloan, the city recorder, that it would be better for him, ten years from that time, if he were not to say anything more about fees. He also urged upon the city council the necessity of their acting upon the principle of liberality and of relieving the city from all unnecessary expenses and burdens. He prophesied that if they would be liberal in their proceedings, they would become rich; and spoke against the principle of pay for every little service rendered, and especially of committees having extra pay for their services.

On February 9, 1843, Joseph gave three grand keys, by which good and bad angels or spirits may be known (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 129), and adds:

"A man came to me in Kirtland, and told me he had seen an angel, and described his dress. I told him he had seen no angel, and that there was no such dress in heaven. He grew mad, and went into the street, and commanded fire to come down out of heaven to consume me. I laughed at him, and said, 'You are one of Baal's prophets; your God does not hear you; jump up and cut yourself;' and he commanded fire from heaven to consume my house.

"When I was preaching in Philadelphia, a Quaker called out for a sign. I told him to be

still. After the sermon, he again asked me for a sign. I told the congregation the man was an adulterer; that a wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and that the Lord had said to me, in a revelation, that any man who wanted a sign was an adulterous person. 'It is true,' cried one, 'for I caught him in the very act,' which the man afterwards confessed when he was baptized."

The following incident in the experience of the Prophet may give the reader an idea of his warm and impulsive nature. He writes:

"Monday, 20th (February, 1843). \*

\* \* While the court was in session, I saw two boys fighting in the street, near Mill's Tavern. I left the business of the court, ran over immediately, caught one of the boys (who had begun the fight with clubs) and then the other; and after giving them proper instruction, I gave the bystanders a lecture for not interfering in such cases, and told them to quell all disturbances in the street at the first onset. I returned to the court and told them that nobody was allowed to fight in Nauvoo but myself."

Because of the loss which Joseph had sustained in Missouri, on account of his long and dreary imprisonment, he was forced to take advantage of the general bankrupt law, dividing all he had among his creditors. This reduced him to poverty, and gave occasion for President Brigham Young, in behalf of the quorum of the Twelve, to write to the branches of the Church at Ramus, Lima, Augusta and other places, under date of March 1, 1843, as follows:

"Beloved Brethren.—As our beloved President Joseph Smith is now relieved from his bondage and his business, temporarily, and his property, too, he has but one thing to hinder his devoting his time to the spiritual interests of the Church, to the bringing forth of the revelations, translation and history. And what is that? He has not provision for himself and family,

and is obliged to spend his time in providing therefor. His family is large and his company great, and it requires much to furnish his table. And now, brethren, we call on you for immediate relief in this matter; and we invite you to bring our President as many loads of wheat, corn, beef, pork, lard, tallow, eggs, poultry, venison, and everything eatable at your command (not excepting unfrozen potatoes and vegetables, as soon as the weather will admit), flour, etc., and thus give him the privilege of attending to your spiritual interest.

"The measure you mete shall be measured to you again. If you give liberally to your President in temporal things, God will return to you liberally in spiritual and temporal things, too. One or two good new milch cows are much needed also.

"Brethren, will you do your work, and let the President do his for you before God? We wish an immediate answer by loaded teams or letter."

This call had the desired effect. On March 3rd Bishop Newel K. Whitney returned from Ramus with five teams loaded with provisions and grain as a present to Joseph, which afforded him seasonable relief. "I pray God to bless them abundantly," he writes, "and may it be returned upon their heads an hundredfold."

Under date of March 10, 1843, the following is recorded: "I (Joseph), with Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff and many others, about 7 p. m., discovered a stream of light in the southwest quarter of the heavens. Its pencil rays were in the form of a broad sword, with the hilt downward, the blade raised, pointing from the west-southwest, raised to an angle of 45 degrees from the horizon, and extending nearly or within two or three degrees to the zenith of the degree where the sign appeared. This sign gradually disappeared from half-past 7 o'clock, and at 9 had entirely disappeared. As sure as there is a God who sits enthroned in the heavens, and as sure as he ever spoke by me, so sure will

there be a speedy and bloody war; and the broad sword seen this evening is the sure sign thereof."

On the 11th of March, Joseph, together with Brigham Young, went to Ramus, a small town in the northeast part of Hancock County, where they the next day (March 12th) preached to the Saints.

In the evening (March 13th) meeting," writes Joseph, "twenty-seven children were blessed, nineteen of whom I blessed myself, with great fervency. Virtue went out of me, and my strength left me, when I gave up the meeting to the brethren. \* \* \*

"Elder Jedediah M. Grant inquired of me the next day the cause of my turning pale and losing strength last night while blessing children. I told him that I saw that Lucifer would exert his influence to destroy the children that I was blessing, and I strove with all the faith and spirit that I had to seal upon them a blessing that would secure their lives upon the earth; and so much virtue went out of me into the children, that I became weak, from which I have not yet recovered; and I referred to the case of the woman touching the hem of the garment of Jesus. (Luke, 8th chapter.) The virtue here referred to is the spirit of life; and a man who exercises great faith in administering to the sick, blessing little children or confirming, is liable to become weakened."

In the midst of a heavy snow-storm Joseph and Brigham Young returned to Nauvoo on the 14th.

During Joseph's next visit to Ramus, he had a conversation with some of the brethren, on April 2nd, in which he taught those important doctrines which constitute the 130th section of the Doctrine and Covenants.

## CHAPTER 18.

Joseph speaks at the annual conference in Nauvoo.—Prophecies about the coming of the Savior.—Preaches a funeral sermon.—Reviews the Nauvoo Legion.—Speaks on the eternity of the marriage covenant.—"The more sure word of prophecy."—Prophecy about Stephen A. Douglas and the future fate of the United States.—Extracts from a discourse.—Endowments given in Nauvoo to Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young and others.

On the 6th of April and following days the annual conference of the Church was held within the Temple walls in Nauvoo, on which occasion Joseph asked the Saints if they were satisfied with the First Presidency, so far as he was concerned as an individual, to preside over the whole Church, or would they have another. He did not crave power merely for its own sake. He acted in the capacity of President because God had called him; and while he filled the position he earnestly desired the love and confidence of God's people. He did everything that a man could do to secure the good feelings of the Church.

"If," said he, "I have done anything to injure my character, reputation or standing, or have dishonored our religion by any means in the sight of angels or in the sight of men and women, I am sorry for it; and if you will forgive me, I will endeavor to do so no more. I do not know that I have done anything of the kind; but if I have, come forward and tell me of it. If anyone has any objection to me, I want you to come boldly and frankly and tell me of it; and if not, ever after hold your peace."

Sidney Rigdon's conduct during these days was such as not to satisfy him. He acted in such a manner that Joseph could not have genuine confi-

dence in him, or have that fellowship for him which it was natural he should desire to feel for one of his counselors. His feelings respecting Sidney Rigdon's course probably made him more desirous of learning from the Saints how they felt respecting the First Presidency of the Church. It was a great cause of strength to him, as it is to every man filling a high and responsible station, to know that the prayers of the people ascended to God in his behalf, and that they had confidence in him that he was trying to magnify his office.

On motion Joseph was then unanimously sustained as President of the Church, with Sidney Rigdon and William Law as his counselors. During the conference many glorious doctrines, to the great joy and edification of the Saints, were set forth by Joseph, who spoke under the guidance of the Spirit of God. In one of his sermons he said:

"Were I going to prophesy, I would say the end will not come in 1844, '45 or '46, or forty years. There are those of the rising generation who shall not taste death till Christ comes.

"I was once praying earnestly upon this subject, and a voice said unto me, 'My son, if thou livest until thou art eighty-five years of age, thou shalt see the face of the Son of Man.' I was left to draw my own conclusions concerning this; and I took the liberty to conclude that if I live to that time, he would make his appearance. But I do not say whether he will make his appearance or I shall go where he is. I prophesy in the name of the Lord God, and let it be written: The Son of Man will not come in the clouds of heaven till I am eighty-five years old.

"He then read the 14th chapter of Revelations, 6th and 7th verses: 'And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven,' etc., and Hosea, 7th chapter: 'After two days,' etc.—2,520 years, which brings it to 1890. The coming of the Son of Man never will be—never can be till the judgments spoken of for this hour are poured out; which judgments are com-

menced. Paul says: 'Ye are the children of the light, and not of darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief in the night.'

"It is not the design of the Almighty to come upon the earth and crush it and grind it to powder, but He will reveal it to his servants, the Prophets. Judah must return, Jerusalem must be rebuilt, and the Temple, and water come out from under the Temple, and the waters of the Dead Sea be healed. It will take some time to build the walls of the city and the Temple; and all this must be done before the Son of Man will make his appearance. There will be wars and rumors of wars, signs in the heavens above and on the earth beneath, the sun turned to darkness and the moon to blood, earthquakes in divers places, the seas heaving beyond their bounds; then will appear one grand sign of the Son of Man in heaven. But what will the world do? They will say it is a planet, a comet, etc. But the Son of Man will come as the sign of the coming of the Son of Man, which will be as the light of the morning cometh out of the east."

Shortly after this (April 16th), Joseph preached on the subject of the resurrection, having heard of the death of Elder Lorenzo D. Barnes, while on a mission to England. Of his sermon on that occasion we copy the following:

"When I heard of the death of our beloved brother Barnes, it would not have affected me so much if I had the opportunity of burying him in the land of Zion.

"I believe their condition is enviable who have buried their friends here. Look at Jacob and Joseph in Egypt, how they required their friends to bury them in the tomb of their fathers. See the expense which attended the embalming and the going up of the great company to the burial.

"It has always been considered a great calamity not to obtain an honorable burial; and one of the greatest curses the ancient Prophets could put on any man was, that he should go without a burial.

"I have said: Father, I desire to die here among the Saints. But if this is not thy will, and I go hence and die, wilt thou find some kind friend to bring my body back, and gather my friends who have fallen in foreign lands, and bring them up hither, that we may all lie together.



"I will tell you what I want. If to-morrow I shall be called to lie in yonder tomb, in the morning of the resurrection, let me strike hands with my father and cry, 'My Father,' and he will say, 'My son, my son,' as soon as the rock rends and before we come out of our graves.

"And may we contemplate these things so? Yes, if we learn how to live and how to die. When we lie down we contemplate how we may rise up in the morning; and it is pleasing for friends to lie down together, locked in the arms of love, to sleep, and awake in each other's embrace, and renew their conversation.

"Would you think it strange if I relate what I have seen in vision in relation to this interesting theme? Those who have died in Jesus Christ may expect to enter into all that fruition of joy, when they come forth, which they possessed or anticipated here.

"So plain was the vision that I actually saw men, before they had ascended from the tomb, as though they were getting up slowly. They took each other by the hand, and said to each other: 'My father, my son, my mother, my daughter, my brother, my sister.' And when the voice calls for the dead to arise, suppose I am laid by the side of my father, what would be the first joy of my heart? To meet my father, my mother, my brother, my sister; and when they are by my side, I embrace them, and they me.

"It is my meditation all the day, and more than my meat and drink, to know how I shall make the Saints of God comprehend the visions that roll like an overflowing surge before my mind.

"Oh! how I would delight to bring before you things which you never thought of! But poverty and the cares of the world prevent. But I am glad I have the privilege of communicating to you some things, which, if grasped closely, will be a help to you when earthquakes bellow, the clouds gather, the lightnings flash, and the storms are ready to burst upon you like peals of thunder. Lay hold of those things, and let not your knees or joints tremble, nor your hearts faint; and then what can earthquakes, wars and tornadoes do? Nothing. All your losses will be made up to you in the resurrection, provided you continue faithful. By the vision of the Almighty I have seen it.

"More painful to me are the thoughts of annihilation than death. If I had no expectation of seeing my father, mother, brothers, sisters and friends again, my heart would burst in a moment, and I should go down to my grave.

"The expectation of seeing my friends in the morning of the resurrection cheers my soul and makes me bear up against the evils of life. It is like their taking a long journey, and on their return we meet them with increased joy."

Under date of April 19th, Joseph writes: "I have been called to thousands of cases in sickness, and I have never failed of administering comfort where the patient has thrown himself unreservedly on me; and the reason is that I never prescribed anything that would injure the patient, if it did him no good.

"I have lost a father, brother and child, because in my anxiety I depended more on the judgment of other men than my own, while I have raised up others who were lower than they were. By-the-bye, I will say that that man (pointing to Levi Richards) is the best physician I have ever been acquainted with. People will seldom die of disease, provided we know it seasonably, and treat it mildly, patiently and perseveringly, and do not use harsh means.

"It is like the Irishman's digging down the mountain. He does not put his shoulder to it to push it over, but puts it in his wheelbarrow, and carries it away day after day, and perseveres in it until the whole mountain is removed. So we should persevere in the use of simple remedies, and not push against the constitution of the patient, day after day, and the disease will be removed and the patient saved. It is better to save the life of a man than to raise one from the dead."

In speaking to the Twelve on the same day, the Prophet said:

"It is not necessary that Jedediah M. and Joshua Grant should be ordained High Priests in order to preside. They are too young. \* \* \* If a High Priest comes along, and goes to snub either of them in their presidency, because they

are Seventies, let them knock the man's teeth down his throat—I mean spiritually. \* \* \*

"Take Jacob Zundall and Frederic H. Moeser, \* \* \* and send them to Germany; and when you meet an Arab, send him to Arabia; when you find an Italian, send him to Italy, and a Frenchman to France; or an Indian that is suitable, send him among the Indians. Send them to the different places where they belong. Send somebody to Central America and to all Spanish America; and don't let a single corner of the earth go without a missionary."

Upon suitable occasions Joseph took great pleasure in witnessing the evolutions of the Nauvoo Legion, of which he was the lieutenant-general. Martial exercises gave him great pleasure, and had occasion required, he would, without doubt, have made a very superior general; he appeared to possess every needed qualification. On May 6th there was a grand review of the Nauvoo Legion on the parade ground east of Nauvoo. Joseph reviewed the Legion and expressed his admiration at the perceptible improvement there was in the discipline, evolutions and uniform. He felt proud to be associated with such a body of men, who, in point of discipline, uniform, appearance and a knowledge of military tactics, were one of the strongest defenses of the State of Illinois and a great bulwark of the western country. In addressing the Legion, he said, among other things:

"When we have petitioned those in power for assistance, they have always told us they had no power to help us. \* \* \* When they give me the power to protect the innocent, I will never say I can do nothing for their good; I will exercise that power."

His great heart burned within him at the thought of the oppressions which himself and brethren had endured in this land of liberty, for the redemption of which from tyranny their fathers had fought. If he had had the power, oppression would have ceased in the

land, and all who were disposed to do right would have had freedom.

During a discourse which Joseph preached in Yelrome, May 14, 1843, he said:

"In this world mankind are naturally selfish, ambitious and striving to excel one above another. So in the other world there are a variety of spirits. Some seek to excel. And this was the case with Lucifer when he fell. He sought for things which were unlawful. Hence he was cast down, and it is said he drew away many with him; and the greatness of his punishments is, that he shall not have a tabernacle. This is his punishment. So the devil thinking to thwart the decree of God by going up and down in the earth, seeking whom he may destroy—any person that he can find that will yield to him, he will bind him, and take possession of the body, and reign there, glorying in it mightily, not caring that he had got a stolen body; and by and by some one having authority will come along and cast him out and restore the tabernacle to its rightful owner. The devil steals a tabernacle because he has not one of his own; but if he steals one, he is always liable to be turned out of doors. \* \* \*

"Now for the secret and grand key. Though they (the Saints) might hear the voice of God and know that Jesus was the Son of God, this would be no evidence that their election and calling was made sure, that they had part with Christ, and were joint heirs with him. They then would want that more sure word of prophecy, that they were sealed in the heavens and had the promise of eternal life in the kingdom of God. Then, having this promise sealed unto them, it was an anchor to the soul, sure and steadfast."

"Tuesday, 16th (May, 1843), at 11 o'clock," writes Joseph, "I, with Geo. Miller, Wm. Clayton, Eliza and Lydia Partridge and J. M. Smith, started for Carthage, where we tarried about half-an-hour conversing with different individuals, when we started for Ramus; arrived about half-past 3 p. m., and stayed at Wm. G. Perkins' for the evening; then went to Benjamin F. Johnson's with Wm. Clayton, to sleep. Before retiring, I gave Brother and Sister Johnson some instructions on

the Priesthood; and putting my hand on the knee of Wm. Clayton, I said:

"Your life is hid with Christ in God, and so are many others. Nothing but the unpardonable sin can prevent you from inheriting eternal life, for you are sealed up by the power of the Priesthood unto eternal life, having taken the step necessary for that purpose.

"Except a man and his wife enter into an everlasting covenant and be married for eternity, while in this probation, by the power and authority of the Holy Priesthood, they will cease to increase when they die; that is, they will not have any children after the resurrection. But those who are married by the power and authority of the Priesthood in this life, and continue without committing the sin against the Holy Ghost, will continue to increase and have children in the celestial glory. The unpardonable sin is to shed innocent blood or be accessory thereto. All other sins will be visited with judgment in the flesh, the spirit being delivered to the buffetings of Satan until the day of the Lord Jesus.

"The way I know in whom to confide—God tells me in whom I may place confidence. In the celestial glory there are three heavens or degrees; and in order to obtain the highest, a man must enter into this order of the Priesthood; and if he does not, he cannot obtain it. He may enter into the other, but that is the end of his kingdom—he cannot have an increase." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 181.)

"Wednesday, 17th, \* \* \* At 10 o'clock a. m., I preached from 2nd Peter, 1st chapter, and showed that knowledge is power; and the man who has the most knowledge has the greatest power. Salvation means a man being placed beyond the power of all his enemies. The more sure word of prophecy means a man knowing that he is sealed up unto eternal life by revelation and the spirit of prophecy through the power of the holy Priesthood. It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance. Paul saw the third heavens, and I more. Peter penned the most sublime language of any of the Apostles.

"In the evening I went to hear a Methodist preacher lecture. After he

got through, I offered some corrections as follows:

"The 7th verse of 2nd chapter of Genesis ought to read—God breathed into Adam his spirit (i. e., Adam's spirit) or breath of life; but when the word 'rauch' applies to Eve, it should be translated lives.

"Speaking of eternal duration of matter, I said: There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter, but is more fine or pure, and can only be discerned by purer eyes. We cannot see it; but when our bodies are purified, we shall see that it is all matter."

In passing through Carthage on his return from a preaching mission to Ramus, May 18, 1843, Joseph dined with Judge Stephen A. Douglas, who was there holding court. After dinner, Joseph, at the judge's request, occupied three hours in giving him a minute history of the persecutions of the Saints in Missouri. The judge listened attentively, and spoke warmly in condemnation of the conduct of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs and the authorities of Missouri, and said that any people who had acted as the mobs of Missouri had done ought to be punished. Joseph, in conclusion, said:

"I prophesy, in the name of the Lord God of Israel, unless the United States redress the wrongs committed upon the Saints in the State of Missouri and punish the crimes committed by her officers, that in a few years the government will be utterly overthrown and wasted, and there will not be so much as a potsherd left for their wickedness in permitting the murder of men, women and children, and the wholesale plunder and extermination of thousands of her citizens to go unpunished, thereby perpetrating a foul and corroding blot upon the fair fame of this great republic, the very thought of which would have caused the high-minded and patriotic framers of the Constitution of the United States to hide their faces with shame. Judge, you will aspire to the Presidency of the United States, and if you ever turn your hand against me or the Latter-day Saints, you will feel the weight of the hand of the Almighty upon you; and you will live to see and know that I have

testified the truth to you, for the conversation of this day will stick to you through life."

A portion of this prophecy respecting the United States and the State of Missouri has been fulfilled, and the rest will be. But Joseph's words to Judge Douglas have been fulfilled to the very letter. Douglas did aspire to the Presidency of the United States, and he did use his influence against the Latter-day Saints, thinking that he could gain popularity by so doing, but he miserably failed. He was deserted by his own friends, and died a disappointed man.

In a discourse which Joseph delivered on the 21st of May, 1843, to a large congregation in Nauvoo, he said:

"I love that man better who swears a stream as long as my arm, yet deals justice to his neighbors and mercifully deals his substance to the poor, than the long, smooth-faced hypocrite. \* \* \*

"God judges men according to the use they make of the light which he gives them. \* \* \*

"I could explain a hundredfold more than I ever have of the glories of the kingdoms manifested to me in the vision, were I permitted, and were the people prepared to receive it. \* \* \*

"Salvation is for a man to be saved from all his enemies; for until a man can triumph over death, he is not saved. A knowledge of the Priesthood alone will do this.

"The spirits in the eternal world are like the spirits in this world. When those have come into this world and received tabernacles, then died, and again have risen and received glorified bodies, they will have an ascendancy over the spirits who have received no bodies, or kept not their first estate, like the devil. The punishment of the devil was, that he should not have a habitation like men. The devil's retaliation is, he comes into this world, binds up men's bodies, and occupies them himself. When the authorities come along, they eject him from a stolen habitation."

Under date of May 26th, Joseph records: "After 5 p. m. I met in council in the upper room, with my brother

Hyrum, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Judge James Adams, Bishop Newel K. Whitney and William Law, and gave them their endowments and also instructions in the Priesthood, on the new and everlasting covenant, etc."

It afforded Joseph great joy and relief to be able to bestow these blessings upon his brethren—faithful men, whom he had tried and proved, and who had never deserted him nor flinched in the hour of temptation and danger. He now felt that the responsibility and care no longer rested upon himself alone, for he had bestowed upon them the keys of the Priesthood, the same that he himself held; and whatever might happen to him there were others now who had the authority to step forth and build up the kingdom of God on the earth and to perform all the ordinances thereof.

Sunday, June 11th, Joseph preached from the stand in Nauvoo. In the course of his interesting remarks, he said:

"Many will say, 'I will never forsake you, but will stand by you at all times.' But the moment you teach them some of the mysteries of the kingdom of God that are retained in the heavens and are to be revealed to the children of men when they are prepared for them, they will be the first to stone you and put you to death. It was the same principle that crucified the Lord Jesus Christ, and will cause the people to kill the Prophets in this generation. \* \* \*

"Hades, the Greek, or shaole, the Hebrew, these two significations mean a world of spirits. Hades, shaole, paradise, spirits in prison, are all one; it is a world of spirits. \* \* \*

"As the Father hath power in himself, so hath the Son power in himself, to lay down his life and take it again, so he has a body of his own. The Son doeth what he hath seen the Father do; then the Father hath some day laid down his life and taken it again; so he has a body of his own; each one will be in his own body."

## CHAPTER 19.

Joseph visits his wife's sister near Dixon, Illinois.—Is arrested and ill-treated by Sheriff Reynolds and Constable Wilson.—Obtains a writ of *habeas corpus* and starts for Ottawa.—Interesting experience in Pawpaw Grove.—Joseph and company return to Dixon and subsequently start for Quincy.—The Prophet is met by his friends, who escort him triumphantly to Nauvoo.—His trial before the municipal court in Nauvoo and his final acquittal.

Joseph's wife, Emma, had a sister by the name of Mrs. Wasson, who was living near Dixon, Lee County, Illinois. On the 13th of June he started with his wife and children to make her a visit. After he had gone, a letter from Judge James Adams, of Springfield, under date of the 16th, reached Nauvoo by express. In this letter the judge stated that Governor Thomas Ford had told him that he was going to issue a writ for Joseph, and that it would start the next day. Missouri was still determined that Joseph should not have any peace, and the governor of that State had sent to the governor of Illinois, Thomas Ford, to arrest him and deliver him up to the officers of Missouri. When this letter reached Nauvoo, Joseph's brother Hyrum sent Elders William Clayton and Stephen Markham as fast as possible to inform him. They rode 212 miles to reach the place where Joseph was; in sixty-six hours after leaving Nauvoo they found him. Joseph told them not to be alarmed. Said he: "I have no fear. I shall not leave here. I shall find friends, and Missourians cannot hurt me; I tell you in the name of Israel's God." He had previously given an appointment to preach in Dixon, and the people were anxious to hear him; but he wrote to them, telling them there was a writ

out for him, and he, therefore, declined preaching.

On the 23rd, two men were at Dixon trying to hire a man and team. They said they were "Mormon" Elders and wanted to see the Prophet. They obtained the team and drove up to Mr. Wasson's while the family were at dinner. They told the same story there, that they were "Mormon" Elders and wanted to see "Brother Joseph." This, however, was not true, for one of them was Joseph H. Reynolds, sheriff of Jackson County, Missouri, and the other Constable Harmon T. Wilson, of Carthage, Illinois.

"I was in the yard going to the barn," writes Joseph, "when Wilson stepped to the end of the house and saw me. He accosted me in a very uncouth, ungentlemanly manner, when Reynolds stepped up to me and collared me; both of them presented cocked pistols to my breast, without showing any writ or serving any process. Reynolds cried out, 'G— d— you, if you stir, I'll shoot; G— d— you, if you stir one inch, I'll shoot you; G— d— you, be still, or I'll shoot you, by G—.' I inquired, 'What is the meaning of all this?' 'I'll show you the meaning, by G—; and if you stir one inch, I'll shoot you, G— d— you.' I answered 'I am not afraid of your shooting; I am not afraid to die.' I then bared my breast and told them to shoot away, saying, 'I have endured so much oppression, I am weary of life; and kill me, if you please. I am a strong man, however, and with my own natural weapons could soon level both of you; but if you have any legal process to serve, I am at all times subject to law, and shall not offer resistance.' Reynolds replied, 'G— d— you, if you say an-

other word, I will shoot you, by G—.' I answered, 'Shoot way; I am not afraid of your pistols.'

"By this time Stephen Markham walked deliberately towards us. When they saw him coming, they turned their pistols from me to him, and threatened his life if he came any nearer; but he paid no attention to their threats, and continued to advance nearer. They then turned their pistols on me again, jamming them against my side, with their fingers on the triggers, and ordered Markham to stand still, or they would shoot me through. As Markham was advancing rapidly towards me, I said, 'You are not going to resist the officers, are you, Brother Markham?' He replied, 'No, not if they are officers; I know the law too well for that.'

"They then hurried me off, put me in a wagon without serving any process, and were for hurrying me off without letting me see or bid farewell to my family or friends, or even allowing me time to get my hat or clothes, or even suffer my wife or children to bring them to me. I then said, 'Gentlemen, if you have any legal process, I wish to obtain a writ of *habeas corpus*,' and was answered—'G— d— you, you shan't have one.' They still continued their punching me on both sides with their pistols.

"Markham then sprang and seized the horses by the bits, and held them until my wife could bring my hat and coat, Reynolds and Wilson again threatening to shoot Markham, who said, 'There is no law on earth that requires a sheriff to take a prisoner without his clothes.' Fortunately, at this moment I saw a man passing, and

told him, 'These men are kidnapping me, and I wish a writ of *habeas corpus* to deliver myself out of their hands.' But as he did not appear to go, I told Markham to go, who immediately proceeded to Dixon on horseback, where the sheriff also proceeded with me at full speed, without even allowing me to speak to my family or bid them good-bye. The officers held their pistols with the muzzles jamming into my side for more than eight miles, and only desisted on being reproached by Markham for their cowardice in so brutally ill-treating an unarmed, defenseless prisoner. On arriving at the house of Mr. McKennie, the tavern-keeper, I was thrust into a room and guarded there, without being allowed to see anybody; and fresh horses were ordered to be ready in five minutes.

"I again stated to Reynolds, 'I wish to get counsel,' when he answered, 'G— d— you, you shan't have counsel; one word more, G— d— you, and I'll shoot you.' 'What is the use of this so often?' said I. 'I have repeatedly told you to shoot; and I now tell you again to shoot away.'

"I saw a person passing, and shouted to him through the window, 'I am falsely imprisoned here, and I want a lawyer.' Lawyer Edward Southwick came, and had the door banged in his face, with the old threat of shooting him if he came any nearer.

"Another lawyer (Mr. Shepherd G. Patrick) afterwards came and received the same treatment, which began to cause considerable excitement in Dixon.

"A Mr. Lucien P. Sanger asked Markham what was the matter, when he told him all, and stated that the

sheriff intended to drag me away immediately to Missouri, and prevent my taking out a writ of *habeas corpus*.

"Sanger soon made this known to Mr. Dixon, the owner of the house, and his friends, who gathered round the hotel, and gave Reynolds to understand that if that was their mode of doing business in Missouri, they had another way of doing it in Dixon. They were a law-abiding people and Republicans, and gave Reynolds to understand that they should not take me away without giving me the opportunity of a fair trial, and that I should have justice done me; but if they persisted in their course, they had a very summary way of dealing with such people.

"Mr. Reynolds, finding further resistance to be useless, allowed Mr. Patrick and Mr. Southwick to come into the room to me (but Wilson was inside guarding the door, and Reynolds guarded the outside of the door), when I told them I had been taken prisoner by these men without process; I had been insulted and abused by them. I showed them my flesh, which was black for about eighteen inches in circumference on each side, from their punching me with their pistols; and I wanted them to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus*, when Reynolds swore he should only wait half an hour to give me a chance. A messenger was immediately sent by Mr. Dixon to Mr. Chamberlain, the master in chancery, who lived six miles distant, and another messenger to Cyrus H. Walker, who happened to be near, to have them come down and get out the writ of *habeas corpus*.

"A writ was sued out by Markham before a justice of the peace against

Reynolds and Wilson for threatening his life. They were taken into custody by the constable. He sued out another writ for assault and threatening my life, whereupon they were again arrested.

"At this time Markham rushed into the room and put a pistol (unobserved) into my pocket, although Reynolds and Wilson had their pistols cocked at the same time and were threatening to shoot him.

"About midnight he sued out a writ for a violation of the law in relation to writs of *habeas corpus*, Wilson having transferred me to the custody of Reynolds, for the purpose of dragging me to Missouri, and thereby avoiding the effect and operation of said writ, contrary to law, which was put over to be heard at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning; and I was conducted back to the room and guarded through the night."

The next day (June 24th) Joseph took the opportunity of giving Brother William Clayton a hint about going to Nauvoo to let his brother Hyrum know what was being done. A horse and buggy were hired to carry him to Rock Island. This was on the Mississippi River, and if a steamboat should pass there on its way down the river, he would soon be carried to Nauvoo. When he reached there the people thought there would be no steamboat going down for days. Brother Clayton was non-plussed; but before he decided on any other plan of action, he thought he would take dinner. While they were preparing it for him, he heard the puff of a steamboat coming down the river. It was the *Amaranth*; she was hailed and rounded to at the landing; and in 15 minutes from the time he reached

there, Brother Clayton was on board and on his way to Nauvoo. It was a providential occurrence for a steamboat to be secured with so little delay.

About 8 o'clock a. m. the master in chancery arrived at Dixon and issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, returnable before the Hon. John D. Caton, judge of the Ninth Judicial Circuit, at Ottawa, which was duly served on Reynolds and Wilson. Cyrus H. Walker, who was considered the greatest criminal lawyer in that part of Illinois, told Joseph he could not find time to defend him, unless he would promise him his vote. He was a candidate for representative to Congress and was out making speeches to secure his election. He thought if Joseph would only vote for him that his election would be secured, for the Latter-day Saints would all vote as the Prophet did. Joseph determined to secure his aid and promised to vote for him, which caused Walker to feel very joyful and he told Brother Markham, "I am now sure of my election, as Joseph Smith has promised me his vote, and I am going to defend him."

During that morning another writ was sued against Reynolds and Wilson for private damage and false imprisonment, claiming the sum of \$10,000 damages, upon the ground that the writ issued by the governor of Illinois was void in law. This writ against them was from the circuit court of Lee County—the county in which they were at that time—and they were held to bail in \$10,000 each. They could get no one to go their security there, and they had to send to Missouri for bondsmen. They were placed in the custody of the sheriff of Lee County; but they also obtained

a writ of *habeas corpus*, for the purpose of being discharged before Judge Caton.

These prompt proceedings against the kidnappers made them feel uneasy. It was not so easy a thing to run off with Joseph as they supposed it would be, and they began to feel badly. They became more cool and moderate in their tone and did not threaten so much as they had done.

Upon the first writ of *habeas corpus* Joseph was conveyed by Reynolds and Wilson towards Ottawa. They traveled about thirty-two miles, and stopped for the night at Pawpaw Grove. Here their abuse of Joseph was noticed by the landlord. Soon after Mr. Campbell, the sheriff of Lee County, arrived there; he had been sent by Mr. Cyrus H. Walker, the lawyer, to assist Joseph, and he slept by him. But Reynolds and Wilson did all that petty malice could suggest to annoy Joseph. There were certain men in the place who wanted to see him in the morning; but they would not permit them.

The news of Joseph's arrival had hastily circulated about the neighborhood, and very early in the morning the largest room in the hotel was filled with citizens. They were anxious to hear him preach, and requested him to address them. But Reynolds, who was opposed to this, entered the room and, pointing to Joseph, said: "I wish you to understand this man is my prisoner, and I want you to disperse; you must not gather round here in this way."

Just as he said this a Mr. David Town, an aged gentleman, who was lame and carried a large hickory walking stick, stepped towards Reynolds, and bringing his stick down



upon the floor said: "You d—d infernal puke. We'll learn you to come here and interrupt gentlemen. Sit down there (pointing to a very low chair) and sit still. Don't open your head till General Smith gets through talking. If you never learned manners in Missouri, we'll teach you that gentlemen are not to be imposed upon by a nigger-driver. You can not kidnap men here, if you do in Missouri; and if you attempt it here, there's a committee in this grove that will sit on your case; and, sir, it is the highest tribunal in the United States, as from its decision there is no appeal."

This Mr. Town was at the head of a committee of citizens who had organized themselves to prevent settlers upon the public domain from being imposed upon by land speculators. In newly settled parts of the States the citizens have frequently organized such committees, and many a claim-jumper has been hung by them. Reynolds, probably, was aware of this. He, doubtless, understood what Mr. Town meant when he said that the committee there was the highest tribunal in the United States, and that from its decision there was no appeal. If they were to decide to hang or otherwise kill a man, to appeal to another court would be of no use. Reynolds quietly sat down and Joseph addressed the assembly for an hour and a half on the subject of marriage, it being the company's request that he should give them his views upon that subject. From that hour Joseph's freedom commenced.

On Sunday, June 25th, while at Pawpaw Grove, it was ascertained that Judge Caton was on a visit to New York, whereupon the company, consisting of Joseph, his three law-

yers (Walker, Southwick and Patrick), Reynolds, Wilson, Stephen Markham and others, returned to Dixon, where they arrived about 4 o'clock p. m., when Joseph was again locked in a room and guarded through the night.

But deliverance was nigh. The good steamboat *Amaranth* had sped on her way down the Mississippi, carrying Joseph's friend and messenger, Brother William Clayton, towards Nauvoo. He landed on Sunday, and Hyrum was soon informed of all the particulars of Joseph's arrest. The Saints were in meeting, and Hyrum repaired to the stand and requested the brethren to meet him at the Masonic Hall in thirty minutes. They went there in such numbers that the hall could only hold a small portion of them. They adjourned to the adjoining green and Hyrum told them, as they were formed in a hollow square, all that Brother Clayton had informed him about Reynolds and Wilson's conduct in arresting Joseph. Hyrum called for volunteers to go up to Joseph's assistance and see that he had his rights. Upward of three hundred men volunteered, from whom such as were wanted were selected. Generals Wilson Law and Charles C. Rich started the same evening with a company of about one hundred and seventy-five men on horseback. William Law, one of Joseph's counselors, went with the company. Wilson Law declared that he would not stir a step unless he could have money to bear his expenses. President Brigham Young said the money should be forthcoming, although he did not know at the time where he could raise a dollar. In about two hours he had borrowed seven hundred dollars, and put the money in the

hands of Hyrum Smith and Wilson Law. Besides this company which went by land, about seventy-five, with Elder John Taylor, sailed on the *Maid of Iowa*, a little steamboat of which Joseph was part owner and Brother Dan Jones was the captain. They went down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Illinois River, and then sailed up that river. This was for the purpose of examining the steamboats, thinking that Joseph might be a prisoner on one of them.

In the meantime, as the reader will remember, Joseph and the company with him had returned to Dixon because of Judge Caton's absence. The writ of *habeas corpus* was then returned, endorsed thereon, "Judge absent," and another writ of *habeas corpus* was issued by the master in chancery, and was worded at Colonel Markham's request, "Returnable before the nearest tribunal in the Fifth Judicial District, authorized to hear and determine writs of *habeas corpus*;" and the sheriff of Lee County served it upon Reynolds and Wilson immediately. Joseph and his friends and lawyers held a council and arranged to go before Judge Stephen A. Douglas, at Quincy, a distance of about two hundred and sixty miles. Joseph employed a person to convey them in a stage coach on their journey toward Quincy.

They started from Dixon on the 26th of June, traveled about forty miles, and stopped over night at a farm-house. The next day Joseph requested the privilege of riding on horseback; but Reynolds refused him. The sheriff and one of the lawyers persuaded him to let Joseph exchange seats with Cyrus H. Walker, and

ride with the latter's son-in-law, Mr. Montgomery, in the buggy. Shortly afterwards they met two of the brethren from Nauvoo—Peter W. Conover and William S. Cutler. Joseph could not refrain from shedding tears at seeing these friends who had come to meet him. He said to Mr. Montgomery, "I am not going to Missouri this time. These are my boys."

While they were talking several other brethren rode up, being in advance of the main body, and at the same time, the company who started with Joseph from Dixon joined them. Joseph said to Reynolds, "Now, Reynolds, I can have the privilege of riding old 'Joe Duncan.'" This was one of Joseph's favorite horses which Brother William Clayton had ridden from Nauvoo. At the appearance of these brethren Reynolds and Wilson were seized with trembling. Brother Conover was acquainted with Wilson, and he asked him what the matter was, and whether he had the ague. Reynolds wanted to know whether Jim Flack was in the crowd. He was told that he was not then, but that he would see him tomorrow about this time. "Then," said Reynolds, "I am a dead man; for I know him of old." Conover told him not to be frightened, for he would not be hurt. But he still stood trembling like an aspen leaf. Brother Markham walked up to him and shook hands with him. Reynolds wanted to know if he met him as a friend. Brother Markham replied that they were friends except in law; that must have its course.

The company then moved on to Andover, where the sheriff of Lee County engaged lodgings for the

night for the whole company. Joseph was locked up in a room with Captain Grover. In the evening Reynolds, Wilson and the landlord were overheard by Brother Markham consulting together about sending out to raise a company to take him by force, and run with him to the mouth of Rock River, on the Mississippi, as there was a company of men ready to kidnap him over the river. Brother Markham told the sheriff of Lee County what he had heard, and he immediately placed a guard, so that no one might pass in or out of the house during the night.

The next morning (June 28th) at 8 o'clock the company left Andover and traveled to a little grove at the head of Elleston Creek, where they stayed an hour to feed their animals. Reynolds said, "Now we will go from here to the mouth of Rock River and take steamboat to Quincy." Markham said, "No; for we are prepared to travel, and will go on land."

Wilson and Reynolds both spoke and said, "No, by G—d, we won't; we will never go by Nauvoo alive;" and both drew their pistols on Markham, who turned round to Sheriff Campbell, of Lee County, saying, "When these men took Joseph a prisoner, they took his arms from him, even to his pocket-knife. They are now prisoners of yours, and I demand of you to take their arms from them for that is according to law."

They refused to give them up, when the sheriff was told, "If you cannot take the arms from them, there are men enough here, and you can summon a *posse* to do it; for it is plain to be seen that they are dangerous men."

Reynolds and Wilson then reluctantly gave up their arms to the sheriff. The company then started, taking the middle road towards Nauvoo to within six miles of Monmouth, and stopped at a farm-house, having traveled about forty miles. Brother P. W. Conover laid down at the southwest corner of the building outside the house. In about ten minutes, Reynolds and Wilson came out of the house with the son of the landlord. They talked for some time, and came to the conclusion to take the carriage horses, go to Monmouth, raise a mob, and come to the farm-house in the night, seize Joseph, and convey him to the Mississippi River, and take him to Missouri, as they had a steamboat in readiness for that purpose at the mouth of Rock River, a tributary of the Mississippi.

After completing their plan of operations, Reynolds, Wilson and the boy separated and went towards the stable. Conover, who had heard the plot unobserved, immediately rose and came to Joseph and told him what he had just heard.

Joseph consulted with Cyrus H. Walker, the landlord and Sheriff Campbell, who took Reynolds and Wilson into his custody, and put them in the upper room, placing a guard of two men at the door, with orders not to allow any man to pass in or out of the house, except the landlord, who, as soon as he was told of the attempt to get his son into difficulty, put a stop to his proceedings at once.

"Thursday, (June) 29th," writes Joseph, "we continued our journey this morning, leaving Monmouth on our left, and Oquaka five miles on our right; and after passing Monmouth about three miles, William

Empy, Gilbert Rolfe, James Flack and three others met us.

"I called Flack to my side and told him not to injure Reynolds, whatever provocation he had previously received from him, as I had pledged myself to protect him, and requested Flack to bury his feelings against Reynolds.

"Reynolds then got out of the stage, exchanged seats with one of the horse-men, and Flack and Reynolds rode by themselves about a quarter of a mile, when they again joined the company and rode together. The company continued to Henderson River, and took dinner at a farm-house, owned by Mr. Alanson Hagerman.

"While staying at this farm-house, General Wilson Law and William Law and about sixty men came up in several little squads. I walked out several rods to meet the company. William and Wilson Law jumped from their horses, and unitedly hugged and kissed me, when many tears were shed.  
\* \* \*

"I consulted with my lawyers, and told them that Nauvoo was the nearest place where writs of *habeas corpus* could be heard and determined. They examined the subject and decided I was correct, when we turned our steps towards Nauvoo. The prospect of soon being in the midst of my friends again gladdened my heart. I sent a messenger to inform the citizens of Nauvoo of the glad change, and I requested Peter W. Conover to ride ahead to Mr. Michael Crane's on Honey Creek, and call for supper for 100 men.

"After dinner we traveled about fifteen miles. On arriving at Crane's I jumped out of the buggy, and instead of going through the gate or climbing the fence, walked up and jumped over

the fence without touching it. Mr. Crane ran out and embraced me, and bade me welcome.

"A flock of turkeys and chickens were killed, and a substantial supper was provided for all, and the company feasted, sang and had a happy time that night. I showed my sides to Mr. Crane and the company, which still continued black and blue from the bruises I had received from the pistols of Reynolds and Wilson, while riding from Inlet Grove to Dixon eight days ago. \* \* \*

"Friday, 30th. A messenger started from my company in the night, and arrived in Nauvoo early in the morning, saying that I and the company would be in the city about noon. Dr. Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff arranged the seats in the courtroom, preparatory to my arrival.

"At half past 10 o'clock the Nauvoo brass band and martial band started with Emma and my brother Hyrum to meet me; also a train of carriages containing a number of the principal inhabitants.

"At 8 o'clock a. m., the company with me again started; arrived at the Big Mound about half past 10, where the brethren decorated the bridles of their horses with the flowers of the prairie, and were met by a number of the citizens. We continued our journey, and at 11:25 a. m. I was gladdened, when opposite my brother Hyrum's farm, about one and a half miles east of the Temple, with seeing the train approaching towards us; and I directed Colonel Rockwood to place my life-guards in their appropriate position in the procession. I was in a buggy with Mr. Montgomery. Sheriff Reynolds and Wilson, with my three lawyers, Cyrus Walker, Shepherd G.

Patrick and Edward Southwick, were in the stage-coach with Lucien P. Sanger, the stage proprietor. Mr. Campbell, the sheriff of Lee County, and a company of about one hundred and forty were with me on horseback.

"I was a prisoner in the hands of Joseph H. Reynolds, the agent of Missouri, and Harmon T. Wilson, his assistant. They were prisoners in the hands of Sheriff Campbell, who had delivered the whole of us into the hands of Colonel Stephen Markham, guarded by my friends, so that none of us could escape.

"When the company from the city came up, I said I thought I would now ride a little easier; got out of the buggy, and after embracing Emma and my brother Hyrum, who wept tears of joy at my return, as did also most of the great company who surrounded us (it was a solemn, silent meeting), I mounted my favorite horse, 'Old Charley,' when the band struck up 'Hail Columbia,' and proceeded to march slowly towards the city, Emma riding by my side into town.

"The carriages having formed in line, the company with me followed next, and the citizens fell in the rear. As we approached the city, the scene continued to grow more interesting; the streets were generally lined on both sides with the brethren and sisters, whose countenances were joyous and full of satisfaction to see me once more safe.

"I was greeted with the cheers of the people and firing of guns and cannon. We were obliged to appoint a number of men to keep the streets open for the procession to pass, and arrived at my house about 1 o'clock, where my aged mother was at the

door to embrace me, with tears of joy rolling down her cheeks, and my children clung around me with feelings of enthusiastic and enraptured pleasure. Little Fred exclaimed: "Pa, the Missourians won't take you away again, will they?"

Joseph's friends, who had come with him from Dixon, beheld these scenes with astonishment. They had never seen such a sight. They had heard him called an impostor and false prophet, and that he was a tyrant, seeking to enslave his followers, and to get power and riches at their expense. But these exhibitions of love and devotedness, which they saw extended on all hands towards him, could not be the tribute which a people in free America brought and laid at the feet of one who had deceived and oppressed them. It was not fraud and violence, deception and wrong that called forth such manifestations as these. The people's best earthly friend, their affectionate father, guide and counselor, had been preserved from threatening and serious danger, and had been brought back to them again, and the pent-up feelings of their hearts broke forth with a power which almost surprised themselves, for they scarcely knew the depth of their own feelings and the strength of their attachment towards him. It required an extraordinary occasion like the present, when he whom they loved had just escaped a great peril, to make them fully conscious of how near he was to them.

The multitude seemed unwilling to disperse without hearing his voice. So he climbed the fence, and told them that he was out of the hands of the Missourians again, for which he thanked God; and he thanked them

for all their kindness and love to him and blessed them in the name of the Lord. He then told them that he should address them at the grove, near the Temple, at 4 o'clock that afternoon.

Joseph took a course to heap coals of fire upon the heads of his enemies. At dinner there were about fifty of his friends present, and he placed Reynolds and Wilson at the head of the table, and they were served with the best that he had, by his wife, whom they had so cruelly refused to allow Joseph to see when they arrested him. If they were capable of feeling shame, they must have felt it then. Men with any feeling of honor or sensibility would have been overwhelmed with confusion and remorse in their position, and would never have rested until they made all the amends in their power. But a man might as well hope to bring wolves and tigers to a sense of wrong doing, or of shame, as to make these men have any feelings of compunction and sorrow for their outrageous and barbarous conduct. Their hearts were like stone, incapable of any humane and kindly feeling, and if they could have had Joseph in their power they would have treated him as badly as ever.

As soon as Joseph and his company reached Nauvoo, the municipal court came together, and Joseph told them that "the writ of the master of chancery at Dixon was made returnable to the nearest court having jurisdiction; and you are that court." Reynolds was required in legal form to return the writ, but he refused. Joseph then drew up a petition to the municipal court of the city of Nauvoo, in which he set forth ten reasons for believing that his arrest was ille-

gal and in violation of law, and prayed that a writ of *habeas corpus* might be awarded, directed to Reynolds, commanding him to bring him (Joseph) without delay before the court that he might be dealt with according to law. A writ was issued commanding Reynolds to bring Joseph before the municipal court, and, in case he should refuse, the city marshal was authorized to arrest him. Reynolds returned the writ with the cause of Joseph's detention endorsed upon it. He refused to submit to the writ, but submitted to the attachment, and Joseph was delivered into the hands of the marshal of the city. Joseph requested the privilege from the court to fill his appointment, which was granted, and the court adjourned until the next morning. A large congregation assembled in the grove, and Joseph addressed it, giving among other things a recital of all that had occurred connected with his arrest. While he was speaking, Reynolds and Wilson started for Carthage. They threatened to raise the militia and to come again and take Joseph out of Nauvoo.

The next day, July 1st, the municipal court met, and proceeded to investigate the writ of *habeas corpus*. Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Brigham Young, George W. Pitkin, Lyman Wight and Sidney Rigdon were examined as witnesses. Their testimony was conclusive. They described with great minuteness the scenes through which the Saints had passed and the cruel and inhuman persecutions they had endured from the hands of the authorities and people of Missouri. After listening to their testimony it would have been nothing less than consenting to the murder of an innocent man to have given Joseph up to Rey-

nolds to be dragged by him into Missouri. While he was in that State his life had been sought, and it was only by the power of God that he had been enabled to escape. He was not guilty of the least offense against the law; but if his enemies could have carried him to Missouri, they would have murdered him.

After the testimony had been given, the lawyers employed by Joseph—Walker, Patrick, Southwick and Backman—each addressed the court. They exhorted the Saints “to stand for their right—stand or fall, sink or swim, live or die.” An order was then made out for the discharge of Joseph from arrest and imprisonment—that he should be discharged for want of substance in the warrant upon which he was arrested, as well as upon the merits of the case. The lawyers named above made an affidavit to the effect that no violence or threats had been made use of towards Reynolds or Wilson either on the journey to or after their arrival at Nauvoo, and that they came to Nauvoo voluntarily and were in no danger of violence, etc. This was done to contradict the lies which Reynolds and Wilson had told to excite prejudice against Joseph and the Saints, and to make the public believe that their prisoner had been taken from their custody unfairly and with threats of violence. In fact, scarcely had this affidavit been signed when word came to Nauvoo from Carthage that these villainous men were stirring up the people to mobocracy, and were about to send a petition to Governor Ford for a *posse* to retake Joseph. Reynolds and Wilson had filed their affidavits that Colonel Markham had, with armed force, taken Joseph out of their hands. The citizens of Nauvoo

immediately made out a petition to the governor, praying him not to issue any more writs against Joseph; also a remonstrance against the Carthage proceedings. A transcript of the trial before the municipal court, and various other documents throwing light upon Joseph’s case, were delivered to his lawyers, with instructions to see Governor Ford immediately.

#### CHAPTER 20.

Nauvoo is visited by a number of friendly Indians.—Their interpreter speaks and Joseph answers.—The expeditions which had been out in search of the Prophet return to Nauvoo.—A comical incident.—Items of doctrine by the Prophet.—Revelation on plural marriage.—The political situation in Illinois.—Dissatisfaction in the ranks of the mobbers.—Plurality of wives.—Charge against Sidney Rigdon.—Instruction by the Prophet.

During Joseph’s absence several Potawatamie chiefs came to Nauvoo to see him. They had a “talk” with some of the brethren; they had but little to say, however, as they wanted to see the great Prophet. Joseph’s fame had spread considerably among the surrounding Indian tribes. Many of them had heard of the great white Prophet, of his people, and the manner in which he and they had been treated by their fellow-citizens. Realizing their own lamentable conditions and remembering the wrongs they had suffered from the hands of the whites, they could sympathize with the Saints in their difficulties, and their feelings were kindly towards them.

On the 2nd of July, 1843, after his trial and discharge, Joseph, in company with several of the Twelve and other Elders, met with these Indian chiefs. After making particular inquiry of Joseph whether those present were his friends, the Indian orator spoke as follows:

"We, as a people, have long been distressed and oppressed. We have been driven from our lands many times. We have been wasted away by wars, until there are but few of us left. The white men have hated us and shed our blood, until it has appeared as though there would soon be no Indians left. We have talked with the Great Spirit, and the Great Spirit has talked with us. We have asked the Great Spirit to save us and let us live; and the Great Spirit has told us that he had raised up a great Prophet, chief and friend, who would do us great good and tell us what to do; and the Great Spirit has told us that you are the man (pointing to the Prophet Joseph). We have now come a great way to see you, and hear your words, and to have you tell us what to do. Our horses are poor from traveling, and we are hungry. We will now wait and hear your words."

The Spirit of God rested upon the Lamanites, especially the orator. Joseph was much affected, and shed tears. He arose and said unto them:

"I have heard your words. They are true. The Great Spirit has told you the truth. I am your friend and brother, and I wish to do you good. Your fathers were once a great people. They worshipped the Great Spirit. The Great Spirit has told you the truth. I am their friend; but they left the Great Spirit, and would not hear his words nor keep them. The Great Spirit left them, and they began to kill one another, and they have been poor and afflicted until now.

"The Great Spirit has given me a book, and told me that you would be blessed again. The Great Spirit will soon begin to talk with you and your children. This is the book which your fathers made. I wrote upon it (showing them the Book of Mormon). This tells what you will have to do. I now want you to begin to pray to the Great Spirit. I want you to make peace with one another, and do not kill any more Indians; it is not good. Do not kill white men; it is not good; but ask the Great Spirit for what you want, and it will not be long before the Great Spirit will bless you, and you will cultivate the earth and build good houses, like white men. We will give you something to eat and to take home with you."

When the Prophet's words were interpreted to the chiefs, they all said they were good.

At the close of the interview, Joseph had an ox killed for them, and they were furnished with some more horses, and they went home satisfied and contented.

On the same day (July 2nd) in the evening the *Maid of Iowa* reached Nauvoo from the trip up the Illinois River in search of Joseph. The brethren on board had kept a strict lookout for steamboats, and went up the Illinois River as far as Peru, where they met an express sent by General Charles C. Rich, by whom they were instructed to return to Quincy. Just as they left that city they were met by a man in a skiff, who informed them that Joseph had already reached Nauvoo. Relieved and overjoyed at this welcome news, they continued their course up the river, and after arriving at Nauvoo they walked up to Joseph's office, where they formed a hollow square, and sent in a deputation to Joseph. As soon as he had bid them welcome, he opened the window of his office and requested that no man would leave the ground until he had spoken to them. With his brother Hyrum he then went into the hollow square, shook hands with each man, blessing them and welcoming them home. He then took off his hat and related to them how he was brought home to the midst of his friends, and how he had regained his liberty. "I feel," said he, "by the Spirit of the Lord, that if I had fallen into your hands that you would either have brought me safe home, or that we should all have died in a heap together." After dusk he dismissed the company, blessing them in the name of the Lord.

Under the direction of Joseph, the Twelve Apostles called a special con-



ference, July 3, 1843, to choose Elders to go into the different counties of Illinois to preach the gospel and disabuse the public mind with regard to his arrest. Eighty-two Elders were called to go on this mission. About noon on that same day, General Charles C. Rich, with a company of twenty-five men, returned from their trip in search of Joseph and his captors. They had made one of the most rapid and fatiguing marches that is on record, having traveled about five hundred miles in seven days with the same horses, and in very hot weather. Among the many incidents which occurred on the trip the following is related:

Early in the morning of the day previous to their reaching Nauvoo, Jesse B. Nichols went into the village of Galesburg, waked up a blacksmith and employed him to set a couple of horseshoes. It was Sunday, and the blacksmith, being a professor of religion, refused to do the work unless he could get double price for it. He thought it wrong to work on Sunday, probably; but if he could get well paid for a job he was willing to risk the sin. Nichols consented to give him what he asked, and he commenced work. Whilst he was setting the shoes the company passed through the village, exciting considerable curiosity among the inhabitants. As Brother Nichols was about paying the blacksmith for the work, a Presbyterian minister came up. He told the smith that he ought to charge a dollar a shoe. Said he: "These are Mormons; and you, who are a church member, have been shoeing this Mormon's horse on Sunday; and you ought to be brought before the church for doing it." Hearing this from his priest the blacksmith de-

manded two dollars for his work, instead of the one he agreed to take. Nichols handed him one dollar. The priest told him he ought not to take it—that Joseph (he called him Joe Smith) was an impostor, and ought to be hung. The smith, however, took the dollar, but demanded more; upon which Nichols kicked the priest on his seat of honor, mounted his horse, and left amid the loud cheers of a number of spectators.

In addressing the Saints at the Grove, in Nauvoo, July 9, 1843, Joseph remarked that all was well between him and the heavens, that he had no enmity against anyone; and as the prayer of Jesus, or his pattern, so prayed Joseph:

"Father, forgive me my trespasses as I forgive those who trespass against me."

Joseph writes:

"I freely forgive all men. If we would secure and cultivate the love of others, we must love others, even our enemies as well as friends.  
\* \* \*

"The Saints can testify whether I am willing to lay down my life for my brethren. If it has been demonstrated that I have been willing to die for a 'Mormon,' I am bold to declare before Heaven that I am just as ready to die in defending the rights of a Presbyterian, a Baptist, or a good man of any other denomination; for the same principle which would trample upon the rights of the Latter-day Saints would trample upon the rights of the Roman Catholics, or of any other denomination, who may be unpopular and too weak to defend themselves. \* \* \*

"The gospel requires baptism by immersion for the remission of sins, which is the meaning of the word in the original language—namely, to bury or immerse.

"But I further believe in the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, done in view of the remission of sins and getting of the Holy Ghost. Baptism by water is but half a baptism, and is good for nothing without the other half—that is, the baptism of the Holy Ghost."

Exciting events like these narrated

above did not prevent Joseph from actively attending to the duties of his office. He had been accustomed to sail in a stormy sea, and difficulties did not appall him or discompose his mind, or prevent him from magnifying his calling. On the 12th of July, 1843, he dedicated that great and glorious revelation on celestial marriage, through which the greatest revolution in family organizations ever witnessed among men, of which we have any knowledge, has been effected among the Latter-day Saints. The Lord had revealed this principle to him before this date, but on that day William Clayton, in the presence of Hyrum Smith, wrote it as the words fell from the inspired lips of the Prophet, and as it is now recorded in the Doctrine and Covenants, Section 132. By this revelation a flood of light was thrown upon the principles of eternal life and exaltation, and the path which men must pursue to reach the presence of the Father and the Son was pointed out in great plainness. For centuries these great truths had been unknown to the inhabitants of the earth, now they were to be again brought to their knowledge. But who could receive it? In a public discourse which Joseph preached July 16, 1843, he mentioned the names of two or three Elders who were on the stand behind him, and said if he were to tell the things which God had revealed to him, they would openly seek his life in the streets of Nauvoo. Said he:

"The same spirit that crucified Jesus is in the breast of some who profess to be Saints in Nauvoo. I have secret enemies in the city, intermingling with the Saints. \* \* \*

I slightly touched upon the subject of the everlasting covenant, showing that a man and his wife must enter into that covenant in the world, or he will have no claim on her in the

next world. But on account of the unbelief of people I cannot reveal the fulness of these things at present."

Joseph knew how unprepared the Saints, and even many of the leading Elders, were to receive the important truths which the Lord had revealed. It was as much as a man's life was worth in those days to say that God required his servants to believe in and practice plural marriage. The idea was opposed to the traditions of ages, and the so-called Christian world professed to be shocked at the bare mention of the principle; yet the Elders who have preached this doctrine since Joseph's day have found that corrupt, impure and dishonest men have bitterly opposed the doctrine and sought to destroy those who believe and practice it; but the virtuous and the honest have recognized its worth and acknowledged that, if practiced according to the order revealed by the Lord, it would save the human family from many of the dreadful evils under which it now groans.

The Elders who were faithful had a testimony from God that Joseph was his servant. They knew that through him the Lord had revealed the gospel to them, and when he taught them the principle of celestial marriage, they sought unto the Lord, and he gave them a testimony that it was true. Such men were a great help to Joseph in those days, when many of those who occupied prominent positions in the Church were disposed to turn away and betray him.

It became more and more plain to Joseph and the Saints that they could not depend upon any political party for their rights as American citizens. Because of their union in times of elections they really held the balance

of power in their hands, which exasperated their enemies. At the last election there had been two candidates for governor of the State. One of them—Joseph Duncan—had said that if the people would elect him, he would exterminate the “Mormons” and take away their charters. By these promises he hoped to secure the votes of all those who were opposed to the Latter-day Saints and wished them harm. The other candidate was Thomas Ford. He made no such threats; but in his speeches manifested a spirit to give every man his rights if he should be elected; hence, the Church universally voted for Mr. Ford, who was elected governor. But he was a politician, and the success of a politician as is known depends much upon his popularity.

Mr. Ford's sentiments appeared to be very much like those expressed by a candidate running for office in one of the Western States, who, after giving his sentiments on the “Constitution,” the “Monroe Doctrine,” and other topics, said: “Gentlemen (and he put his hand on the region of his heart), these are my sentiments—the sentiments, gentlemen, of an honest man—aye, an honest politician—but, gentlemen and fellow-citizens, if they don't suit you, they can be altered.”

When Reynolds was foiled in his scheme to carry Joseph into Missouri, he presented a petition to Governor Ford for a detachment of militia to be detailed to assist him in retaking Joseph. Ford, in the meantime, however, had received the remonstrance and affidavits of the people of Nauvoo and of Joseph's lawyers, which were all adverse to Reynold's request. The lawyers were influential men, and Walker was a member of the Whig

party; Ford, himself, was a Democrat, and if he did not act with some degree of fairness, they might expose him and damage him politically. Therefore, he did not dare to grant Reynolds' petition without further investigation, but sent a messenger—a Mr. Braman—to Nauvoo, for a copy of all the testimony that was given in the case before the municipal court and affidavits concerning the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri. Upon his report the governor decided to take no action in response to Reynolds' demand.

About this time there was considerable excitement in the State on political matters, as an election was about to be held for members of Congress, and one party accused the other of tricks to secure votes. The demand of Missouri for Joseph's arrest was charged upon the Whig party by the *Illinois State Register*, a Democratic paper published at Springfield, Illinois, as a trick to prejudice the Saints against Governor Ford and the Democratic party, with the hope to secure their votes for the Whig candidate. On the other hand the Whigs accused Ford of having delayed his decision upon the demand of Missouri for the militia to arrest Joseph, until after the election, with the view to intimidate the Saints and compel them to vote the Democratic ticket. The election was held on the 7th of August, and the Democratic ticket was voted for by the people of Nauvoo generally, though Joseph, himself, according to his previous determination and in fulfillment of a pledge which he had voluntarily made to Cyrus H. Walker, who was the Whig candidate for Representative in Congress, voted the Whig ticket.

The *State Register* said in defending Governor Ford, that eleven days previous to the election he had decided not to call out the militia; and had so advised Governor Reynolds, of Missouri. On the 14th of August Governor Ford wrote to Governor Reynolds at some length, explaining his reasons for not doing so. He contended that the law of the State of Illinois had been fully exercised in the matter. A writ had been issued for Joseph's apprehension; he was apprehended, and was duly delivered by the officer of the State of Illinois to the agent of the State of Missouri appointed to receive him. No process, officer, or authority of Illinois had been resisted or interfered with, nor had there been any resistance either in the writ issued for the arrest of Joseph or in the person of the officer appointed to apprehend him. Everything had been done on his part which the law warranted him in doing; and he ended by saying, that "in no one aspect of the case can I consider the present an extreme emergency, warranting a call for the militia according to the provisions of the law in this State."

Thus once more the Missourians were foiled in their dastardly attempts to capture and kill the Prophet. In anticipation of Governor Ford ordering out the militia and retaking him, General Moses Wilson, a mobocrat, who made himself notorious in persecuting the Saints in Missouri, had crossed into Illinois with ten or twelve men, and had been waiting there for two or three weeks, with the hope of taking him back into Missouri. But they were not to have that pleasure. Governor Ford's decision spoiled the plan, and Wilson and his crew had their expense and

trouble for nothing. Joseph was safe among his friends at Nauvoo.

Sunday, August 13, 1843, Joseph, in preaching on the death of Judge Higbee, remarked:

"Four destroying angels holding power over the four quarters of the earth until the servants of God are sealed in their foreheads, which signifies sealing the blessing upon their heads, meaning the everlasting covenant, thereby making their calling and election sure. When a seal is put upon the father and mother, it secures their posterity, so that they cannot be lost, but will be saved by virtue of the covenant of their father and mother."

Utterly dissatisfied with the result of the court proceedings in Joseph's case, the mobocrats of Carthage and other places in Hancock County held a meeting at the courthouse, in Carthage, August 19, 1843, and appointed a committee to report resolutions for the action of the meeting. This committee asked to be discharged from further duties; but recommended that a committee of six be appointed to draft resolutions and make a report to an adjourned meeting, which was done, and the following named men were chosen: Walter Bagley, F. J. Bartlet, Stephen Owen, Stephen H. Tyler, Valentine Wilson and Joel Weston.

At the adjourned meeting, which was held September 6th, the committee presented a long preamble and series of resolutions, written in the most vindictive language, and filled with misrepresentations and falsehoods. In one of the resolutions they pledged themselves in the most determined manner to stand ready to aid in capturing Joseph, if the authorities of the State of Missouri should make another demand for him, and the governor of Illinois should issue another warrant for his arrest. They

also pledged themselves, in the event of a collision, to stand by and support each other in every emergency up to the death. Committees were appointed in the several precincts of the county, who were to maintain a correspondence with a central committee at Carthage. And this was not all; they even recommended all the surrounding counties to appoint committees similar to those they had chosen, for the purpose of carrying on a crusade against Joseph and the Saints. The crowning act of infamy, however, was a resolution requesting the president of the meeting to communicate with the governor of Missouri and ask him to make another demand upon the authorities of Illinois for the body of Joseph; also, offering their services and pledging themselves to enforce the order for his arrest.

Reynolds, upon his return to Missouri, gave such an account of the manner in which he was defeated in his purpose to carry off Joseph as to convey the idea that he had been badly treated by Joseph and his friends. Some persons in that State talked about holding the whole State of Illinois responsible for the treatment of Reynolds and the release of Joseph; and they even threatened that if Illinois failed to deliver him up, there would be something serious between the two States. Missouri, they said, would have Joseph Smith for trial, or do all the constitution would allow to restrict the intercourse between the citizens of Illinois and Missouri. This, however, was all bombast. They knew they had not the shadow of an excuse for their attempts to arrest and drag him off to Missouri; this, and the knowledge

of their own crimes, for which they deserved the severest punishment, caused them to feel weak, and it was the last open attempt they made to get Joseph into their hands.

Notwithstanding the unpleasant circumstances surrounding them, the Saints in Nauvoo continued their wonted avocations and made great improvements. The work on the Temple was pushed forward as fast as possible, and public and private buildings arose in rapid succession. The city could already boast of 15,000 inhabitants. The gospel was preached abroad with unabated zeal, and missionaries were sent to several foreign countries.

Under date of October 5, 1843, Joseph records the following: "I gave instructions to try those persons who were preaching, teaching, or practicing the doctrine of plurality of wives; for, according to the law, I hold the keys of this power in the last days; for there is never but one on earth at a time on whom the power and its keys are conferred; and I have constantly said no man shall have but one wife at a time, unless the Lord directs otherwise."

The course which Sidney Rigdon took in those days was not such as to please Joseph, who felt that he could not sustain such a man as his counselor; he wished to drop him, and told a public congregation of the Saints that he was a mass of corruption, and he would carry him no longer. It was reported that Rigdon had had interviews with Governor Thomas Carlin and others, with the view to conspire with them to have Joseph arrested and delivered into the hands of the Missourians. Rigdon denied this, and said that he had never exchanged words with any man

living upon that subject. At the October Conference, 1843, his case was brought up before the people. Joseph told them that he was dissatisfied with him as a counselor, as he had not received any material benefit from his labors or counsels from the time of their escape from Missouri. Sidney Rigdon then spoke at considerable length in his own defense. He appealed to the sympathies of Joseph and his hearers, and not without effect upon the latter, for they were deeply moved. But Joseph's confidence was not restored by his remarks; he, judging from their past intercourse, could have no faith in his integrity and steadfastness. Joseph's brother, Hyrum, however, plead for mercy, as also did Elders Almon W. Babbitt and William Law, who was Joseph's second counselor, after which William Marks, who was then acting president of that Stake of Zion, moved that Sidney Rigdon be permitted to retain his station as counselor to Joseph. This motion was carried; but Joseph arose and said: "I have thrown him off my shoulders, and you have again put him on me. You may carry him, but I will not."

During that conference, which commenced on the 6th and closed on the 9th of October, Joseph gave some excellent instructions to the Saints. On the last day of conference he preached a funeral sermon on the death of General Adams and said, among other things:

"All men know that they must die. And it is important that we should understand the reasons and causes of our exposure to the vicissitudes of life and of death, and the designs and purposes of God in our coming into the world, our sufferings here, and our departure hence. Could you gaze into heaven

five minutes, you would know more than you would by reading all that was ever written on the subject. \* \* \*

"The organization of the spiritual and heavenly worlds, and of spiritual and heavenly beings, was agreeable to the most perfect order and harmony: their limits and bounds were fixed irrevocably, and voluntarily subscribed to in their heavenly estate by themselves, and were by our first parents subscribed to upon the earth. Hence the importance of embracing and subscribing to principles of eternal truth by all men upon the earth that expect eternal life. \* \* \*

"Spirits can only be revealed in flaming fire or glory. Angels have advanced further, their light and glory being tabernacled; and hence they appear in bodily shape. The spirits of just men are made ministering servants to those who are sealed unto life eternal, and it is through them that the sealing power comes down. \* \* \*

"Angels have advanced higher in knowledge and power than spirits. \* \* \* The spirits of the just are exalted to a greater and more glorious work; hence they are blessed in their departure to the world of spirits. Enveloped in flaming fire, they are not far from us, and know and understand our thoughts, feelings and motions, and are often pained therewith.

"Flesh and blood cannot go there; but flesh and bones, quickened by the Spirit of God, can."

A short time after this conference Joseph delivered a discourse (October 15, 1843), in which he gave the people instructions respecting the policy they should pursue to be self-sustaining. He said:

"I think there are too many merchants among you. I would like to see more wool and raw materials instead of manufactured goods, and the money be brought here to pay the poor for manufacturing goods.

"Instead of going abroad to buy goods, lay your money out in the country, and buy grain, cattle, flax and wool, and work it up yourselves.

"I proclaim, in the name of the Lord God Almighty, that I will fellowship nothing in the Church but virtue, integrity and uprightness.

"We cannot build up a city on merchandise. I would not run after the merchants. I would sow a little flax, if I had but a garden spot, and make clothing of it."

In the same discourse the Prophet said:

"I prophesy in the name of the Lord God of Israel: Anguish and wrath and tribulation and the withdrawing of the Spirit of God from the earth await this generation, until they are visited with utter desolation. This generation is as corrupt as the generation of the Jews that crucified Christ; and if he were here today, and should preach the same doctrine he did then, they would put him to death. I defy all the world to destroy the work of God; and I prophesy they never will have power to kill me till my work is accomplished, and I am ready to die."

Speaking to the High Council in Nauvoo, November 25, 1843, Joseph, said:

"If a man commit adultery, he cannot receive the celestial kingdom of God. Even if he is saved in any kingdom, it cannot be the celestial kingdom."

#### CHAPTER 21.

The Nauvoo Mansion.—John C. Calhoun's doctrine in relation to States rights.—Joseph Smith's political views.—His statement in relation to having a right-hand Brutus causes uneasiness among the apostates in Nauvoo.—Joseph chosen as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.—In Council with the Twelve he concludes to send an expedition to the Rocky Mountains.

Nauvoo, during these days, was visited by many strangers from different parts of the country, prompted by curiosity to see Joseph, the people and the wonderful city that was being built up on one of the most beautiful sites on the Upper Mississippi River. Joseph found it a heavy tax upon him to entertain so much company as he had, free of charge. From the foundation of the Church his house had been a home and resting place for thousands, and his family had often been obliged to do without food themselves after having fed all they had to visitors. He was a liberal, generous man; and had it been within his power

it would have been a pleasure to him to have extended hospitality to all who entered his doors, but he could not do so. He therefore found himself reduced to the necessity of opening a hotel, which he called the "Nauvoo Mansion." It was a large and convenient building, and at that time it afforded better accommodations and was provided with a better table than any other place on the Upper Mississippi. The brick stable also, built for the use of the Mansion, had stalls for seventy-five horses, and room for storing the requisite forage for that number of animals. The Mansion was opened about the middle of November, 1843, but Joseph did not long retain charge of it himself. In the beginning of 1844, he rented it and the stables to Ebenezer Robinson, and only reserved three rooms for his own private use. He and his family were to board in the house.

In November, 1843, Joseph wrote letters to the various candidates for the Presidency of the United States, to inquire what their feelings were toward the Saints as a people, and what their course of action would be, in relation to the cruelty and oppression the Saints had suffered from the State of Missouri. The names of these candidates were John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Richard M. Johnson, Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren.

The reply of John C. Calhoun was characteristic. He was the foremost or most prominent advocate in the nation of the doctrine of State rights, and answered briefly, that if he should be elected, he would strive to administer the government according to the Constitution and the laws of the Union; and that as they make no distinction between citizens of different religious

creeds, he should make none. "But," he continued, "as you refer to the case of Missouri, candor compels me to repeat what I said to you at Washington, that, according to my views, the case does not come within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, which is one of limited and specific powers."

Joseph wrote a reply to his letter, January 2, 1844, in which he so thoroughly exposed Calhoun's sophistry, that wherever it was read—and it was very widely circulated—men were struck by the contrast between the narrow, sectional doctrines which Calhoun advanced respecting the powers of the Federal Government, and the broad, patriotic and truly national views which Joseph advocated. Joseph was aroused, and the noble scorn which he felt for the politician's tricks is breathed in every line of his reply, which the following extracts will show:

"Your reply to my letter of last November, concerning your rule of action toward the Latter-day Saints, if elected President, is at hand; and that you and your friends of the same opinion relative to the matter in question may not be disappointed as to me or my mind upon so grave a subject, permit me, as a law-abiding man, as a well-wisher to the perpetuity of constitutional rights and liberty, and as a friend to the free worship of Almighty God by all, according to the dictates of every person's own conscience, to say I am surprised that a man or men in the highest stations of public life should have made up such a fragile 'view' of a case, than which there is not one on the face of the globe fraught with so much consequence to the happiness of men in this world or the world to come.

"To be sure, the first paragraph of your letter appears very complacent and fair on a white sheet of paper. And who, that is ambitious for greatness and power, would not have said the same thing? Your oath binds you to support the Constitution and laws: \* \* \* But why—tell me why are all principal men held up for public stations so cautiously careful not to publish to the world that they

will judge a righteous judgment, law or no law? for laws and opinions, like the vanes of steeples, change with the wind. \* \* \*

"Your second paragraph leaves you naked before yourself, like a likeness in a mirror, when you say that, 'according to your view, the Federal Government is one of limited and specific powers,' and has no jurisdiction in the case of the 'Mormons.' So then a State can at any time expel any portion of her citizens with impunity, and, in the language of Mr. Van Buren, frosted over with your gracious 'views of the case,' though the cause is ever so just, government can do nothing for them, because it has no power.

"Go on then, Missouri, after another set of inhabitants (as the Latter-day Saints did) have entered some two or three hundred thousand dollars' worth of land, and made extensive improvements thereon. Go on, then, I say; banish the occupants or owners, or kill them, as the mobbers did many of the Latter-day Saints, and take their land and property as spoil and let the legislature, as in the case of the 'Mormons,' appropriate a couple of hundred thousand dollars to pay the mob for doing that job; for the renowned senator from South Carolina, Mr. J. C. Calhoun, says the powers of the Federal Government are so specific and limited that it has no jurisdiction of the case! O ye people who groan under the oppression of tyrants!—ye exiled Poles, who have felt the iron hand of Russian grasp!—ye poor and unfortunate among all nations! come to the asylum of the oppressed; buy ye lands of the General Government; pay in your money to the treasury to strengthen the army and navy; worship God according to the dictates of your own consciences; pay in your taxes to support the great heads of a glorious nation, but remember a 'sovereign State' is so much more powerful than the United States, the parent government, that it can exile you at pleasure, mob you with impunity, confiscate your lands and property, have the legislature sanction it—yea, even murder you as an edict of an emperor, and it does no wrong; for the noble senator of South Carolina says the power of the Federal Government is so limited and specific, that it has no jurisdiction of the case! What think ye of *imperium in imperio*? \* \* \*

"If the general government has no power to reinstate expelled citizens to their rights, there is a monstrous hypocrite fed and fostered from the hard earnings of the people! A real 'bull beggar' upheld by sycophants. \* \* \* Yet remember, if the Latter-day Saints are not restored to all their rights and paid for all their



losses, according to the known rules of justice and judgment, reciprocity and common honesty among men, that God will come out of his hiding-place, and vex this nation with a sore vexation: yea, the consuming wrath of an offended God shall smoke through the nation with as much distress and woe as independence has blazed through with pleasure and delight.  
\* \* \*

"Congress has power to protect the nation against foreign invasion and internal broil; and whenever that body passes an act to maintain right with any power, or to restore right to any portion of her citizens, it is the supreme law of the land; and should a State refuse submission, that State is guilty of insurrection or rebellion, and the President has as much power to repel it as Washington had to march against the 'whiskey boys at Pittsburg,' or General Jackson had to send an armed force to suppress the rebellion of South Carolina."

In relation to the doctrine of States rights, Joseph once remarked:

"The States rights doctrines are what feed mobs. They are a dead carcass—a stink, and they shall ascend up as a stink offering in the nose of the Almighty.

"They shall be oppressed as they have oppressed us, not by 'Mormons,' but by others in power. They shall drink a drink offering, the bitterest dreg, not from the 'Mormons,' but from a meaner source than themselves. God shall curse them."

According to Calhoun's theory the Federal Government had no right to interfere with the affairs of any particular State, much less hold any single State responsible for its conduct towards individuals or societies. It is evident that such a doctrine destroys the very basis of the Federal constitution; it opens wide the door for disunion, strife and civil war. If these views were correct, the constitution was not worth the paper on which it was written; the Union so much lauded was only a league of independent States, and each State would retain its entire sovereignty and would have the right to put its own construction upon the laws of Congress, and

to defy the parent government. Of course, having these views, Calhoun thought the Federal Government had no right to redress the wrongs endured by the Saints in Missouri. The latter State, according to his doctrine, was independent, and must be left to its own sense of justice and right, to correct any abuses to which the residents within its borders might be subjected. If the governor and the officials of the State chose to trample upon law and lead mobs to murder, plunder and exterminate a large body of its citizens, as they did in the case of the Latter-day Saints, the Federal Government could not interfere; in fact, there was no remedy for these evils!

Joseph's views were the very opposite of Calhoun's. His doctrine was that the constitution of the United States formed a government, not a league. Each State had expressly parted with so much of its power as to constitute, jointly with the other States, a single nation. The States severally did not retain their entire sovereignty; they had surrendered to the Federal Government many of the essential parts of sovereignty. The allegiance of the citizens of each State was due, in the first instance, to the government of the United States; they bore the proud and general title of American citizens, and if any of them were deprived of their rights by the mal-administration of the law, or by mob violence, in the State where they resided, they had the right of appeal to the general government; and if their cause was just, the parent government had the necessary authority to reinstate them in their rights, even if it required the whole power of the United States to do so.

Had his views prevailed with the chief executive and Congress, when he appealed to them after the Saints were expelled from Missouri, the late terrible civil war might have been averted; for the supremacy of the law and of the general government would have been vindicated, and Missouri been taught a lesson that would have had a salutary effect on every States rights man in the Union. But the weakness, vacillation and dishonesty of men in high places prevented this, and the consequence was a frightful war, during which the blood of thousands upon thousands was shed.

Several of the Elders wrote appeals to their native States, setting forth in strong language the wrongs and oppressions which had been inflicted upon them by the State of Missouri. Joseph, in November, 1843, wrote a stirring appeal to the people—the Green Mountain Boys—of his native State. After giving a sketch of the grievances which the Saints had endured, he said:

"Now, therefore, having failed in every attempt to obtain satisfaction at the tribunals where all men seek for it, according to the rules of right, I am compelled to appeal to the honor and patriotism of my native State—to the clemency and valor of 'Green Mountain Boys;' for throughout the various periods of the world, whenever a nation, kingdom, state, family, or individual has received an insult or an injury from a superior force (unless satisfaction was made), it has been the custom to call in the aid of friends to assist in obtaining redress. \* \* \*

"With all these facts before me, and a pure desire to ameliorate the condition of the poor and unfortunate among men, and if possible, to entice all men from evil to good; and with a firm reliance that God will reward the just, I have been stimulated to call upon my native State for a 'union of all honest men,' and to appeal to the valor of the 'Green Mountain Boys' by all honorable methods and means to assist me in obtaining justice from Missouri, not only for the property she has stolen and

confiscated, the murders she has committed among my friends, and for our expulsion from the State, but also to humble and chastise or abase her for the disgrace she has brought upon constitutional liberty, until she atones for her sins. \* \* \*

"I appeal to the 'Green Mountain Boys' of my native State to rise in the majesty of virtuous freemen, and by all honorable means help to bring Missouri to the bar of justice. If there is one whisper from the spirit of an Ethan Allen, or a gleam from the shade of a General Stark, let it mingle with our sense of honor and fire our bosoms for the cause of suffering innocence, for the reputation of our disgraced country, and for the glory of God; and may all the earth bear me witness, if Missouri—blood-stained Missouri—escapes the due merit of her crimes—the vengeance she so justly deserves—that Vermont is a hypocrite, a coward, and this nation the hot-bed of political demagogues!

"I make this appeal to the sons of liberty of my native State for help to frustrate the wicked designs of sinful men. I make it to hush the violence of mobs. I make it to cope with the unhallowed influence of wicked men in high places. I make it to resent the insult and injury made to an innocent, unoffending people, by a lawless, ruffian State. I make it to obtain justice where law is put at defiance. I make it to wipe off the stain of blood from our nation's escutcheon. I make it to show presidents, governors and rulers prudence. I make it to fill honorable men with discretion. I make it to teach senators wisdom. I make it to teach judges justice. I make it to point clergymen to the path of virtue. And I make it to turn the hearts of this nation to the truth and realities of pure and undefiled religion, that they may escape the perdition of ungodly men; and Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is my great Counselor."

December 29, 1843, forty men, who had been selected to act as city policemen, met with the city council of Nauvoo and were sworn into office. At that meeting Joseph said, among other things:

"I am exposed to far greater danger from traitors among ourselves than from enemies without, although my life has been sought for many years by civil and military authorities, priests and people of Missouri; and if I can escape from the ungrateful treachery of assass-

sins, I can live AS CAESAR MIGHT HAVE LIVED, WERE IT NOT FOR A RIGHT-HAND BRUTUS. I have had pretended friends betray me. All the enemies upon the face of the earth may roar and exert all their power to bring about my death, but they can accomplish nothing, unless some who are among us, and enjoy our society, have been with us in our councils, participated in our confidence, taken us by the hand, called us brother, saluted us with a kiss, join with our enemies, turn our virtues into faults, and, by falsehood and deceit, stir up their wrath and indignation against us, and bring their united vengeance upon our heads. All the hue and cry of the chief priests and elders against the Savior could not bring down the wrath of the Jewish nation upon his head, and thereby cause the crucifixion of the Son of God, until Judas said unto them, 'Whomsoever I shall kiss, he is the man; hold him fast.' 'Judas was one of the twelve Apostles, even their treasurer, and dipped with their Master in the dish, and through his treachery the crucifixion was brought about; and WE HAVE A JUDAS IN OUR MIDST.'

These remarks of Joseph soon came to the ears of William Law, Joseph's second counselor, who told Brother Hyrum Smith that the police had been sworn by Joseph secretly to put him out of the way within three months. In consequence of this a special meeting of the city council was called, at which William Law was present. He stated under oath that he had been informed that some of the policemen had had another oath administered to them besides the one which they took publicly. One of them had said there was a Judas in Joseph's cabinet—one who stood next to him, and he must be taken care of and not allowed to go into the world; he was not only a traitor like Judas, but an assassin like Brutus.

After William Law had made his statement, Joseph explained why he made the remarks he did. Orrin P. Rockwell had brought the intelligence that his enemies were determined to get him into their power and take his

life, hoping thereby to accomplish the overthrow of the work. In order to do this they had secured the services of some of his most confidential friends, whom he did not suspect, to deliver him into their hands. They did not design to try him, but hang him, or take his life anyhow. If they could not get him into their power without, they had a man in Nauvoo who would fix him out.

The whole day was spent in examining witnesses and investigating the subject. William Law cross-examined the witnesses until he appeared satisfied. The result showed that his fears were imaginary; and, before leaving, he shook hands with Joseph and declared he did not believe a word of the story, but that he would stand by Joseph unto death, and called the whole council and the police to witness the declaration.

But the matter did not end here. Joseph's statement about having a "right-hand Brutus" caused a general flutter among prominent men who were weak in the faith or were plotting in secret against him. William Marks, president of the Nauvoo Stake, was the next to become alarmed; and as William Law's fears had returned, they both pretended to be afraid of their lives.

A man by the name of Leonard Soby, who afterwards became an apostate, had told Marks that his life was threatened. It was in the winter and the weather was severely cold. Some person had built a fire on the bank of the Mississippi River nearly opposite William Mark's house. No sooner did he see the fire than he became frightened, and concluded he must be the Brutus to whom Joseph had referred! Tortured by these fears,

he lay awake all night. His fertile imagination suggested to him that there was an object in building the fire at that place, and that object must be to give the police light so that they could see to kill him! In the morning he called on Joseph, reported the circumstances, expressed his fears, and requested that another session of the city council be called.

The council came together January 5, 1844, only two days after they had met before. The policemen were sworn, and all the witnesses that could be obtained were cross-examined, and with the same result as before. There was not the least ground for the alarm of these men, and it was afterwards seen that their panic did not have its origin in the acts of the police, but in the corruption and hypocrisy of their own hearts. Every man who was at these councils and had the Spirit of the Lord, could see that these men had lost that spirit and were in the dark. They were filled with fear, even to distrust the Prophet and servant of God, and their best and nearest friends. Brother George A. Smith, who was then a member of the council in the capacity of alderman, said he could sleep with a fire near his house, even if there was some of the police warming themselves by it, and he believed any honest man could do the same.

"What can be the matter with these men?" writes Joseph. "Is it that the wicked flee when no man pursueth, that hit pigeons always flutter, that drowning men catch at straws, or that Presidents Law and Marks are absolutely traitors to the Church, that my remarks should produce such an excitement in their minds? Can it be possible that the traitor whom Porter

Rockwell reports to me as being in correspondence with my Missouri enemies is one of my quorum? The people in the town were astonished—'Is it possible that Brother Law or Brother Marks is a traitor, and would deliver Brother Joseph into the hands of his enemies in Missouri? If not, what can be the meaning of all this?' 'The righteous are as bold as a lion.'"

Before the council adjourned, Wilson Law, a brother of William Law, and filled with the same spirit as his brother, said:

"I am Joseph's friend; he has no better friend in the world; I am ready to lay down my life for him."

At the time he uttered these words his heart was full of the spirit of apostasy, and he was in league with Joseph's enemies, ready to aid them in their schemes. Besides these two brothers there were many others, such as Dr. Robert D. Foster and Francis M. and Chauncey L. Higbee, who, although they had a standing in the Church, were bitter apostates and sought secretly to encourage the enemies of the Church to bring new troubles upon Joseph. The cause of their apostasy was partly their own wickedness and transgressions, and partly their opposition to the doctrines taught by the Prophet, who, in speaking on this subject in a sermon, delivered by him at the southeast corner of the Temple in Nauvoo, January 21, 1844, says:

"I have tried for a number of years to get the mind of the Saints prepared to receive the things of God; but we frequently see some of them, after suffering all they have for the work of God, will fly to pieces like glass as soon as anything comes that is contrary to their traditions: they cannot stand the fire at all. How many will be able to abide a celestial law, and go through and receive their ex-

altation, I am unable to say, as many are called, but few are chosen."

Speaking of Saviors on Mount Zion, in the same discourse, he remarked:

"The Bible says: 'I will send you Elijah the Prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord; and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.'

"Now, the word *turn* here should be translated *bind* or *seal*. \* \* \* The keys are to be delivered, the spirit of Elijah is to come, the gospel to be established, the Saints of God gathered, Zion built up, and the Saints to come up as saviors on Mount Zion.

"But how are they to become saviors on Mount Zion? By building their temples, erecting their baptismal fonts, and going forth and receiving all the ordinances, baptisms, confirmations, washings, anointings, ordinations and sealing powers upon their heads, in behalf of all their progenitors who are dead, and redeem them that they may come forth in the first resurrection and be exalted to thrones of glory with them; and herein is the chain that binds the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the children to the fathers, which fulfills the mission of Elijah. \* \* \* The Saints have not too much time to save and redeem their dead, and gather together their living relatives, that they may be saved also, before the earth will be smitten, and the consumption decreed falls upon the world."

January 29, 1844, a political meeting was held in Nauvoo, to take into consideration the proper course for the Latter-day Saints to pursue at the ensuing election for President of the United States. There were two candidates for the office before the people at the time, namely, Martin Van Buren and Henry Clay, neither of whom had shown himself worthy of their vote. Joseph writes:

"It is morally impossible for this people in justice to themselves, to vote for the re-election of President Van Buren; a man who criminally neglected his duties as chief magistrate in the cold and unblushing manner which he did, when appealed to for aid in the Missouri difficulties. His heartless reply burns like a fire-

brand in the breast of every true friend of liberty: 'Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you.' As to Mr. Clay, his sentiments and cool contempt of the people's rights are manifested in his reply. 'You had better go to Oregon for redress,' which would prohibit any true lover of our constitutional privileges from supporting him at the ballot-box."

It was therefore moved by Willard Richards, and voted unanimously:

"That we will have an independent electoral ticket, and that Joseph Smith be a candidate for the next Presidency; and that we use all honorable means in our power to secure his election."

Immediately after the nomination, Joseph proceeded to get out a pamphlet, entitled, "Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States," in which he, in a clear and able manner, defined his position in regard to the burning political questions of the day. Had his measures been accepted and carried out by the American nation, the bloody war which followed would not have taken place, and hundreds of thousands of lives would have been saved, for there would have been no civil war, and those horrible evils which accompanied it would have been unknown. But he plead in vain.

The Twelve Apostles and the leading Elders were sent throughout the United States to electioneer, make stump speeches, advocate the religion of Jesus, the purity of elections and to call upon the people to stand by the law and to put down mobocracy. They were also instructed to tell the people that there had been Whig and Democratic Presidents long enough; it was a President of the United States that was now wanted. Joseph said he would not electioneer for himself; but the Elders would have to do it for him. There was oratory enough in

the Church to carry him into the presidential chair.

At a political meeting, which was held shortly after his nomination as a candidate for the presidency (February 8, 1844), Joseph explained his reasons for permitting his name to be used in this connection. He said:

"I would not have suffered my name to have been used by my friends on anywise as President of the United States, or candidate for that office, if I and my friends could have had the privilege of enjoying our religious and civil rights as American citizens, even those rights which the Constitution guarantees unto all her citizens alike. But this as a people we have been denied from the beginning. Persecution has rolled upon our heads from time to time, from portions of the United States, like peals of thunder, because of our religion; and no portion of the government as yet has stepped forward for our relief. And under view of these things, I feel it to be my right and privilege to obtain what influence and power I can, lawfully, in the United States, for the protection of injured innocence; and if I lose my life in a good cause, I am willing to be sacrificed on the altar of virtue, righteousness and truth, in maintaining the laws and Constitution of the United States, if need be, for the general good of mankind."

In the meantime the enemies of the Church were not idle. February 17, 1844, a meeting was held in Carthage for the purpose of devising ways and means by which the Saints might be expelled from the State. Among other resolutions which they passed was one appointing the succeeding 9th of March as a day of fasting and prayer, and the pious of all orders were requested "to pray to Almighty God that he would speedily bring the false prophet, Joseph Smith, to deep repentance, or that he would make a public example of him and his leading accomplices."

Had these wicked men confined themselves to prayer alone to accomplish their evil desires, the soil of Il-

linois would not have been stained by the innocent blood which now cries to the Lord from its bosom, and their own souls would not welter under the dreadful condemnation which now rests upon them.

Joseph's mind often dwelt on the future and the removal of the Saints to the Rocky Mountains, where he had predicted they should become a great people. Thus, on the 20th of February, we find him in council with the Twelve Apostles about sending out a delegation to explore California and Oregon, and hunt out a good location, where the Saints could remove to after the Temple should be completed; "and," as Joseph writes, "where we can build a city in a day, and get up into the mountains, where the devil cannot dig us out, and live in a healthy climate, where we can live as old as we have a mind to."

Respecting this exploring expedition, Joseph said at a subsequent meeting of the Twelve (February 23rd):

"Send twenty-five men: let them preach the gospel wherever they go. Let that man go that can raise \$500, a good horse and mule, a double-barreled gun, one barrel rifle, and the other smooth bore, a saddle and bridle, a pair of revolving pistols, bowie-knife, and a good sabre. Appoint a leader, and let him beat up for volunteers. I want every man that goes to be a king and a priest. When he gets on the mountains he may want to talk with his God; when with the savage nations have power to govern, etc. If we don't get volunteers, wait till after the election."

The following brethren volunteered at once to go on that expedition: George D. Watt, Samuel Bent, Joseph A. Kelting, David Fullmer, James Emmett, Daniel Spencer, Samuel Rolfe, Daniel Avery and Samuel W. Richards.

About a meeting held in Nauvoo February 25, 1844, Joseph writes:

"I gave some important instructions, and prophesied that within five years we should be out of the power of our old enemies, whether they were apostates or of the world; and told the brethren to record it, that when it comes to pass, they need not say they had forgotten the saying."

His words were most literally fulfilled. Before five years had elapsed mobs had raged so violently in Nauvoo that that city had to be abandoned by the Saints, who departed into the wilderness and finally found an asylum in the Rocky Mountains of the great West, where they could dwell in peace and safety, undisturbed by their bitter and merciless foes.

March 7, 1844, a general meeting called by the Prophet was held within the walls of the Temple for the purpose of advancing the progress of that building. Joseph, Patriarch Hyrum Smith, President Brigham Young and seven others of the Twelve, the Temple committee and about eight thousand Saints were present. In alluding to correspondence which had been sent to the newspapers east, in which it had been stated that the Temple could not be built on account of it costing so much, Joseph said:

"Who does not know that we can put the roof on the building this season, if we had a mind to? By turning all the means from the Nauvoo House and doubling our diligence we can do it."

In the course of his remarks he made allusion to the objections which were being made to the admission of Texas into the Union on account of slavery. He thought it the very reason why she should be received. Said he:

"The South holds the balance of power. By annexing Texas I can do away with this evil. As soon as Texas was annexed, I would liberate the slaves in two or three States, indemnifying their owners, and send the negroes to Texas, and from Texas to Mexico, where all

colors are alike. And if that was not sufficient, I would call upon Canada and annex it."

Sunday, March 10, 1844, Joseph preached on the subject of Elias, Elijah and Messiah, and said:

"The spirit of Elias is to prepare the way for a greater revelation of God, which is the Priesthood of Elias, or the Priesthood that Aaron was ordained unto. And when God sends a man into the world to prepare for a greater work, holding the keys of the power of Elias, it was called the doctrine of Elias, even from the early ages of the world. \* \* \*

"Now for Elijah. The spirit, power and calling of Elijah is, that ye have power to hold the keys of the revelations, ordinances, oracles, powers and endowments of the fullness of the Melchizedec Priesthood and of the kingdom of God on the earth; and to receive, obtain and perform all the ordinances belonging to the kingdom of God, even unto the turning of the hearts of the fathers unto the children and the hearts of the children unto the fathers, even those who are in heaven. \* \* \*

"This is the spirit of Elijah, that we redeem our dead, and connect ourselves with our fathers which are in heaven, and seal up our dead to come forth in the first resurrection; and here we want the power of Elijah to *seal those who dwell on earth to those who dwell in heaven*. This is the power of Elijah and the keys of the kingdom of Jehovah. \* \* \* Then what you seal on earth, by the keys of Elijah, is sealed in heaven, and this is the power of Elijah, and this is the difference between the spirit and power of Elias and Elijah; for while the spirit of Elias is a forerunner, the power of Elijah is sufficient to make our calling and election sure. \* \* \*

"This spirit of Elijah was manifest in the days of the Apostles, in delivering certain ones to the buffeting of Satan, that they might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. They were sealed by the spirit of Elijah unto the damnation of hell until the day of the Lord, or revelation of Jesus Christ. \* \* \*

"A murderer that sheds innocent blood cannot have forgiveness. David sought repentance at the hand of God carefully, with tears, for the murder of Uriah; but he could only get it through hell; he got a promise that his soul should not be left in hell.

"Although David was a king, he never did obtain the spirit and power of Elijah and the fullness of the Priesthood; and the Priesthood

that he received, and the throne and kingdom of David, is to be taken from him and given to another by the name of David in the last days, raised up out of his lineage. \* \* \*

"This is the case with murderers. They could not be baptized for the remission of sins, for they had shed innocent blood.

"The spirit of Elias is first, Elijah second, and Messiah last. Elias is a forerunner to prepare the way, and the spirit and power of Elijah is to come after, holding the keys of power, building the Temple to the capstone, placing the seals of the Melchizedek Priesthood upon the house of Israel, and making all things ready; then Messiah comes to his Temple, which is last of all. Messiah is above the spirit and power of Elijah, for he made the world, and was that spiritual rock unto Moses in the wilderness. Elijah was to come and prepare the way and build up the kingdom before the coming of the great day of the Lord, although the spirit of Elias might begin it."

At that time a man by the name of Miller, the founder of the sect known as Millerites, was preaching to the people in the Eastern States that the coming of the Savior was nigh at hand. He was very confident that he knew all about it, so much so, that he asserted he would come on a certain day, and those who believed his doctrine prepared robes so as to be ready to meet him, and arranged all their affairs in expectation of the event. There was considerable excitement in many places about these teachings, and considerable alarm prevailed upon the subject. Some years ago a gentleman with whom a leading Elder in the Church became acquainted, told an amusing instance which illustrates this feeling. He had sailed from the East on a whaling voyage, and previous to starting, the captain and all hands had heard considerable about Miller's predictions about the destruction of the world. The vessel doubled Cape Horn, and after cruising some time in the Pacific, they took their course for Monterey, California, with

the intention of obtaining supplies. Day after day they plowed their way eastward, and it was noticed that the captain became very uneasy and had men constantly at the mast-head looking out for land. Columbus, in pushing his way westward, could not have been more anxious to discover land than this skipper appeared to be. But no land appeared in sight. Finally, the captain confidentially imparted to this gentleman the terrible information that they had long ago passed over the place where Monterey had been, and he had no doubt Father Miller's predictions had been fulfilled and the continent of America with the rest of the world had been destroyed at the time stated. How he imagined this stupendous event had occurred without their being aware of it, he did not explain. He still continued, however, to sail eastward, and eventually, to his great relief, reached Monterey. The continent had not moved; but it was the skipper that had got out of his reckoning.

## CHAPTER 22.

Prophecies concerning the second coming of the Savior.—An interesting conference held in Nauvoo.—The Land of Zion.—William and Wilson Law, Robert D. Foster and others excommunicated from the Church.—They organize a church of their own.—The first and only number of the *Nauvoo Expositor* issued.—The city council declares the paper a nuisance and orders it destroyed.—Joseph and others arrested on a charge of riot.—A remarkable dream.—Nauvoo threatened by the mob.—Martial law declared in Nauvoo.—The Prophet's last public discourse.

Joseph, in one of his sermons, which he delivered on the 10th of March, 1844, made a brief allusion to the coming of the Savior. He said:

"I have asked of the Lord concerning his coming; and while asking the Lord, he gave me



a sign and said, 'In the days of Noah I set a bow in the heavens as a sign and token that in any year that the bow should be seen the Lord would not come, but there should be seed time and harvest during that year; but whenever you see the bow withdrawn, it shall be a token that there shall be famine, pestilence and great distress among the nations, and that the coming of the Messiah is not far distant.'

"But I will take the responsibility upon myself to prophesy in the name of the Lord, that Christ will not come this year, as Father Miller has prophesied, for we have seen the bow; and I also prophesy, in the name of the Lord, that *Christ will not come in forty years*; and if God ever spoke by my mouth he will not come in that length of time. Brethren, when you go home, write this down, that it may be remembered."

When Joseph's name was published as a candidate for the President of the United States, it gave occasion for numerous comments in the public journals of the country, and some of them were quite favorable. They contrasted Joseph's frank avowal of his principles with the shuffling policy and course of the other prominent candidates.

The other two classes were afraid to lose their popularity and consequently sought for the approbation of both the priests and the people.

But the enmity of all these people united together could not be compared with the hatred which apostates in those days felt against Joseph and the work of God. And besides the open and avowed apostates, there were men remaining in the Church who sympathized with them, and who, at heart, were traitors to Joseph and the work of God. Prominent among these were Sidney Rigdon, William Marks and Austin A. Cowles, and many others of lesser note.

They were all alarmed at the idea of Joseph being a candidate for the

Presidency. While they ridiculed and abused him, they were very uneasy at the prominence which he was gaining in the nation. If he did not become President of the United States at that election, he was but a young man, only thirty-eight years of age, and he might succeed at some future time in reaching the presidential chair. The thought was a bitter one to them.

In speaking at the regular Sabbath meeting in Nauvoo, March 24, 1844, Joseph said:

"I have been informed by two gentlemen that a conspiracy is got up in this place for the purpose of taking the life of President Joseph Smith, his family, and all the Smith family, and the heads of the Church. One of the gentlemen will give his name to the public, and the other wishes it to be hid for the present; they will both testify to it on oath, and make an affidavit upon it. The names of the persons revealed at the head of the conspiracy are Chauncey L. Higbee, Dr. Robert D. Foster, Mr. Joseph H. Jackson, William and Wilson Law. \* \* \*

"In relation to the power over the minds of mankind which I hold, I would say: It is in consequence of the power of truth in the doctrines which I have been an instrument in the hands of God of presenting unto them, and not because of any compulsion on my part. I wish to ask if ever I got any of it unfairly?—if I have not reproved you in the gate? I ask, Did I ever exercise any compulsion over any man? Did I not give him the liberty of disbelieving any doctrine I have preached, if he saw fit? Why do not my enemies strike a blow at the doctrine? They cannot do it; it is truth, and I defy all men to upset it."

On the 5th of April, 1844, a conference, which was continued for five days, was commenced in Nauvoo. In his opening remarks to the conference, Joseph said:

"Those who feel desirous of sowing the seeds of discord will be disappointed on this occasion. It is our purpose to build up and establish the principles of righteousness, and not to

break down and destroy. The Great Jehovah has ever been with me, and the wisdom of God will direct me in the seventh hour. I feel in closer communion and better standing with God than ever I felt before in my life, and I am glad of this opportunity to appear in your midst."

On Sunday, the 7th, he delivered a very interesting discourse before about twenty thousand people, it being the funeral sermon of Elder King Follett, and although he spoke three hours and a half, it was followed with the greatest interest by all present from beginning to end. The principles which he laid before the people on that occasion were grand and exalting. His first object, he said, was to find out the character of the only wise and true God, and what kind of a being he is. In this connection he made some very striking and truthful remarks about taking men's lives because they were false teachers. He said:

"If any man is authorized to take away my life because he thinks and says I am a false teacher, then, upon the same principle, we should be justified in taking away the life of every false teacher; and where would be the end of blood? and who would not be the sufferer?"

"But meddle not with any man for his religion; for all governments ought to permit every man to enjoy his religion unmolested. No man is authorized to take away life in consequence of difference of religion, which all laws and governments ought to tolerate and protect, right or wrong. Every man has a natural, and, in our country, a constitutional right to be a false prophet as well as a true prophet. If I show, verily, that I have the truth of God, and show that ninety-nine out of every hundred professing to be religious ministers are false teachers, having no authority, while they pretend to hold the keys of God's kingdom on earth, and was to kill them because they are false teachers, it would deluge the whole world with blood."

Respecting God and the kind of being he is, he said:

"God himself was once as we are now, and is an exalted man, and sits enthroned in yon-

der heavens! That is the great secret. If the vail was rent today, and the Great God who holds this world in its orbit, and who upholds all worlds, and all things by his power, was to make himself visible—I say, if you were to see him today, you would see him like a man in form—like yourselves in all the person, image and every form as a man; for Adam was created in the very fashion, image and likeness of God, and received instruction from and walked, talked and conversed with him, as one man talks and communes with another. \* \* \*

"Here, then, is eternal life—to know the only wise and true God; and you have got to learn how to be Gods yourselves, and to be kings and priests to God, the same as all Gods have done before you—namely, by going from one small degree to another, and from a small capacity to a great one; from grace to grace, from exaltation to exaltation, until you attain to the resurrection of the dead, and are able to dwell in everlasting burnings, and to sit in glory, as do those who sit enthroned in everlasting power. And I want you to know that God in the last days, while certain individuals are proclaiming his name, is not trifling with you or me.

"All sins, and all blasphemies, and every transgression, except one, that man can be guilty of, may be forgiven, and there is a salvation for all men, either in this world or in the world to come, who have not committed the unpardonable sin, there being a provision either in this world or the world of the spirits. Hence, God hath made a provision that every spirit in the eternal world can be ferreted out and saved, unless he has committed that unpardonable sin, which cannot be remitted to him either in this world or the world of spirits. God has wrought out a salvation for all men, unless they have committed a certain sin; and every man who has a friend in the eternal world can save him, unless he has been guilty of the unpardonable sin.

"A man cannot commit the unpardonable sin after the dissolution of the body, and there is a way possible for escape. Knowledge saves a man; and in the world of spirits no man can be exalted but by knowledge. So long as a man will not give heed to the commandments, he must abide without salvation. If a man has knowledge he can be saved; although, if he has committed great sins, he will be punished for them. But when he consents to obey the gospel, whether here or in the world of spirits, he is saved.

"A man is his own tormentor and his own condemner. Hence the saying, 'They shall go into the lake that burns with fire and brimstone.' The torment of disappointment in the mind of man is as exquisite as a lake burning with fire and brimstone. I say so is the torment of man. \* \* \*

"When a man begins to be an enemy to this work, he hunts me, he seeks to kill me, and never ceases to thirst for my blood. He gets the spirit of the devil—the same spirit that they had who crucified the Lord of Life—the same spirit that sins against the Holy Ghost. You cannot save such persons; you cannot bring them to repentance; they make open war like the devil, and awful is the consequence."

The next day (April 8th) Joseph felt his lungs so exhausted that he could not continue the subject as he had expected. But he had received a revelation, he said, of which he would lay before them the first principle. Said he:

"You know there has been great discussion in relation to Zion—where it is, and where the gathering of the dispensation is, and which I am now going to tell you. The Prophets have spoken and written upon it; but I will make a proclamation that will cover a broader ground. The whole of America is Zion itself, from north to south, and is described by the Prophets, who declare that it is the Zion where the mountain of the Lord should be, and that it should be in the center of the land. When Elders shall take up and examine the old prophecies in the Bible, they will see it."

In the same discourse he also said:

"As soon as the Temple and baptismal font are prepared, we calculate to give the Elders of Israel their washings and anointings, and attend to those last and more impressive ordinances, without which we cannot obtain celestial thrones. \* \* There must, however, be a place built expressly for that purpose, and for men to be baptized for their dead. It must be built in this the central place; for every man who wishes to save his father, mother, brothers, sisters and friends must go through all the ordinances for each one of them separately, the same as for himself, from baptism to ordination, washings and anointings, and receive all the keys and powers of the Priesthood, the same as for himself."

Joseph's declaration, that all North and South America is the land of Zion, caused the conference to rejoice exceedingly, and the Elders in their remarks dwelt upon its importance. The occasion was a most interesting one, the weather was beautiful, and in alluding to these days, Joseph said: "They have been the greatest, best, and most glorious five consecutive days ever enjoyed by this generation."

The electioneering campaign was entered upon with spirit by the Elders. At the conference a unanimous vote was passed by the immense assembly for Joseph to be the candidate for the next President. The Twelve Apostles arranged appointments for general conferences to be held at various places throughout the different States, so that the entire United States might be canvassed by the Elders, religiously and politically. No band of men ever went out in the United States on an electioneering campaign so united and so thoroughly in earnest as did these Elders. They knew Joseph was a servant and Prophet of God, and that if the nation would elect him, and then be guided by him, it would be saved from dishonor and destruction, and be elevated to an unequalled pitch of greatness and power.

In a council meeting held in Nauvoo, April 18, 1844, and attended by six of the Twelve and 26 other Elders, William and Wilson Law and Robert D. Foster were excommunicated from the Church for unchristian conduct. These and a band of other apostates labored incessantly to bring about the murder of Joseph. On one occasion during the month of April, August Spencer, one of this band, was arrested by the city mar-

shal for assaulting his brother Orson Spencer in the latter's own house. This soon brought out three of his companions—Chauncey L. Higbee and Charles and Robert D. Foster—who immediately proceeded to Joseph's office. Joseph was standing on the steps of his office, when Charles Foster drew a pistol and pointed it towards him, threatening to shoot him. The police were directed to arrest him, and, while trying to do so, his brother and Higbee interfered, resisted the officers, and they were arrested also. They swore dreadful oaths, and Higbee and Charles Foster said they would shoot Joseph, and consider themselves the favored of God for the privilege of ridding the world of such a tyrant as Joseph was.

William Law, who had been Joseph's counselor, had sat with him in council and been on terms of intimate friendship with him, had transgressed and lost the Spirit of God, and now he was the foremost of Joseph's enemies. They rallied around him, and he became the center of all the apostate and disaffected spirits in that region. On Sunday, April 28th, he and the other apostates and their dupes held a meeting at the house of his brother, Wilson Law. Several affidavits which they had taken against Joseph and others were read, and a number of them were appointed as a committee to visit the different families in the city, to see who would join the new church, for they had organized a new one, having decided, as many apostates had done before them, that "the doctrine is right, but Joseph is a fallen prophet." William Law was appointed by them to fill the place of Joseph, and he chose Austin Cowles and Wilson

Law as his counselors. Chauncey L. Higbee and Robert D. Foster, the two men who conducted themselves so disgracefully on the occasion mentioned above, were selected to be two of the twelve apostles.

May 6, 1844, Joseph was arrested by John D. Parker on a warrant issued by the clerk of the circuit court at Carthage, on the complaint of Francis M. Higbee, who had laid his damages at \$5,000, but for what the writ did not state. Joseph petitioned and obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* from the municipal court, before which tribunal he had a hearing on the 8th. The testimony given went to show that Higbee was a wicked, malicious, adulterous and bad man, who, together with his confederates, had instituted these proceedings against Joseph through malice, private pique and corruption. Hence the court decided that "Joseph Smith be discharged and Francis M. Higbee pay the costs of suit."

In speaking from the stand in Nauvoo, May 12, 1844, the Prophet said:

"My enemies say that I have been a true prophet. Why, I had rather be a fallen true prophet than a false prophet. When a man goes about prophesying, and commands men to obey his teachings, he must either be a true or false prophet. False prophets always arise to oppose the true prophets, and they will prophesy so very near the truth that they will deceive almost the very chosen ones. \* \* \*

"In relation to the kingdom of God, the devil always sets up his kingdom at the very same time in opposition to God. Every man who has a calling to minister to the inhabitants of the world was ordained to that very purpose in the grand council of heaven before this world was. I suppose I was ordained to this very office in that grand council.

"There are many mansions for those who obey a celestial law, and there are other mansions for those who come short of the law—every man in his own order. \* \* \* There

will be one hundred and forty-four thousand saviors on Mount Zion, and with them an innumerable host that no man can number. Oh! I beseech you to go forward, go forward, and make your calling and your election sure; and if any man preach any other gospel than that which I have preached, he shall be cursed; and some of you who now hear me shall see it, and know that I testify the truth concerning them. \* \* \*

"In order for you to receive your children to yourself, you must have a promise—some ordinance, some blessing, in order to ascend above principalities, or else it may be an angel. They must rise just as they died; we can there hail our lovely infants with the same glory—the same loveliness in the celestial glory, where they all enjoy alike. They differ in stature, in size; the same glorious spirit gives them the likeness of glory and bloom; the old man with his silvery hairs will glory in bloom and beauty. No man can describe it to you—no man can write it.

"When did I ever teach anything wrong from this stand? When was I ever confounded? I want to triumph in Israel before I depart hence and am no more seen. I never told you I was perfect; but there is no error in the revelations which I have taught. Must I, then, be thrown away as a thing of naught?"

May 17, 1844, a State convention was held in Nauvoo, when it was moved, seconded and carried by acclamation "that Joseph Smith, of Illinois, be the choice of this convention for President of the United States." Sidney Rigdon was also chosen as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

Language conveys but a very weak idea, even when used in the most powerful manner, of the condition of affairs which existed in Nauvoo during the days of which we write. Joseph's enemies howled around him like a pack of wolves, indulging in the most murderous threats, forming all kinds of plots and moving earth and hell to compass his destruction. The leaders of this crusade were the Laws, the Higbees, the Fosters and many other apostates of lesser note,

who consorted with them. William Law having been one of the First Presidency, was of course familiar with the doctrine which God had made known in the revelation on celestial marriage. The knowledge he had of this doctrine he communicated to others, and so determined was he to destroy Joseph, that he went before the grand jury at Carthage and swore that Joseph had been guilty of polygamy and adultery; and upon his testimony that Joseph had told him that he practiced polygamy, or, as it was then called, "spiritual wife-ism," the Prophet was indicted.

When Joseph heard that the grand jury had indicted him, he started on horseback, with a few friends, for Carthage, on the 27th of May, thinking it best to meet his enemies before the circuit court, and have the indictments investigated. The company was swelled by several brethren joining the party while on the road, and by the addition of others on Joseph's arrival in Carthage.

Charles A. Foster, brother of Robert D. Foster, a man who had never belonged to the Church, overtook the party outside of Carthage, and rode with Joseph into that place. Joseph had considerable conversation with him, and Foster was almost persuaded that he was influenced to some extent by false reports.

After the arrival of the party at Carthage, Foster took Joseph into a private room and told him in a friendly manner, that there was a conspiracy against his life. No doubt, from all that transpired at that time and subsequently, it was the intention of these apostates and mobbers then to have taken Joseph's life. But situated as he was, having so many friends

with him, they could not accomplish their evil design.

Joseph's lawyers used all reasonable exertions to bring forward his trial; but the prosecuting party, were not ready. Joseph was anxious for his trial, but the case was deferred till next term, and he was left to give bail to the sheriff at his option. The sheriff told him he might return, and he would call upon him and take bail at his convenience.

Abundant evidence was in the hands of Joseph to prove the wickedness and utter corruption of these men. They were guilty of every crime of which they accused the Saints. Both William and Wilson Law were guilty of adultery. Wilson Law, who had acted as major-general in the Nauvoo Legion, was cashiered for dishonesty and robbing the government. Several affidavits had also been sworn to by females, accusing the Higbees and Fosters of seduction and adultery. Joseph H. Jackson, who never belonged to the Church, but who was a confederate with them in their schemes, had been, according to his own acknowledgment, a murderer and robber. To these crimes, he added that of perjury, in swearing falsely against Joseph. Yet, with all these evidences against him and his party, William Law professed to be very holy, said Joseph was a fallen Prophet, and that he (Law) was to take his place.

The Saints who were faithful and lived in close communion with the Lord, knew for themselves that Joseph was innocent and pure; and the ravings and threatenings of these apostates had no effect upon them. The only ones influenced by them were those who were neglectful of

the duties of their religion and were on the road to apostasy.

Joseph told the people repeatedly that he asked no odds of apostates; but he could go to the cross and lay down his life for the Saints. He did not want his brethren and sisters, however, to forsake him and the truth. He wanted their friendship, and he constantly exhorted them to be humble and patient and to render good for evil. In a public meeting in Nauvoo, May 26th, he declared that he was the same man and just as innocent as he was fourteen years ago. He said he had labored with those apostates himself until he was out of all manner of patience, and then he had sent his brother Hyrum to them. He had sent word to the Laws that if they had any case against him, he would go before the Church and confess. On the same occasion, in speaking to the Saints, he said:

"As I grow older, my heart grows tenderer for you. I am at all times willing to give up everything that is wrong, for I wish this people to have a virtuous leader. I have set your minds at liberty by letting you know the things of Jesus Christ. When I shrink not from your defense, will you throw me away for a new man who slanders you? I love you for your reception of me. Have I asked you for your money? No; you know better."

About the 10th of May a prospectus of a paper called the *Nauvoo Expositor* was issued and distributed among the people by these apostates. The prospectus stated the intentions of the publishers to be among other things:

"To advocate the unconditional repeal of the city charter of Nauvoo, to restrain and correct the abuses of the unit power, to ward off the rod which is held over the devoted heads of the citizens of Nauvoo and the surrounding country, to advocate unmitigated disobedience to political revelation." etc.

Its signers were no others than the

two Laws, the two Higbees and the two Fosters, every one of them vile, adulterous, base men, who had been guilty of the most outrageous wickedness.

The *Expositor* made its appearance June 7, 1844, and was filled with the foulest abuse of Joseph and the Saints. It denounced Joseph for teaching the doctrine of plurality of wives, and also for the revelation which he had received on the subject of celestial marriage, and its writers were fully intent on raising persecution and mobs against him and the Saints, and, if possible, to destroy him. Almost every line breathed a murderous spirit, and it was very clear that if such a sheet were suffered to remain in existence, mobs would be raised, and the acts of violence and bloodshed which had been endured in Missouri would be repeated, and the Saints be driven from their homes. Anything that disturbs the peace of a community is properly called a nuisance. This sheet was, to all intents and purposes, a nuisance. Its object was to destroy the peace and happiness of the people, and to withdraw from the city all its chartered rights and privileges.

On the 10th of June the city council took this paper into consideration, and after a lengthy investigation, the council declared it a nuisance, and passed a resolution to that effect. By this resolution the mayor was instructed to cause the printing establishment and paper to be removed without delay in such a manner as he should direct. He accordingly issued his orders to the city marshal, who proceeded to the *Expositor* office and removed the press, type, printing paper and fixtures into the street, and destroyed them. This pro-

ceeding on the part of the city council caused considerable excitement among the apostates. It spoiled their game, and they were very angry and threatened vengeance.

On the following day Joseph issued a proclamation, as mayor of the city of Nauvoo, setting forth the course taken by the *Expositor*, and stating that it had been destroyed as a nuisance, according to the provision of the charter of the city. He called upon the municipal officers and the citizens to use all honorable and lawful means in their power to maintain the public peace and the common quiet of the city; and to be vigilant and wise in preventing the promulgation of false statements, libels, slanders or any other malicious calumny or design that might be circulated to ferment the passions of men. He also recommended them to be ready to suppress the gathering of mobs, and to repel, by gentle means and noble exertions, every foul scheme designed to disgrace and dishonor the city or State.

After the destruction of the press, runners were sent out in all directions by the apostates to endeavor to raise a mob, and those who were opposed to the Saints and on the side of the mob, began to sell their houses and property in Nauvoo, thinking that trouble would be sure to come, and that the Saints would be destroyed. Francis M. Higbee said, and all those associated with him felt the same, that if the city authorities should lay their hands upon the press of the *Expositor*, to break it, they might date their downfall from the very hour. He thought that within ten days, there would not be a single "Mormon" in Nauvoo.

He immediately went to Carthage and made a complaint before Thomas Morrison, the justice of the peace at that place, swearing to an affidavit that Joseph and seventeen other brethren had committed a riot, alleging that, with force and violence, they had broken into the Nauvoo *Expositor* printing office and unlawfully burned and destroyed the printing press, type and other property of the same. June 12th, Morrison sent a constable with a writ to Nauvoo, to arrest Joseph. The writ stated that the officer was to bring the persons charged in it "before me (Morrison) or some other justice of the peace, to answer the premises, and further to be dealt with according to law."

When he had finished reading the writ, Joseph referred the officer who bore it, to that clause, and said: "We are ready to go to trial before Esquire Johnson or any justice in Nauvoo." At this, the constable was very angry, and he swore he would carry them to Carthage before Morrison, who had issued the writ. Joseph asked him if he intended to break the law; and called upon all present to witness that he then offered himself to go immediately before the nearest justice of the peace. His brother Hyrum offered to do the same. Joseph felt so indignant at the officer's abuse, that he was determined to take out a *habeas corpus*, and petitioned the municipal court of the city of Nauvoo, to grant him the benefit of that writ, and, on the afternoon of the same day, he appeared before that court, and the case was examined. It was "decided by the court that Joseph Smith had acted under proper authority in destroying the establishment of the Nauvoo *Expositor*, on the

10th inst.; that his orders were executed in an orderly and judicious manner, without noise or tumult; that this was a malicious prosecution on the part of Francis M. Higbee; and that said Higbee pay costs of suit, and that Joseph Smith be honorably discharged from the accusations of the writ, and go hence without delay."

The other brethren were arrested the next day (13th), and they also petitioned for and obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, and were tried before the municipal court on that day; and, after witnesses had been examined as in the case of Joseph, they were all honorably discharged from the accusations and arrests. The court decided that Higbee pay the costs of suits.

Acting under the advice of Judge Thomas, the circuit judge, they afterwards (June 17th) submitted once more to arrest, on the charge of riot, in destroying the Nauvoo *Expositor* press. They were tried before Daniel H. Wells, who at that time was not a member of the Church, but was a justice of the peace, and after a long and close examination they were again acquitted.

About this time Joseph had a remarkable dream which he related as follows:

"I thought I was riding out in my carriage, and my guardian angel was along with me. We went past the Temple, and had not gone much further before we espied two large snakes so fast locked together that neither of them had any power. I inquired of my guide what I was to understand by that. He answered, 'Those snakes represent Dr. Foster and Chauncey L. Higbee. They are your enemies, and desire to destroy you; but you see they are so fast locked together that they have no power of themselves to hurt you.' I then thought I was riding up Mulholland Street, but my guardian angel was not along with me. On arriving at the prairie, I was



overtaken and seized by William and Wilson Law and others, saying—'Ah! ah! we have got you at last! we will secure you and put you in a safe place!' and, without any ceremony, dragged me out of my carriage, tied my hands behind me, and threw me into a deep, dry pit, where I remained in a perfectly helpless condition, and they went away. While struggling to get out, I heard Wilson Law screaming for help hard by. I managed to unloose myself so as to make a spring, when I caught hold of some grass which grew at the edge of the pit.

"I looked out of the pit and saw Wilson Law at a little distance attacked by ferocious wild beasts, and heard him cry out, 'Oh! Brother Joseph, come and save me!' I replied—'I cannot, for you have put me into this deep pit.' On looking out another way, I saw William Law with outstretched tongue, blue in the face, and the green poison forced out of his mouth, caused by the coiling of a large snake around his body. It had also grabbed him by the arm, a little above the elbow, ready to devour him. He cried out in the intensity of his agony, 'Oh! Brother Joseph, Brother Joseph, come and save me, or I die!'" I also replied to him, 'I cannot, William; I would willingly, but you have tied me and put me in this pit, and I am powerless to help you or to liberate myself.' In a short time after, my guide came and said aloud, 'Joseph! what are you doing there?' I replied, 'My enemies fell upon me, bound me, and threw me in.' He then took me by the hand, drew me out of the pit, set me free, and we went away rejoicing."

The recital of this dream made a deep impression upon the Saints, who easily could understand its meaning so far as William and Wilson Law were concerned, for they had placed it beyond Joseph's power to help them by their wicked conduct; but the people could not understand all of the dream. It was not clear to their minds what was meant by those two men dragging Joseph out of his carriage and binding his hands fast, and casting him into a pit. Although he spoke frequently about the Twelve bearing off the kingdom and taking additional responsibility, speaking as though he

was about to leave them, still, no one supposed that he was going to die; and this dream was not generally interpreted in that manner. As we proceed with our history, however, the reader will see how truthfully it was fulfilled.

Every effort was made by the enemies of the Saints, after the *Expositor* was declared a nuisance, to fan the flames of persecution and to form combinations to drive and exterminate them. In some parts, they threatened to drive or kill every Latter-day Saint who did not deny the faith and cease to believe that Joseph was a Prophet of God. They also threatened to use violence to those who were not Latter-day Saints, if they did not take up arms to help them to drive the Church out of the country. Those whom they could not persuade to join them in their schemes, they tried to frighten by their threats. They told men of this class that they must join them, or leave the country, or give their arms to them. One of the leading spirits of this work of persecution was one Levi Williams, a colonel of militia, and a Baptist preacher. With all his pretensions to religion, he was a great villain. Robbery, house-burning, murder and every other act of violence, he thought perfectly right, so long as the Latter-day Saints were the victims. To accomplish the destruction of the Saints, he was willing to adopt any measure, however wicked or violent. There were many others who were like him. They acted upon the idea that it was no disgrace to shoot a "Mormon;" that he had no rights which they should respect. Where they had the power, they were very violent and abusive; but they were always careful to have the largest num-

ber on their side when they made an attack on any person or settlement. They visited individuals and those who lived in small settlements, because they were not afraid of meeting equal numbers to resist them. As soon as the help which they expected from Missouri should arrive, they said, they would march against Joseph and the city of Nauvoo, capture him and destroy the city. They expected about fifteen hundred or two thousand men from Missouri to help them.

Joseph was well informed respecting the movements of the mob, and he counseled the brethren to keep cool and prepare their arms for the defense of the city. He had guards posted on all the roads leading out of the city; and within the city he had other guards stationed in the streets and on the river bank. This he did in his capacity as lieutenant-general of the Nauvoo Legion. He also issued orders to have all the powder and lead in the city secured, and that all the arms should be brought into use, and those which were not used by their owners be put into the hands of those who could use them. Under the circumstances which then existed, these preparations were necessary, for the mob were threatening to march upon the city, and they could only be kept from doing so by the knowledge that the Saints were prepared to give them a warm reception. Joseph, in company with several officers of the Legion, visited the prairie east of Nauvoo and arranged his plans for the defense of the city, and selected the most suitable points at which to meet the mob. He also made arrangements to secure provisions for the city, giving his agent instructions to pledge his farms for that

purpose. On the 18th of June, he proclaimed the city of Nauvoo under martial law, and issued the following proclamation:

*"To the Marshal of the city of Nauvoo:*

*"From the newspapers around us, and the current reports as brought in from the surrounding country, I have good reason to fear that a mob is organizing to come upon this city, and plunder and destroy said city, as well as murder the citizens; and by virtue of the authority vested in me as mayor, and to preserve the city and lives of the citizens, I do hereby declare the said city, within the limits of its corporation, under martial law. The officers, therefore, of the Nauvoo Legion, the police, as well as all others, will strictly see that no persons or property pass in or out of the city without due orders.*

JOSEPH SMITH, MAYOR."

About 2 o'clock on the same day (June 18th) the Legion was drawn up in the street close to Joseph's house. Judge William W. Phelps read the *Warsaw Signal* extra of June 17th, wherein all the "old citizens" were called upon to assist the mob in exterminating the leaders of the Saints and driving away the people. Joseph stood in full uniform as lieutenant-general on the top of a frame building and spoke to the Legion and the assembled multitude for about an hour and a half. The following synopsis was compiled by Geo. A. Smith from the verbal reports of a number of the brethren who were present and heard the Prophet on the occasion:

"It is thought by some that our enemies would be satisfied with my destruction; but I tell you that as soon as they have shed my blood, they will thirst for the blood of every man in whose heart dwells a single spark of the spirit of the fulness of the gospel. The opposition of these men is moved by the spirit of the adversary of all righteousness. It is not only to destroy me, but every man and woman who dares believe the doctrines that God hath inspired me to teach to this generation.

"We have never violated the laws of our country. We have every right to live under their protection, and are entitled to all the privileges guaranteed by our State and national constitution. We have turned the barren, bleak prairies and swamps of this State into beautiful towns, farms and cities, by our industry; and the men who seek our destruction and cry thief, treason, riot, etc., are those who themselves violate the laws, steal and plunder from their neighbors, and seek to destroy the innocent, heralding forth lies to screen themselves from the just punishment of their crimes by bringing destruction upon this innocent people. I call God, angels and all men to witness that we are innocent of the charges which are heralded forth through the public prints against us by our enemies; and while they assemble together in unlawful mobs to take away our rights and destroy our lives, they think to shield themselves under the refuge of lies which they have thus wickedly fabricated.

"We have forwarded a particular account of all our doings to the governor. We are ready to obey his commands, and we expect that protection at his hands which we know to be our just due.

"We have taken the counsel of Judge Thomas, and have been tried before a civil magistrate on the charge of riot—not that the law required it, but because the judge advised it as a precautionary measure to allay all possible pretext for excitement. We were legally acquitted by Esquire Wells, who is a good judge of law. Had we been before the circuit, the supreme, or any other court of law in the State, or nation, we should have been acquitted, for we have broken no law.

"Constable Bettisworth came here with a writ requiring us to go before Mr. Morrison, 'or some other justice of the peace of the country,' to answer to the charge of riot. We acknowledged ourselves his prisoners, and were ready to go before any magistrate in any precinct in this part of the country, or anywhere else where our lives could be protected from the mob who have published the resolutions for our extermination which you have heard read. This is a privilege the law guarantees to us, and which the writ itself allows. He broke the law, and refused us this privilege, declaring that we should go before Morrison in Carthage, and no one else, when he knew that a numerous mob was collected there who are publicly pledged to destroy our lives.

"It was under these circumstances that we availed ourselves of the legal right of the

ancient, high and constitutional privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and were brought before the municipal court of this city, and discharged from the illegal detention under which we were held by Constable Bettisworth. All mob-men, priests, thieves and bogus-makers, apostates and adulterers, who combine to destroy this people, now raise the hue-and-cry throughout the State that we resist the law, in order to raise a pretext for calling together thousands more of infuriated mob-men to murder, destroy, plunder, and ravish the innocent.

"We are American citizens. We live upon a soil for the liberties of which our fathers perilled their lives and spilt their blood upon the battle-field. Those rights so dearly purchased shall not be disgracefully trodden under foot by lawless marauders without at least a noble effort on our part to sustain our liberties.

"Will you all stand by me to the death, and sustain, at the peril of your lives, the laws of our country, and the liberties and privileges which our fathers have transmitted unto us, sealed with their sacred blood? ('Aye,' shouted thousands.) He then said—'It is well. If you had not done it, I would have gone out there (pointing to the west) and would have raised up a mightier people.'

"I call upon all men, from Maine to the Rocky Mountains, and from Mexico to British America, whose hearts thrill with horror to behold the rights of freemen trampled under foot, to come to the deliverance of this people from the hand of oppression, cruelty, anarchy and misrule to which they have long been made subject. Come, all ye lovers of liberty, break the oppressor's rod, loose the iron grasp of mobocracy, and bring to condign punishment all those who trample under foot the principles of our glorious Constitution and the people's rights. (Drawing his sword, and presenting it to heaven, he said)—'*I call God and angels to witness that I have unsheathed my sword with a firm and unalterable determination that this people shall have their legal rights, and be protected from mob violence, or my blood shall be spilt upon the ground like water, and my body consigned to the silent tomb. While I live, I will never tamely submit to the dominion of cursed mobocracy. I would welcome death rather than submit to this oppression; and it would be sweet, oh, sweet to rest in the grave, rather than submit to this oppression, agitation, annoyance, confusion and alarm upon alarm any longer.*

"I call upon all friends of truth and liberty to come to our assistance; and may the

thunders of the Almighty, and the forked lightnings of heaven and pestilence, and war and bloodshed come down on those ungodly men who seek to destroy my life and the lives of this innocent people.

"I do not regard my own life. I am ready to be offered a sacrifice for this people; for what can our enemies do? Only kill the body, and their power is then at an end. Stand firm, my friends; never flinch. Do not seek to save your lives, for he that is afraid to die for the truth will lose eternal life. Hold out to the end, and we shall be resurrected, and become like Gods, and reign in celestial kingdoms, principalities and eternal dominions, while this cursed mob will sink to hell, the portion of all those who shed innocent blood.

"God has tried you. You are a good people; therefore I love you with all my heart. Greater love hath no man than that he should lay down his life for his friends. You have stood by me in the hour of trouble, and I am willing to sacrifice my life for your preservation.

"May the Lord God of Israel bless you forever and ever. I say it in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and in the authority of the Holy Priesthood, which he hath conferred upon me."

Joseph was a noble looking, angelic man at ordinary times, but on that occasion there was a grand dignity in his appearance that was very impressive. He spoke with remarkable power, even for him, whose discourses were always powerful and heart-piercing, and the vast assemblage listened to his words with breathless attention. He had them fully under his influence, and had he expressed a wish to meet the mob and fight it, they would have gone with joy. It is no wonder the Prophet's words sank deep into their hearts; it is no wonder that to their sight he appeared exceedingly grand, or that his words impressed them so deeply, for it was the last time, in the flesh, that they were to listen to the music of his voice, or to feel the spell of his inspiration and genius. It was his last public discourse! Little did his hearers think that in a

few short days that godlike form, so perfect in its manly beauty, could be locked in the arms of death, and that that voice, whose eloquence entranced them, would never more be heard from mortal lips.

## CHAPTER 23.

Governor Ford arrives in Carthage, but refuses to come to Nauvoo.—Joseph and a few chosen friends cross the Mississippi River, intending to go to the Rocky Mountains.—At the request of friends they return to Nauvoo.—Joseph, Hyrum and others go to Carthage for trial.—Bad behavior of the troops.—Governor Ford's perfidy.

Two days previous to this (June 16th) a public meeting had been held in Nauvoo, at which a number of delegates were appointed to go to the different precincts throughout the county to lay a true statement of the condition of affairs at Nauvoo before the people, and to correct the many false reports which had been put in circulation. Joseph also wrote to Governor Ford, and sent his letter by the hands of Edward Hunter; Philip B. Lewis and John Bills as messengers. In this letter he expressed his desire that the governor would come to Nauvoo in person, with his staff, and investigate the whole difficulty without delay. This he thought would be the best method of restoring peace to the country. With the letter he sent an affidavit concerning the intentions of the mob, but all this evidence had very little weight with Governor Ford, who lacked the firmness, decision of character and the sense of justice necessary to maintain order and to enforce the right. He became the tool of the mob, and they managed him, without informing him of all their plans to suit their purposes.

June 20th, Joseph wrote to those of the Twelve Apostles who were absent on missions to come home immediately. Brigham Young was at that time in Boston, Heber C. Kimball and Orson Pratt in Washington, Orson Hyde and William Smith in Philadelphia, Parley P. Pratt in New York, Wilford Woodruff in Portage, New York, Geo. A. Smith in Petersboro, John E. Page in Pittsburgh, Lyman Wight in Baltimore and Amasa M. Lyman in Cincinnati, Ohio.

On the same day Joseph gave directions to Theodore Turley to commence the manufacture of artillery. Turley asked if he should rent a building and set some men to work repairing the small arms which were out of order, but the Prophet told him confidentially that there would not be a gun fired on the part of the Saints during the whole "fuss."

June 21st, Governor Ford came to Carthage, one of the places where the mob had full sway, and sent an express into Nauvoo to the mayor and city council, requesting them to send out to him one or more well-informed, discreet persons, who could lay before him the city council's version of the difficulty. Elders John Taylor, Willard Richards and Dr. John M. Bernhisel were selected to go. Brothers Taylor and Bernhisel did go, taking with them a number of affidavits, which set forth in great plainness the acts of the mob, and Brother Richards remained to prepare additional documents. The next day these documents were sent by the hand of Lucien Woodworth, who went in the stead of Dr. Richards. Joseph wrote another long letter to Governor Ford, and sent it by him, in which he made many explanations, and repeated his request

for the governor to come to Nauvoo. If he would come there, the mayor and city council could lay the whole matter before him in its true colors and sustain their statements by an abundance of testimony. But if they had to go to Carthage to do this, they would expose themselves to the power of a mob filled with fury and a desire to shed blood, a part of whom had already fired several times upon the Saints.

The following day (June 22nd) Joseph received the governor's answer, which plainly showed that he had no more real comprehension of the issues at stake between the Saints and the mob than if he had been a child. From the letter it could be readily perceived that the task of controlling or checking the mob was beyond his power. The charges in his letters were based upon the most vile falsehoods. He both scolded and entreated the mayor and city council; but one of the chief points in his letter was that they should submit themselves to be "arrested by the same constable, by virtue of the same warrant, and be tried by the same magistrate" who had issued the summons for their arrest on the charge of destroying the press of the Nauvoo *Expositor*. Nothing short of that, he said, would vindicate the dignity of the law and allay the "just excitement" of the people.

Joseph wrote a reply to Ford's letter that must have made the latter's cheeks tingle with shame when he read it, for Joseph controverted every one of Ford's statements and arguments. He said he could not see how it would be possible for them to be tried constitutionally by the same magistrate who first issued the writ, as the constitution expressly says that

no man shall twice be put in jeopardy of life and limb for the same offense. But, notwithstanding this, he said, they would not hesitate to stand another trial, according to his wish, were it not that they were confident their lives would be in danger. He told Ford that he had promised them protection; "but at the same time," said he, "you have expressed fears that you could not control the mob, in which case we are left to the mercy of the merciless." He told him further that writs were issued against them in various parts of the country, so that the mob might have the power to drag them from place to place and from court to court, till some bloodthirsty villain could find an opportunity to shoot them. Joseph closed his letter by saying that if anything wrong had been done on the part of himself and others (yet he knew of nothing), they would make all things right, if the government would give them the opportunity. And he entreated the governor to disperse the mob, and secure to himself and friends their constitutional privileges, that their lives might not be endangered when they were on trial.

But Governor Ford was deaf to all reason. He was surrounded by apostates and the worst enemies of the Saints. On his arrival at Carthage, he had ordered the entire mob into service. He heard their imprecations and their threats, and saw their violence and outrageous conduct; but instead of being disgusted with them, they appeared to suit him. He adopted, as the truth, every lie and misrepresentation that the mob circulated. The delegates, whom he wished the mayor and city council of Nauvoo to send to him, he treated with great

rudeness. When they attempted to make the necessary statements and explanations, he suffered them to be interrupted and insulted by the vile crew who were his companions. Even the communications which they brought were read to him in the presence of these villains, who frequently interrupted the reading by their cursing.

Soon after dark in the evening of June 22, 1844, Joseph called his brother Hyrum, Elder Willard Richards, John Taylor, William W. Phelps and some others into his upper room, and said, "Brethren, here is a letter from the governor, which I wish to have read." After it was read through, Joseph remarked, "There is no mercy—no mercy here." Hyrum said, "No; just as sure as we fall into their hands we are dead men." Joseph replied, "Yes; what shall we do, Brother Hyrum?" He replied, "I don't know." All at once Joseph's countenance brightened up, and he said, "The way is open. It is clear to my mind what to do. All they want is Hyrum and myself; then tell everybody to go about their business, and not collect in groups, but scatter about. There is no doubt they will come here and search for us. Let them search; they will not harm you in person or property, and not even a hair of your head. We will cross the river tonight, and go away to the west."

He made a move to go out of the house to cross the river. When out of doors he told Elders Butler and Hodge to take the steamboat *Maid of Iowa*, get it to the upper landing, and put his and Hyrum's families and effects upon her; then to go down the Mississippi, and up the Ohio River to Portsmouth, where they should hear

from them. He then took Elder Hodge by the hand and said: "Now, Brother Hodge, let what will come, don't deny the faith, and all will be well."

Joseph also told Stephen Markham that if he (Joseph) and his brother Hyrum were ever taken again, they would be massacred, or he was not a Prophet of God. He also said: "I want Hyrum to live to avenge my blood, but he is determined not to leave me."

About 9 o'clock p. m. Hyrum came out of the Mansion, and gave his hand to Reynolds Cahoon, at the same time saying: "A company of men are seeking to kill my brother Joseph, and the Lord has warned him to flee to the Rocky Mountains to save his life. Good-bye, Brother Cahoon, we shall see you again."

In a few minutes afterwards Joseph came from his family. His tears were flowing fast. He held a handkerchief to his face, and followed after Brother Hyrum without uttering a word.

About midnight Joseph, Hyrum and Dr. Richards called for Orrin P. Rockwell at his lodgings, and all went up the river bank until they found Aaron Johnson's boat, which they got into and started about 2 o'clock in the night to cross the Mississippi River. Orrin P. Rockwell rowed the skiff, which was very leaky, so that it kept Joseph, Hyrum and the Doctor busy baling out the water with their boots and shoes to prevent it from sinking. At daybreak they arrived on the Iowa side of the river. Orrin P. Rockwell was then sent back to Nauvoo, with instructions to return the next day with horses for Joseph and Hyrum

to start for the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains.

Early in the morning of June 23rd, a posse arrived in Nauvoo to arrest Joseph, but as they did not find him, they started back to Carthage immediately, leaving one man of the name of Yates behind them, who said to one of the Brethren that Governor Ford designed that if Joseph and Hyrum were not given up, he would send his troops and guard the city until they were found, if it took three years to do it.

At 1 o'clock p. m., Emma, Joseph's wife, sent over Orrin P. Rockwell, requesting him to entreat of Joseph to come back. Reynolds Cahoon accompanied him with a letter which Emma had written to the same effect, and she insisted that Cahoon should persuade Joseph to come back and give himself up. These messengers found Joseph, Hyrum and Willard in a room by themselves, having flour and other provisions on the floor ready for packing.

Reynolds Cahoon informed Joseph what the troops intended to do, and urged upon him to give himself up, inasmuch as the governor had pledged his faith and the faith of the State to protect him while he underwent a legal and fair trial. Reynolds Cahoon, Lorenzo D. Wasson and Hiram Kimball accused Joseph of cowardice for wishing to leave the people, adding that their property would be destroyed, and they left without house or home. It would be like the shepherd running from the flock and leaving the sheep to be devoured by wolves. The reply he gave explains sufficiently what effect this remark had upon his mind and how deeply he was wounded by them. Said he:

"If my life is of no value to my friends, it is of none to myself."

When it was decided to go back, he said, "We shall be butchered;" and after a little while he told Brother Cahoon to request Captain Daniel C. Davies to have his boat ready by half-past 5 o'clock to cross them over the river. Joseph and Hyrum then wrote a letter to Governor Ford, in which they stated that their only objection to a trial at Carthage was on account of the assassins and the fear of deathly consequences from their hands. But provided they could be protected from abuse, have a fair trial, and have justice meted out to them, they were willing, under the protection of an escort, to come to Carthage and submit to a new trial as demanded.

Accompanied by Hyrum, Dr. Richards, Orrin P. Rockwell and others, Joseph started back with the intention of returning to Nauvoo. While walking towards the river Joseph fell behind with Orrin P. Rockwell. The others shouted to him to come on, but he replied, "It's no use to hurry, for we are going back to be slaughtered." He continually expressed himself that he would like to get the people once more together and talk to them in the evening. Rockwell said if that was his wish he would get the people together, and he could talk to them by starlight.

It was the strong persuasions of Reynolds Cahoon, Lorenzo D. Wasson and Hiram Kimball, who were carrying out Emma's instructions, that induced Joseph and Hyrum to start back to Nauvoo. They recrossed the river at half-past 5 o'clock p. m. When they arrived at the Mansion in Nauvoo, Joseph's family surrounded

him, and he tarried there all night, giving up the idea of preaching to the Saints by starlight.

Colonel Theodore Turley and Elder Jedediah M. Grant were dispatched as messengers with Joseph and Hyrum's letter to the governor in Carthage. When the governor had read the letter, he agreed to send a *posse* to escort Joseph in safety to Carthage. But immediately afterwards a lawyer by the name of Skinner came in and made a very bitter speech to the governor about Joseph; he was joined in this by Wilson Law, the apostate, and Joseph H. Jackson, a man who had been guilty of almost every crime. They told him naught but lies. The poor, pitiful creature of a governor was so easily influenced by what these enemies said to him, that he treated the brethren coldly, and took back the promise he had made about sending an escort to accompany Joseph. It was an honor, he said, not given to any other citizen. Neither would he suffer the brethren to stay in Carthage through the night; but ordered them to start for Nauvoo at 10 o'clock, and carry orders to Joseph to be at Carthage by 10 o'clock the next morning without an escort. He threatened that if Joseph did not give himself up at that time, Nauvoo would be destroyed, and all the men, women and children that were in it.

Brothers Turley and Grant immediately started on their return trip, but did not arrive at Nauvoo until 4 o'clock the next morning, the horses being wearied in consequence of the long ride. They reported to Joseph the excitement which prevailed in Carthage, but as he had promised to



go there and give himself up to the authorities, nothing could now shake him in his resolution.

On the morning of June 24th, Joseph, accompanied by the eighteen brethren, whom Francis M. Higbee, under oath, had accused of a riot in destroying the Nauvoo *Expositor* press, and several other brethren, started for Carthage. When they got to the Temple, Joseph paused and looked with admiration upon that building, and then upon the city, and remarked: "This is the loveliest place and the best people under the heavens; little do they know the trials that await them." As he passed out of the city, he called on Brother Daniel H. Wells, who was unwell, and who was not at that time in the Church; and on parting he said: "Squire Wells, I wish you to cherish my memory, and not think me the worst man in the world either."

Four miles from Carthage they met a company of about sixty mounted militia, under the command of a Captain Dunn. On seeing them Joseph said to the brethren: "Do not be alarmed, brethren, for they cannot do more to you than the enemies of the truth did to the ancient Saints—they can only kill the body."

Dunn presented an order from Governor Ford for all the State arms in possession of the Nauvoo Legion. This order Joseph immediately countersigned.

He also addressed a letter to the governor, stating that he had met Captain Dunn, learned his errand, and had concluded to return to Nauvoo with him to see that the delivery was properly made; after which he should accompany him to Carthage and cheerfully submit to any requisition of the

governor's. He then turned to his traveling companions and said:

"I am going like a lamb to the slaughter, but I am calm as a summer's morning. I have a conscience void of offense toward God and toward all men. *If they take my life, I shall die an innocent man, and my blood shall cry from the ground for vengeance, and it shall yet be said of me, 'He was murdered in cold blood.'*"

It was with reluctance that the brethren gave up their arms. They would, of course, have done anything that Joseph requested of them. But they looked upon this as a trap. They had been required to give up their arms in Far West, and they knew what followed; and they thought this delivery on this occasion was for the purpose of leaving them in a condition that their foes could kill them. Joseph rode down home twice to bid his family farewell. He appeared solemn and thoughtful, and he said to several individuals that he expected to be murdered. His face was pale, even for him whose countenance never wore a high color, and there was a look of mental suffering on his features that must have pained all who knew and loved him. He looked like a man who knew he was going to certain death. Having seen the arms delivered up and bid his family farewell, Joseph once more turned his face towards Carthage. When opposite the Masonic Hall he said to the brethren there: "Boys, if I don't come back take care of yourselves; I am going like a lamb to the slaughter." As they passed his farm, he took a good look at it; and after they had passed it, he turned round several times to look again. This caused some of the company to make remarks, when Joseph said: "If some of you had got such a farm, and knew you would not see it any more, you would

want to take a good look at it for the last time."

Before he and the company reached Carthage he received letters from his lawyers, H. T. Reid and James W. Woods, in which they informed him what they needed in the shape of evidence; and Mr. Woods stated that from an interview he had had with Governor Ford, Joseph could rely with the utmost safety on his (the governor's) protection. About midnight Joseph and the company arrived at Carthage. While passing the public square, many of the troops, especially the Carthage Greys, made use of a great many dreadful expressions. They threatened to shoot Joseph then, and said that he had seen the last of Nauvoo, and they whooped, yelled and cursed, threw their guns over their heads backwards in a curve so as to have the bayonets stick in the ground, and acted like madmen. The governor hearing these expressions, put his head out of the open window, and in a fawning manner, said:

"Gentlemen, I know your great anxiety to see Mr. Smith, which is natural enough, but it is quite too late tonight for you to have the opportunity; but I assure you, gentlemen, you shall have that privilege tomorrow morning, as I will cause him to pass before the troops upon the square, and I now wish you, with this assurance, quietly and peaceably to return to your quarters."

At the hotel where Governor Ford was stopping, and where Joseph and his friends had put up, there was a company of apostates quartered. One of them, John A. Hicks (formerly the president of the Elders' Quorum) told Brother Cyrus H. Wheelock that it was determined by himself, the Laws, the Higbees, the Fosters, Joseph H. Jackson and many others, to shed the blood of Joseph whether he was

cleared by the law or not, adding, "You will find me a true prophet in this respect." He talked as freely upon the subject as though he was speaking upon the most common occurrence of his life. Brother Wheelock told Ford what Hicks had said; but he treated it with perfect indifference, and suffered Hicks and his associates to go free and make all the arrangements they wanted to carry out their murderous plans.

#### CHAPTER 24.

Joseph and Hyrum deliver themselves up to the officers of the law.—Great excitement among the mob-militia in Carthage.—Accompanied by several of the brethren, Joseph and Hyrum are compelled to go to jail.—Governor Ford visits the prisoners.—Joseph is exposed to great danger and expresses the belief that his earthly career is soon ended.

The next morning, June 25th, the prisoners voluntarily surrendered themselves to Mr. Bettisworth, the constable, who held the writ against them, and who later in the day arrested Joseph and Hyrum on a charge of treason against the State of Illinois, on complaint of Augustine Spencer and Henry O. Norton (two apostates). Soon afterwards the governor called all the troops together and ordered them to form a hollow square on the public ground near the court-house. This being done, he mounted an old table, and addressed them in a most inflammatory manner, exciting the feelings of indignation against Joseph and Hyrum, which were already burning in their breasts, occasioned by the falsehoods and misrepresentations that were in circulation, giving his assent and sanction to the rumors that had gathered them together, and stating that although they were dangerous men in the community, and guilty of

all that they might have alleged against them, still they were in the hands of the law, which must have its course.

After speaking about twenty minutes, he went to the hotel where Joseph stopped, and invited him to walk with him through the troops. Joseph solicited a few moment's private conversation with him, which the governor refused. Joseph and Hyrum, accompanied by Brigadier-General Miner R. Deming and Dr. Richards, then walked through the crowd to General Deming's quarters. The people appeared quiet, until a company of Carthage Greys flocked round the doors of General Deming in an uproarious manner, of which notice was sent to the governor. In the meantime the governor had ordered the McDonough troops to be drawn up in line for Joseph and Hyrum to pass in front of them, they having requested that they might have a clear view of the Generals Smith. Joseph had a conversation with the governor for about ten minutes, when *he again pledged the faith of the State* that he and his friends should be protected from violence.

From the general's quarters Joseph and Hyrum went in front of the lines, in a hollow square of a company of Carthage Greys. At 7 minutes before 10 o'clock they arrived in front of the lines, and passed before the whole, Joseph being on the right of General Deming and Hyrum on his left, Elders Richards, Taylor and Phelps following. Joseph and Hyrum were introduced by Governor Ford about twenty times along the line, as General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith, the governor walking in front on the left. The Carthage Greys refused to re-

ceive them by that introduction, and some of the officers threw up their hats, drew their swords, and said they would introduce themselves to the d—d Mormons in a different style. The governor mildly entreated them not to act so rudely, but their excitement increased. The governor, however, succeeded in pacifying them by making a speech, and promising them that they should have "*full satisfaction.*"

After Joseph and party had returned to the hotel, news reached him that the Warsaw troops were near Carthage, they having marched there without any orders. These Warsaw men, as well as the Carthage men, were mobocrats of the worst description—men who only acted in the capacity of militia in order to veil their true designs, and to carry out their plans of destruction and murder against Joseph and the Saints. They were banded together and pledged to each other to kill Joseph, Hyrum and other leaders of the Saints, and to drive the latter from their possessions and homes.

On the afternoon of that day Governor Ford ordered Captain Singleton with a company of men from McDonough County to march to Nauvoo to co-operate with the police in keeping the peace, and, if necessary, to call out the Legion. This was in response to a request of Joseph's, he having heard that a company of apostates were going to Nauvoo to plunder. A little later a number of the officers of the troops then in Carthage, and other persons curious to see the Prophet, visited Joseph in his room. Joseph asked them if there was anything in his appearance that indicated that he was the desperate character his ene-

mies represented him to be, and he requested them to give him their honest opinion on the subject. The answer was:

"No, sir, your appearance would indicate the very contrary, General Smith, but we cannot see what is in your heart, neither can we tell what are your intentions."

To which Joseph replied:

"Very true, gentlemen, you cannot see what is in my heart, and you are therefore unable to judge me or my intentions; but I can see what is in your hearts, and will tell you what I see. I can see you thirst for blood, and nothing but my blood will satisfy you. It is not for crime of any description that I and my brethren are thus continually persecuted and harassed by our enemies, but there are other motives, and some of them I have expressed, so far as relates to myself; and inasmuch as you and the people thirst for blood, I prophesy, in the name of the Lord, that you shall witness scenes of blood and sorrow to your entire satisfaction. Your souls shall be perfectly satiated with blood, and many of you who are now present shall have an opportunity to face the cannon's mouth from sources you think not of; and those people that desire this great evil upon me and my brethren shall be filled with regret and sorrow because of the scenes of desolation and distress that await them. They shall seek for peace, and shall not be able to find it. Gentlemen, you will find what I have told you to be true."

Shortly after this visit Joseph was informed that some of his bitterest enemies, such as William and Wilson Law and others, had said that "there was nothing against these men (Joseph and Hyrum); the law could not reach them, but powder and ball would, and they should not go out of Carthage alive."

The reader will remember that the principal reason assigned by Governor Ford for insisting upon Joseph and the other brethren going to Carthage was that they might be tried before the same justice of the peace as had issued the writ on which they had

been arrested. When they went before Justice Wells in Nauvoo, this was the greatest objection urged by the prosecution, but now, when they had the brethren in their power at Carthage, this objection no longer had any weight either with Ford or the apostates who swore out the writ. There was at Carthage a great enemy of the Saints; besides holding the office of justice of the peace, he was also captain of the Carthage Greys, a company of mutineers and notorious mobocrats. His name was Robert F. Smith. Joseph, Hyrum and thirteen others were brought before him. To accomplish the object of the enemies and have the brethren cast in prison, he asked so heavy an amount of bail that he thought the wealth of Joseph and the brethren and their friends would be overreached. In this, however, he was disappointed, for John S. Fullmer, Edward Hunter, Dan Jones, John Benbow and others stepped forward and gave the necessary security—some of them going security to the full extent of their property. No sooner was this done than he adjourned his court and left the court house without calling on Joseph and Hyrum to answer to the charge of treason. He kept out of the way also until a late hour, with the intention, without doubt, to prevent the appearance of Joseph and Hyrum's witnesses, and to furnish an excuse for sending them to jail.

In the evening, at 8 o'clock, Constable Bettisworth appeared at the lodgings of Joseph and Hyrum, and insisted that they should go to jail. Joseph demanded a copy of the mittimus, which was refused, when Messrs. Woods and Reid, as Joseph and Hyrum's lawyers, urged that

they ought to be brought before a justice of the peace for examination before they could be legally sent to jail, but, to their surprise, he exhibited a mittimus, signed by the infamous Robert F. Smith, in which it was stated that they having been arrested upon the oath of Augustine Spencer and Henry O. Norton, for the crime of treason, and having been brought before him for trial, which trial had been postponed, because of the absence of material witnesses; therefore he commanded the constable to take them into his custody in the county jail, there to remain until discharged by due course of law.

In vain did Joseph remonstrate against the illegal and tyrannical mittimus which Robert F. Smith had issued. The constable was obdurate; he insisted that they should go to jail. Lawyer Woods requested the officer to wait until he could see Governor Ford, but the officer did not think he had any power in the case; he could not, he said, interrupt a civil officer in the discharge of his duty. Elder John Taylor also went to the governor, and spoke very plainly to him about this outrageous proceeding. But all he could say had no effect in moving Ford.

At the request of Elder John Taylor, Captain Dunn, with some twenty men, guarded the prisoners to jail. Besides Joseph and Hyrum, there were Willard Richards, John Taylor, John P. Greene, Stephen Markham, Dan Jones, John S. Fullmer, Dr. Southwick and Lorenzo D. Wasson, who went to the prison. Mr. George W. Stigall was the jailer. He put them into the criminals' cell, but afterwards he gave them the debtors' apartment. The evening was spent most pleasant-

ly in conversation on various interesting subjects. They laid down upon the floor, where they slept from half-past eleven until six o'clock on the morning of the 26th.

In the morning of June 26th, Joseph wrote Ford a letter, requesting an interview. About 9:30 o'clock a. m., accompanied by Colonel Geddes, Governor Ford arrived at the jail, and a lengthy conversation was entered into in relation to the troubles. Joseph, at the governor's request, gave him a general outline of the difficulties and their origin. Ford could not gainsay what he said, and had to acknowledge that there was a great amount of truth in it, and that his reasoning was plausible. Joseph told him he looked to him for protection; that he understood he talked of going to Nauvoo, and if he did, he wished to go too, for he did not consider himself safe where he was. To this the governor replied that he was in hopes that he would be acquitted; but if he went, he would certainly take Joseph with him. He again repeated, however, that he could not interfere with the law. In answer to which Joseph said that he asked nothing but what was legal; that he had a right to expect protection, at least from him; for independent of law, he had pledged his faith and that of the State for his protection, and he wished to go to Nauvoo. The governor said that he should have protection. He did not, he added, make that promise without consulting his officers, who all pledged their honor to its fulfillment. That Ford did not act honorably and true as an officer and man on that occasion, is evident from the fact that he had scarcely got back to the hotel from his visit to the jail, when Brother Alfred Randall heard a

soldier tell him, as he stood by the fence, that "*the soldiers are determined to see Joe Smith dead before they leave here.*" And Ford replied, "*If you know of any such thing, keep it to yourself.*" Colonel March said that Ford had asked him whether it was best for him to give the people of Carthage the permission to march to Nauvoo and kill the people and burn the city. That he had plead with him not to do that, as he now had the principal men under his own control, and they were all he wanted. When they were out of the way, the thing would be settled, and the people would be satisfied, and that was the easiest way he could dispose of it. This meant, if it meant anything, to kill them. Governor Ford concluded that was the best policy.

After the governor had left the prison, Joseph wrote a letter to Judge Thomas, informing him that he and his brother Hyrum had been arrested upon a charge of treason; also that the only prospect they had of justice being done was to get their case on *habeas corpus* before an impartial judge, as the excitement and prejudice were such in Carthage that testimony was of little avail. He earnestly requested Judge Thomas to go to Nauvoo without delay, and to make himself at home at his house until the papers could be got in readiness for him to bring them on *habeas corpus*. He told the judge that their witnesses were all at Nauvoo, and that he could easily investigate the matter there, and he would be responsible to him for all the trouble and expense.

Joseph, who had frequently been in danger from his enemies, and had many times been compelled to appear before courts, had a different feeling

at this time from any he ever had before. In alluding to it, he remarked: "I have had a good deal of anxiety about my safety since I left Nauvoo, which I never had before when under arrest. I could not help these feelings, and they have depressed me."

Hyrum encouraged Joseph to think that the Lord, for his Church's sake, would release him from prison. Joseph replied: "Could my brother Hyrum but be liberated, it would not matter so much about me. Poor Rigdon, I am glad he is gone to Pittsburgh; were he to preside, he would lead the Church to destruction in less than five years."

The time during that day was spent in various occupations. A part of the time Joseph dictated to Dr. Richards, who was busily engaged in writing; Elder John Taylor sang several times, and Joseph related dreams, which he had received, to the brethren.

At half-past two in the afternoon Constable Bettisworth, in company with another man, came and wanted admittance to the jail, having a letter to the jailer demanding the prisoners. The jailer could find no law authorizing justices of the peace to demand prisoners in that manner, and he refused to give them up till discharged from his custody by due course of law. Joseph sent a message to the governor to inform him of what had just taken place; but the governor was not ignorant of the attempt of Bettisworth to get possession of the prisoners, nor of the threats of the apostates and others, for it was common conversation on the camp ground and in the dining room of the hotel, in his presence. Such expressions as the following were common: "The law is too

short for these men; but they must not be suffered to go at large;" and "if the law will not reach them, powder and ball must."

Bettisworth's failure to obtain the prisoners had also been communicated immediately to the governor by Justice Robert F. Smith, who inquired of him what he must do. Ford's reply was: "We have plenty of troops; there are the Carthage Greys under your command. Bring them out."

His advice was faithfully followed. At about twenty minutes to 4 o'clock, the constable with the company of Carthage Greys, under the command of Frank Worrell, marched to the jail and compelled the jailer, against his will and conviction of duty, to deliver Joseph and Hyrum to the constable. They protested against being delivered to the constable and militia; but finally Joseph, seeing the mob was gathering and assuming a threatening aspect, concluded it was better to go with them; he put on his hat and walked boldly into the midst of the hollow square of the Carthage Greys. There was every reason to believe that he would be killed in the streets before arriving at the court house; he therefore had recourse to a piece of strategy; he politely locked arms with the worst mobocrat he could see, and Hyrum locked arms with Joseph. They were followed by Doctor Richards and the guard, and the brethren followed outside the square to the court room. The names of the lawyers on the side of the prosecution were: Chauncey L. Higbee, O. C. Skinner, Thomas Sharp, Sylvester Emmons and Thomas Morrison. After some little discussion, on motion of Joseph's lawyer, the examination was postponed till noon

the next day, the 27th. Subpoenas were granted to get witnesses from Nauvoo. At half-past 5 o'clock they were taken back to jail.

In the evening Lawyers Reid and Woods called with John P. Greene. They said the governor and military officers had held a council, and they had decided that the governor and all the troops should march to Nauvoo at 8 o'clock the next day, except one company of about fifty men. The object of this movement was to gratify the troops. They were to return the next day, the 28th, to Carthage. The fifty men who were to stay, these lawyers said, were to be picked by the governor from those of the troops whose fidelity he could most rely on to guard the prisoners, who were to be left in Carthage jail, and that their trial was to be deferred until Saturday, the 29th.

They retired to rest late. Joseph and Hyrum occupied the only bedstead in the room, while their friends lay side by side on the mattresses on the floor. Doctor Richards sat up writing until his last candle left him in the dark. The report of a gun fired close by caused Joseph to arise, leave the bed, and lay himself on the floor, having Dan Jones on his left and John S. Fullmer on his right. Joseph laid out his right arm and said to John S. Fullmer, "Lay your head on my arm for a pillow, Brother John;" and when all were quiet they conversed in a low tone about the prospects of their deliverance. Joseph gave expression to several sentiments that he had to die, and said, "I would like to see my family again," and "I would to God I could preach to the Saints in Nauvoo once more."

Fullmer tried to rally his spirits, saying he thought he would often have that privilege, when Joseph thanked him for the remarks and good feelings expressed to him.

Soon after Dr. Richards retired to the bed which Joseph had left, and when all were apparently fast asleep, Joseph whispered to Dan Jones, "Are you afraid to die?" Dan said, "Has that time come, think you? Engaged in such a cause I do not think that death would have many terrors." Joseph replied, "You will yet see Wales, and fulfil the mission appointed you, before you die."

#### CHAPTER 25.

*Martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.—Elder John Taylor is seriously wounded, while Elder Willard Richards escapes unhurt.—Dr. Richmond's graphic description of the scenes in Nauvoo and Carthage.—Conclusion.*

The next morning (Thursday, June 27th) Joseph requested Dan Jones to go down and inquire of the guard the cause of the noise made in the night. Frank Worrell, the officer of the guard, and one of the Carthage Greys, replied very bitterly to Brother Jones' inquiries and said:

"We have had too much trouble to bring old Joe here to let him ever escape alive, and unless you want to die with him, you had better leave before sundown; and you are not a d— bit better than him for taking his part; and you'll see that I can prophesy better than old Joe, for neither he nor his brother, nor anyone who will remain with them, will see the sun set today."

Joseph directed Jones to go to Governor Ford, and inform him what he

had been told by the officer of the guard. While Jones was going to the governor's quarters, he saw an assemblage of men, and heard one of them, who was apparently a leader, making a speech, saying, that "our troops will be discharged this morning in obedience to orders, and for a sham we will leave the town; but when the governor and the McDonough troops have left for Nauvoo this afternoon, we will return and kill those men, if we have to tear the jail down." This sentiment was applauded by three cheers from the crowd.

Captain Jones told the governor what had occurred in the night, what the officer of the guard had said and what he had heard while coming to see him, and earnestly solicited him to avert the danger.

Ford replied, "You are unnecessarily alarmed for the safety of your friends, sir; the people are not that cruel."

Irritated by such a remark, Jones urged the necessity of placing better men to guard them than professed assassins, and said, "The Messrs. Smith are American citizens, and have surrendered themselves to your Excellency upon your pledging your honor for their safety; they are also Master Masons, and as such I demand of you the protection of their lives."

Governor Ford's face turned pale, and Jones remarked: "If you do not do this, I have but one more desire, and that is, if you leave their lives in the hands of those men to be sacrificed—" "What is that, sir?" he asked in a hurried tone. "It is," said Jones, "that the Almighty will preserve my life to a proper time and place, that I may testify that



you have been timely warned of their danger."

Jones then returned to the prison, but the guard would not let him enter. He therefore returned to the hotel, and found Governor Ford standing in front of the McDonough troops, who were in line ready to escort him to Nauvoo.

The disbanded mob retired to the rear, shouting loudly that they were only going a short distance out of town, when they would return and kill old Joe and Hyrum as soon as the governor was far enough out of sight.

Jones called the attention of the governor to the threats then made, but he took no notice of them, although it was impossible for him to avoid hearing them.

Jones then requested the governor to give him passports for himself and friends to pass in and out of the prison, according to his promise made to the prisoners. He refused to do this, but told General Deming to give one to Doctor Willard Richards, Joseph Smith's private secretary, and a similar one to Cyrus H. Wheelock, who, previous to starting for Nauvoo that morning, said to Governor Ford:

"Sir—You must be aware by this time that the prisoners have no fears in relation to any lawful demands made against them, but you have heard sufficient to justify you in the belief that their enemies would destroy them, if they had them in their power; and now, sir, I am about to leave for Nauvoo, and I fear for those men; they are safe as regards the law, but they are not safe from the hands of traitors and midnight assassins, who thirst for their blood, and have determined to spill it; and

under these circumstances I leave with a heavy heart."

Ford replied, "I was never in such a dilemma in my life; but your friends shall be protected, and have a fair trial by the law; in this pledge I am not alone; I have obtained the pledge of the whole of the army to sustain me."

After receiving these assurances, Wheelock prepared to visit the prison. The morning being a little rainy, favored his wearing an overcoat, in the side pocket of which he was enabled to carry a six-shooter, and he passed the guard unmolested. During his visit in the prison he slipped the revolver into Joseph's pocket. This was a providential circumstance, as most other persons had been very rigidly searched. Joseph then handed the single-barrel pistol, which had been given him by John S. Fullmer, to his Brother Hyrum, and said "You may have use for this." Brother Hyrum observed, "I hate to use such things, or to see them used." "So do I," said Joseph, "but we may have to, to defend ourselves." Upon this Hyrum took the pistol.

Joseph wrote an encouraging letter to his wife, which he sent by Brother Wheelock. He also entrusted him with a verbal request to the commander of the Legion to avoid all military display and everything that would be likely to produce excitement while the governor was at Nauvoo. He was especially charged to use all the influence he possessed to have the brethren and friends of Joseph remain perfectly calm and quiet, if they respected the well-being of their Prophet and Patriarch.

At 10:30 o'clock in the forenoon Governor Ford started for Nauvoo,

escorted by that portion of his troops which felt most friendly to the prisoners, and most disposed to do right. John S. Fullmer also left the jail for Nauvoo, to assist Brother Wheelock in gathering and forwarding witnesses for the promised trial.

A letter which Joseph had written to O. H. Browning, a lawyer of Quincy, requesting him to come to the expected trial on Saturday in his professional capacity, caused considerable excitement; for the guard, knowing that a letter had been written, told the mob that it was an order from Joseph to raise the Nauvoo Legion to come and rescue him. They wanted to take the letter by force from Dan Jones, who had been delegated by Joseph to take it to Mr. Browning. Not succeeding in this, a dozen men started off with their rifles to waylay him in the woods, but Elder Jones took another road and escaped.

Shortly after dinner Colonel Markham was sent out of the jail by Joseph on an errand. As he was returning to the jail, a number of the Carthage Greys gathered around him, put him on his horse and forced him out of town at the point of the bayonet.

In the afternoon Elder John Taylor sang the hymn, "A poor wayfarer of grief," etc., which pleased Joseph so much that he requested him to sing it again, which he did. Hyrum afterwards read extracts from Josephus.

At 4 o'clock the guard was again changed, only eight men being stationed at the jail, while the main body of the Carthage Greys were in camp about a quarter of a mile distant on the public square. A few minutes later the jailer, Mr. Stigall,

came in and told the brethren what had been done to Colonel Markham, and suggested that the prisoners would be safer in the cell, to which Joseph replied that they would go in after supper.

Mr. Stigall then withdrew, and Joseph said to Dr. Willard Richards: "If we go into the cell, will you go in with us?" The doctor answered: "Brother Joseph, you did not ask me to cross the river with you—you did not ask me to come to Carthage—you did not ask me to come to jail with you—and do you think I would forsake you now? But I will tell you what I will do: if you are condemned to be hung for treason, I will be hung in your stead, and you shall go free. Joseph said, "You cannot." The doctor replied, "I will."

In the meantime some of the guard had sent in word that they wanted some wine. Joseph gave Dr. Richards two dollars to give to them; they said one was enough, and would take no more. With this he sent for a bottle of wine, some pipes and a little tobacco. One of the guard brought them into jail; Doctor Richards uncorked the bottle, and Joseph, Elder Taylor and himself tasted some which was poured out. As the guard turned to go out, somebody called him two or three times, and he went down.

Immediately there was a little rustling at the outer door of the jail, and a cry of "Surrender," and instantly the discharge of four or five firearms followed. As Doctor Richards glanced an eye by the curtain of the window he saw about one hundred armed men around the door. This shooting was done by the guard, who, it is said, threatened the mob when they came up, and at the same time dis-

charged their guns over their heads. As the mob surrounded the building, some of them ran by the guard up the flight of stairs, burst open the door, and began firing; those who were on the outside fired in through the open window. As it was a hot day, Joseph and Hyrum and Brother Taylor had their coats off. As soon as they knew that they were attacked, Joseph sprang to his coat for his six-shooter, Hyrum for his single-barreled pistol, Elder Taylor for Colonel Markham's large hickory cane, and Doctor Richards for Brother Taylor's cane. They then endeavored to push the door to, but the balls came whistling up the stairway, and one came through the door which passed between them without injuring them. Joseph and Elders Taylor and Richards then moved to the left of the door. Hyrum, at the same time, retreated back in front of the door, when a ball came through and struck him on the left side of his nose, and as he was falling backwards a ball came through the window, entered his side and passed through his body with such force that it completely broke to pieces his watch which he wore in his vest pocket. At the same instant another ball from the door grazed his breast, entered his throat and passed into his head. A fourth ball hit him in the left leg. As he fell on his back on the floor, he exclaimed: "I am a dead man."

In this moment of extreme peril, when a complete shower of balls was flying into the room, Joseph's affection for his brother Hyrum manifested itself, and anguish forced from him the expression, as he looked toward his brother: "Oh! dear brother Hyrum!" and he reached around the

door-casing and fired his revolver into the passage. Only three of the barrels were discharged.

At the same time Elder Taylor was next to him knocking aside the guns with the cane which he had in his hand as they pointed them into the room, while Dr. Richards stood by him ready to lend any assistance with another stick. Elder Taylor continued parrying their guns until they had got them about half their length into the room, but having no more loaded firearms the prisoners deemed that further resistance was vain, and began retiring backward toward the window. Elder Taylor was just in the act of jumping out, when a ball, fired from within, struck him on his left thigh, hitting the bone and passing through to within half an inch of the other side. He fell on the window-sill, completely paralyzed, the ball having deprived him of all strength; but when on the point of falling outside, a ball, fired from the outside, struck the watch in his vest pocket and threw him back into the room. He did not know until after he reached Nauvoo, when his clothes were examined, what it was that had forced him back. After he fell on the floor, he was hit by two more balls, one of them injuring his left wrist considerably, and the other entering his leg just below the left knee. He rolled under the bed, which stood near the window in the corner of the room. While he lay there he was fired at several times by the men at the head of the stairs. One ball struck him on the left hip, which tore away the flesh in a shocking manner. Large quantities of blood were scattered around the wall and floor; all around where his head lay the plaster was knocked off

by the bullets that were fired at him.

Joseph, seeing there was no safety in the room, turned calmly from the door, dropped his pistol on the floor and sprang into the same window from which Elder Taylor had attempted to leap, when two balls pierced him from the door, and one entered his right breast from without, and he fell outward, exclaiming, "O Lord, my God!" He fell partly on his right shoulder and back, his head and neck reaching the ground a little before his feet, and he rolled instantly on his face.

In the instant Joseph fell out of the window the cry was raised, "He's leaped the window!" and the painted murderers on the stairs and in the entry ran out.

Among the murderers outside was a man, barefoot and bareheaded, without a coat, his shirt-sleeves rolled up above his elbows and his pants above his knees; he lifted Joseph and propped him against the south side of the well curb, which stood a few feet from the jail. Colonel Levi Williams then ordered four men to shoot him. They stood about eight feet from the curb and fired simultaneously. A slight cringe of the body was noticed as the balls struck him, and he fell on his face.

The ruffian who set him against the well-curb, then took a bowie-knife, with the evident intention of cutting off his head, for which, according to reports, a considerable sum of money had been offered by the mob. As he raised the knife, and was in the attitude of striking, a light, so sudden and powerful, burst from the heavens upon the bloody scene (passing its vivid chain between Joseph and the

murderers), that they were struck with terror. The arms of the ruffian that held the knife fell powerless; the muskets of the four who fired fell to the ground, and they all stood like marble statues, not having the power to move a single limb of their bodies.

After shooting him, the murderers hurried off in a disorderly manner as fast as they could. Colonel Williams shouted to some who had just commenced their retreat, to come back and help to carry off the four men who fired, who were still paralyzed. They came and carried them away by main strength to the baggage wagons, and they all fled towards Warsaw.

Dr. Richards, when he saw that Joseph was dead, withdrew from the window, thinking it of no use to leap out on a hundred bayonets then around Joseph's body. He had escaped in a most miraculous manner. He was a very large man, yet he stood unscathed in the midst of a shower of bullets, one ball only hitting him which took away the tip end of the lower part of his left ear. A prophecy which Joseph had uttered over a year previous was literally fulfilled. He said that the time would come that the bullets would fly around him like hail, and he should see his friends falling on the right and on the left, but that there should not be a hole in his garments.

Expecting the mob to return into the room, Dr. Richards rushed towards the prison door at the head of the stairs and through the entry from whence the firing had proceeded, to learn if the doors of the prison were open. As he did so, Elder Taylor called out, "Take me." When he found all the doors unbarred, he caught Elder Taylor under his arm,

and went into the dungeon or inner prison, stretched him on the floor and covered him with a bed in such a manner that he would not be seen. He said to Elder Taylor: "This is a hard case to lay you on the floor, but if your wounds are not fatal, I want you to live to tell the story."

Elder Richards expected to be shot the next moment, and stood before the door awaiting the onset. While he was in the cell a number of the mob rushed upstairs, but finding only the dead body of Hyrum they turned to go down, when a loud cry was heard, "The Mormons are coming!" which caused the whole band to rush off as hard as they could.

After it was ascertained that the mob had fled, Elder Taylor was taken from the cell to the head of the stairs and laid there. Soon a number of persons came around, among whom was a physician. He took a penknife from his pocket and made an incision in Elder Taylor's left hand for the purpose of extracting the ball therefrom. He also got a pair of carpenter's compasses and made use of them to pry out the ball. After sawing for some time with his dull penknife and prying with the compasses, he succeeded in extracting the ball, weighing about half an ounce.

Elder Taylor lay in his wounded condition till near midnight, before the Doctor could get any help or refreshments for him, nearly all the inhabitants of Carthage having fled in terror.

Elder Richards sent a communication that evening to Nauvoo, addressed to Governor Ford, General Dunham, General Markham and Emma Smith, Joseph's wife, informing

them of the fatal occurrence, and also that the citizens were afraid of being attacked; but that he had given them assurances that they should not be; to which a postscript was added.

While these terrible scenes were being enacted in Carthage, Governor Ford was in Nauvoo, where he delivered a most infamous and insulting speech to the people, who listened to him with indignation. As soon as he was through he immediately started with his troops, on his return trip to Carthage. The scenes which subsequently transpired there and in Nauvoo are described by an eyewitness—Dr. B. W. Richmond, a former friend of the Prophet—in the following language:

"Governor Ford, with his troops, when three miles out from Nauvoo, met the messenger who had been dispatched to that city with the news, arrested him and took him back to Carthage, fearing that the Mormons would arise and avenge the blood of their leaders before he could place himself at a safe distance. At Carthage he found all parties in the utmost consternation. The inhabitants were hastily packing up and fleeing for their lives. Old men, women and children, with cart and wagon loads of furniture and bedding, and droves of cattle, hogs and mules, fled in the greatest confusion from the blood-stained town. Dr. Richards, Taylor, Hamilton and a Mr. Southwick were the only living persons left in the town during the night, and they kept watch by the dead bodies.

"On the next day the corpses, wet with blood, were put into boxes of rough oak boards, covered with prairie hay and an Indian horse blanket, and thus were carried to Nauvoo. Meanwhile Governor Ford had endorsed an order to the Nauvoo Legion to defend their city till help could be sent them, and had sent a letter to Mrs. Emma Smith, by Dr. Richards, advising quiet and patience, and in twenty minutes thereafter was hurrying over the prairie towards Quincy, confidently expecting that the morrow's sun would find only heaps of stones and ashes to mark the place where Carthage had been. Three days later he was receiving and making fashionable calls in Quincy.

"Intelligence of the death of the Smiths reached Nauvoo early in the morning after the

assassination, and fell with terrible effect upon the entire community. The Prophet of God had been slain by the ungodly. Their feelings were akin to those of the early Apostles when they learned that Jesus had been crucified."

To this we will add that the night after the murder was one of horror to many. Numbers of the Saints arose from sleepless couches to go forth and relate to their neighbors the singular feelings they had through the night. But when they emerged from their dwellings and heard the dreadful tidings of the martyrdom, the cheeks of all were blanched and the breath suspended, as they listened to the tale of horror.

On the day of the murder those of the Twelve Apostles who were on missions, as well as other Elders, had warnings that something dreadful had happened. They felt cast down and a spell of horror seemed to rest upon them. Some wept without knowing why they should do so, except that they were filled with unaccountable sadness and gloom. Not until they received the news of the death of Joseph and Hyrum was the cause of these feelings explained.

About 8 o'clock in the morning of June 28th, Dr. Richards started for Nauvoo with the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum on two wagons, accompanied by their brother, Samuel H. Smith, Mr. Hamilton and a guard of eight soldiers who had been detached for that purpose by General Deming. The bodies were covered with bushes to keep them from the hot sun. They were met by a great assemblage of the citizens of Nauvoo, on Mulholland Street, about a mile east of the Temple, about 3 p. m., under the direction of the city marshal.

The city council, the Lieut.-Gen-

eral's staff, Major-General Jonathan Dunham and staff, the acting Brigadier-General Hosea Stout and staff-commanders and officers of the Legion, and several thousands of the citizens were there, amid the most solemn lamentations and wailings that ever ascended into the ears of the Lord of Hosts, to be avenged of their enemies.

While preparations were being made to receive the bodies, Dr. Richmond repaired to the tavern of the Prophet, to witness the scene with his family. His own words will best describe the heart-rending details. He says:

"When I entered the Mansion I found the wife of Joseph seated in a chair in the center of a small room, weeping and wailing bitterly, in a loud and unrestrained voice, her face covered with her hands. Rev. Mr. Greene came in, and as the bitter cries of the weeping woman reached his ears, he burst forth in tones of manly grief, and, trembling in every nerve, approached Mrs. Smith and exclaimed: 'Oh, Sister Emma, God bless you.' Then clasping her head in his hands, he uttered a long and fervent prayer for her peace, protection and resignation. The first words the poor woman uttered were: 'Why, oh God, am I thus afflicted? Why am I a widow and my children orphans? Thou knowest I have always trusted in thy law.' Mr. Greene rejoined to her that this affliction would be to her a crown of life. She answered quickly: 'My husband was my crown; for him and my children I have suffered the loss of all things; and why, oh God, am I thus deserted, and my bosom torn with this tenfold anguish?'

"I passed into the next room, and the aged mother of Joseph and Hyrum came up to me, with a gaze of wild despair, and clasping me with both hands she asked me why they had shot her dear children. Her eyes were dry, and her anguish seemed too deep for tears. She paced the room, turned around, went to the window, and then to the door of the room where Joseph's wife was still weeping, and Mr. Greene still praying.

"In another room the children of Joseph were huddled together, the eldest, an adopted daughter, I think, being about eighteen. Two young boys were lying on the floor, and the other two were kneeling over them, mingling their grief in one wild scream of childish despair.

"At the house of Hyrum, a little way off, the scene was not less heartrending. His wife had gathered her family of four children into the sitting-room, and the youngest, about four years old, sat on her lap. The poor and disabled that fed at the table of her husband, had come in and formed a group of about twenty around the room. They were all sobbing and weeping, each expressing his grief in his own peculiar way. Mrs. Smith seemed stupefied with horror at the deed.

"While these scenes were being enacted in the city, the bodies were on the way from Carthage. To preserve peace and prepare the citizens to endure the ordeal with resignation, a general assembly was called at 10 o'clock a. m., which was addressed by W. W. Phelps, and by Col. Buckmaster, of Alton, aide-de-camp to Governor Ford.

"No one thought of revenge; all seemed overpowered with grief. At 8 o'clock in the afternoon the bodies arrived in charge of the marshal, Samuel H. Smith, a surviving brother of the murdered men, and followed by Dr. Richards and Mr. Hamilton, of Carthage. They were received near the Temple grounds by General Joseph Smith's staff, the major-general and staff, the brigadier-general and staff, and other commanders of the Legion, the city council and a vast concourse of citizens.

"The officials formed around the bodies, the masses silently opening to give them way, and as the mournful procession moved on, the women broke out in lamentations at the sight of the two rude boxes in the wagons, covered by the Indian blankets. The weeping was communicated to the crowd, and spread along the vast waves of humanity extending from the Temple to the residence of the Prophet. The groans and sobs and shrieks grew deeper and louder, till the sound resembled the roar of a mighty tempest, or the slow, deep roar of the distant tornado.

"When the bodies arrived at the mansion of Mrs. Emma Smith, the people, numbering eight or ten thousand, mostly Mormons, and in close sympathy with the deceased, pressed about the house, and the loud wails of the mourners outside, and of the family within, were truly terrible. Means to divert the multitude were finally in requisition, to aid in making way for the removal of the bodies into the house. Judge Phelps, Dr. Richards and Messrs. Woods and Reid—the two latter having been the Smiths' counsel—moved to different places and began addressing them. Mr. Woods, who was from Fort Madison, and a lawyer of high standing, was very severe in his condemnation of the

whole affair, and censured Governor Ford in particular for the careless and guilty part he had acted in not protecting the prisoners.

"The bodies were carried into the dining-room, and about a dozen resolute men who could stand the scent of blood were selected to lay them out. This occupied an hour or more, and they were then ranged under the west windows of the room, and their families were brought in to take a first look of the dead husbands, children and fathers. As the door opened the Prophet's wife entered with two attendants. She advanced a few steps towards the body of Hyrum, swooned and fell to the floor. Her friends raised her up and gave her water, but she fainted again, and was carried out insensible.

"Six times she attempted to see the bodies, and six times she was removed in the arms of her two attendants. Hyrum's wife next entered the room with her four children, supported by no one, she having resolved to brave the scene with her poor orphans. She trembled at every step, and nearly fell, but reached her husband's body, kneeled down by him, clasped her arms around his head, turned his pale face upon her heaving bosom, and then a gushing, plaintive wail burst from her lips: 'O! Hyrum, Hyrum! Have they shot you, my dear Hyrum—are you dead? O! speak to me, my dear husband. I cannot think you are dead, my dear Hyrum!' She drew him closer and closer to her bosom, kissed his pale lips and face, put her hands on his brow and brushed back his hair. Her grief seemed to consume her, and she lost all power of utterance. Her two daughters and the two young children elung, some around her neck and some to the body, falling prostrate upon the corpse, and shrieking in the wildness of their wordless grief. In about ten minutes Mrs. Emma Smith, wife of the Prophet, came again into the room, between two attendants, in a half swooning state. She came toward the body of Hyrum, and knowing that the sensation of feeling a cold, dead body exerts a calming effect on the human nerves, I took her hand and laid it on Hyrum's brow, and in a moment her strength returned. She murmured something in a low tone that I did not hear, her eyes opened and she said to her friends: 'Now I can see him; I am strong now.' She walked alone to her husband's bed, kneeled down, clasped him around his face, and sank upon his body. Suddenly her grief found vent, and sighs and groans and words and lamentations filled the room. 'Joseph, Joseph,' said she, 'are you dead? Have the assassins shot you?' Her chil-

dren, four in number, gathered around their weeping mother, and the dead body of the murdered father, and grief that words cannot embody seemed to overwhelm the whole group. She continued to speak in low tones, but none of the words were audible save those which I have recorded. \* \* \*

"The multitude dispersed about dark, and the next day was set apart for the people to come and see the bodies of the two brothers. They commenced assembling at an early hour, and the city, the river, and the surrounding country swarmed with men and women during the whole day.

"The scene around the bodies of the dead men was too horrible to witness. Hyrum was shot in the brain, and bled none, but by noon his body was so swollen—the neck and face forming one bloated mass—that no one could recognize it. Joseph's blood continued to pour out of his wounds, which had been filled with cotton; the muscles relaxed and the gory fluid trickled down on the floor and formed in puddles across the room. Tar, vinegar and sugar were kept burning on the stove to enable persons to stay in the apartment. In order to see the bodies, thousands passed in at one door and out at another; from morning till night they came and went, and in the house for the livelong day the lament of sorrow was heard.

"The day was clear; the sun stole down on the western sky and set in a cloudless field of blue, glancing his rays on the thronging mass of nearly 20,000 persons, that now began to move off in every direction. The rooms were then cleared, and the bodies put in coffins and concealed in a small closet opening from the dining hall. Two bags of sand had been prepared, and also two rough outside coffins into which the others were apparently to be put, but instead of that, these outside boxes received the bags of sand and were sealed up. Wm. W. Phelps had called the populace away to read to them the sixth chapter of Revelation. The Prophet, on the day before his death, while in jail at Carthage, had sent word to his followers to read that chapter, for it was about to be fulfilled. \* \* \*

"The multitude, after the reading, returned to the residence of Joseph Smith, and received what they supposed to be the bodies of the two men, but in reality the two bags of sand. The families of the Smiths had resolved on burying the bodies secretly, and concealing the fact from all persons but twelve chosen friends and the families of the murdered men. The coffins containing the bodies remained secreted in

the small closet, while the boxes and bags of sand were carried in solemn procession to the city cemetery."

The Church historian writes:

"About midnight the coffins containing the bodies were taken from the Mansion by Dimick B. Huntington, Edward Hunter, William D. Huntington, William Marks, Jonathan H. Holmes, Gilbert Goldsmith, Alpheus Cutler, Lorenzo D. Wasson and Philip B. Lewis, preceded by James Emmett as guard, with his musket. They went through the garden, round by the pump, and were conveyed to the Nauvoo House (which was then built to the first joists of the basement), and buried in the basement story.

"After the bodies were interred, and the ground smoothed off as it was before, and chips of wood and stone and other rubbish thrown over, so as to make it appear like the rest of the ground around the graves, a most terrific shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, occurred, and obliterated all traces of the fact that earth had been newly dug.

"The bodies remained in the cellar of the Nauvoo House, where they were buried, until the fall, when they were removed by Dimick B. Huntington, William D. Huntington, Jonathan H. Holmes and Gilbert Goldsmith, at Emma's request, to near the Mansion, and buried side by side, and the Bee House then moved and placed over the graves."

Apostle Parley P. Pratt gives the following description of the Prophet's personal appearance and characteristics:

"President Joseph Smith was in person tall and well built, strong and active; of a light complexion, light hair, blue eyes, very little beard, and of an expression peculiar to himself, on which the eye naturally rested with interest, and was never weary of beholding. His countenance was ever mild, affable, beaming with intelligence and benevolence; mingled with a look of interest and an unconscious smile, or cheerfulness, and entirely free from all restraint or affectation of gravity; and there was something connected with the serene and steady penetrating glance of his eye, as if he would penetrate the deepest abyss of the human heart, gaze into eternity, penetrate the heavens and comprehend all worlds.

"He possessed a noble boldness and independence of character; his manner was easy and familiar; his rebuke terrible as the lion; his



benevolence unbounded as the ocean; his intelligence universal, and his language abounding in original eloquence peculiar to himself—not polished—not studied—not smoothed and softened by education and refined by art; but flowing forth in its own native simplicity, and profusely abounding in variety of subject and manner. He interested and edified, while, at the same time, he amused and entertained his audience; and none listened to him who were ever weary with his discourse. I have even known him to retain a congregation of willing and anxious listeners for many hours together, in the midst of cold or sunshine, rain or wind, while they were laughing at one moment and weeping the next. Even his most bitter enemies were generally overcome, if he could once get their ears. \* \* \*

"In short, in him the characters of a Daniel and a Cyrus were wonderfully blended. The gifts, wisdom and devotion of a Daniel were united with the boldness, courage, temperance, perseverance and generosity of a Cyrus. And had he been spared a martyr's fate till mature manhood and age, he was certainly endowed with powers and ability to have revolutionized the world in many respects, and to have transmitted to posterity a name associated with more brilliant and glorious acts than has yet fallen to the lot of mortals. As it is, his works will live to endless ages, and unnumbered millions yet unborn will mention his name with honor, as a noble instrument in the hands of God, who, during his short and youthful career, laid the foundation of that kingdom spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, which should break in pieces all other kingdoms and stand forever."

In conclusion we copy the following from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants:

"Joseph Smith, the Prophet and Seer of the Lord, has done more (save Jesus only) for the salvation of men in this world, than any other man that ever lived in it. In the short space of twenty years, he has brought forth the Book of Mormon, which he translated by the gift and power of God, and has been the means of publishing it on two continents; has sent the fulness of the everlasting gospel which it con-

tained to the four quarters of the earth; has brought forth the revelations and commandments which compose this Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and many other wise documents and instructions for the benefit of the children of men; gathered many thousands of the Latter-day Saints, founded a great city; and left a fame and name that cannot be slain. He lived great, and he died great in the eyes of God and his people, and like most of the Lord's anointed in ancient times, has sealed his mission and his works with his own blood—and so has his brother Hyrum. In life they were not divided and in death they were not separated. \* \* \*

"Hyrum Smith was 44 years old in February, 1844, and Joseph Smith was 38 in December, 1843; and henceforward their names will be classed among the martyrs of religion; and the reader in every nation will be reminded that the Book of Mormon, and this Book of Doctrine and Covenants of the Church, cost the best blood of the nineteenth century to bring them forth for the salvation of a ruined world; and that if the fire can scathe a *green tree* for the glory of God, how easy it will burn up the 'dry trees' to purify the vineyard of corruption. They lived for glory; they died for glory, and glory is their eternal reward. From age to age shall their names go down to posterity as gems for the sanctified.

"They were innocent of any crime, as they had often been proved before, and were only confined in jail by the conspiracy of traitors and wicked men; and their *innocent blood* on the floor of Carthage jail is a broad seal affixed to 'Mormonism' that cannot be rejected by any court on earth; and their *innocent blood* on the escutcheon of the State of Illinois, with the broken faith of the State as pledged by the governor, is a witness to the truth of the everlasting gospel, that all the world cannot impeach; and their *innocent blood* on the banner of liberty, and on the *magna charta* of the United States, is an ambassador for the religion of Jesus Christ, that will touch the hearts of honest men among all nations; and their *innocent blood*, with the innocent blood of all the martyrs under the altar that John saw, will cry unto the Lord of hosts, till he avenges that blood on the earth. Amen."

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*"What thou seest, write in a book."* REV. 1:11.

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## ZION'S CAMP

In the fall of 1833 the Saints were driven out of Jackson County, Missouri, into Clay County, by a lawless mob. Parley P. Pratt and Lyman Wight were sent as messengers by the exiled Saints to Kirtland, Ohio, where they, after their arrival, gave a full report of the persecutions and mobbings to the Prophet Joseph, who asked of the Lord what he should do in the matter. In answer to his inquiry he received a revelation on February 24, 1834, in which the Lord commanded him to gather the strength of his house—the young and middle-aged men from the various branches and conferences of the Church in the East, and march with them to Missouri, to assist the brethren who had been driven out of Jackson County a few months previous to return to their inheritances. The Lord wanted five hundred men to go on this important mission, if they could be obtained, but if not, less would do; only he gave a strict commandment that no less than one hundred men should go up. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 103.) Two days later (February 26th) Joseph Smith and Parley P. Pratt left Kirtland to obtain volunteers for the purpose named.

Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, Frederick G. Williams, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt and Lyman Wight, who had been called by revelation, also started out two and two on a similar mission. (See page 414.) Before starting, a council was held, in which Joseph was accepted as commander-in-chief of the armies of Israel and leader of those who should volunteer. The Elders named visited the various branches of the Church in the East, pleading the cause of Zion, asking the Saints to assist in her redemption by contributing of their substance to relieve the distress of their brethren who had been driven from their homes and now were exiles in a land of strangers, largely depending upon the kindness of friends for means of living. The response to this call was quite general, and the spirit of the Lord also rested upon a number of the young men belonging to the Church, who cheerfully volunteered to go on that great and important mission. They commenced to assemble in Kirtland in the latter part of April and beginning of May, 1834, ready to sacrifice their time, property and lives, if necessary, in the interest of their afflicted brethren.

On the 1st of May, more than twenty of the brethren left Kirtland for Missouri, accompanied by four baggage wagons, and traveled to New Portage, a village about sixty miles southwest of Kirtland, which had been selected as a place of rendezvous for the company. They were followed by others, and on the 5th Joseph started from Kirtland with about one hundred men, well supplied with clothing and other necessities to carry to their brethren and sisters in Missouri, who had been robbed and plundered of nearly all their effects. They had also provided themselves with horses and wagons, firearms and all sorts of ammunition of war of the most portable kind for self-defense, knowing as they did that their enemies were numerous on every hand. Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery and a few brethren who worked on the Temple were all that were left in Kirtland, save the aged and the women and children, when the Camp started for Missouri. Joseph's company arrived at New Portage on the 6th, where about fifty other brethren awaited their arrival. On the 7th preparations were made for traveling. All the moneys in possession of the several members of the Camp were gathered and placed in the hands of Frederick G. Williams, who was appointed paymaster of the company. Zerubbabel Snow was appointed commissary-general. The whole company now consisted of 150 men, accompanied by 20 baggage wagons, but before it arrived in Missouri a number of other brethren hailing from various parts of the country joined the Camp at different points along the road of travel. The entire company consisted mostly of young men, and nearly all were Eld-

ers, Priests, Teachers and Deacons. Joseph writes:

"Through the remainder of this day (May 7, 1834) and a part of the 8th, I continued to organize the company, appoint such other officers as were required, and gave such instructions as were necessary for the discipline, order, comfort and safety of all concerned. I also divided the whole band into companies of twelve, leaving each company to elect its own captain, who assigned each man in his respective company, his post and duty, generally in the following order: Two cooks, two firemen, two tent men, two watermen, one runner, two wagoners and horsemen, and one commissary. We purchased flour and meal, baked our own bread and cooked our own food, generally, which was good, though sometimes scanty; and sometimes we had johnny-cake, or corn-dodger, instead of flour bread. Every night before retiring to rest, at the sound of the trumpet, we bowed before the Lord in the several tents, and presented our thank-offerings with prayer and supplication; and at the sound of the morning trumpet, about 4 o'clock, every man was again on his knees before the Lord, imploring his blessing for the day.

"After completing the organization of the companies on the 8th, we recommenced our march towards Zion, and pitched our tents for the night in a beautiful grove, at Chippeway, 12 miles from New Portage.

"On the 9th, we proceeded onward, and on Saturday the 10th, passing through Mansfield, encamped for the Sabbath in Richfield township. \* \* \*

"Sunday 11th, Elder Sylvester Smith preached, and the company received the Sacrament of bread and wine.

"Monday, 12th, we left Richfield, for the Miami River, where we arrived, after daily marches, on the 16th. We forded the Miami River with our baggage wagons, and the men waded through the water.

"On the 17th of May, we crossed the State line of Ohio, and encamped for the Sabbath just within the limits of Indiana, having traveled 40 miles that day. Our feet were very sore and blistered, our stockings wet with blood, the weather being very warm. This night one of our enemies' spies attempted to get into our camp, but was prevented by our guards. We had our sentinels posted every night, on account of spies who were continually striving to harass us, steal our horses, etc.

"Sunday, 18th, we had preaching as usual, and the administration of the Sacrament.

"Monday, 19th, although threatened by our enemies that we should not, we passed through Candalia quietly and unmolested; all the inhabitants were silent, and appeared as though possessed with fear. At night we encamped on an eminence, where we lost one horse.

"Wednesday, 21st, we forded White River.

"Sunday, 25th, arrived at the State line of Illinois. We had no meeting, but attended to washing, baking and preparing to resume our journey, which we did on Monday the 26th; and at night were aroused by the continual threats of our enemies. Notwithstanding our enemies were continually breathing threats of violence, we did not fear, neither did we hesitate to prosecute our journey, as God was with us, and his angels went

before us, and the faith of our little band was unwavering. We know that angels were our companions, for we saw them.

"On Tuesday, the 27th, we arrived at the deep river Kaskaskia, where we found two skiffs, which we lashed together, and on which we ferried our baggage across the stream. We then swam our horses and wagons, and when they arrived at the opposite shore, the brethren attached ropes to them and helped them out of the water and up the steep bank. Some of the brethren felled trees across the river, on which they passed over. Thus we all safely passed the river, and the day following arrived at Decatur, where another horse died.

"Saturday evening, May 31st, we encamped one mile from Jacksonville, and made preparations for the Sabbath."

Thus through the State of Indiana and Illinois, the Camp traveled on, pitching their tents by the wayside and in the wilderness, stopping occasionally for a few days to refresh their overworked teams. The wagons were so filled with baggage that the brethren had to travel the greatest portion of the way on foot, and the roads were so bad, especially in the beginning of the journey, that they had to assist the teams and draw the wagons through bad places with ropes. The brethren always remained in camp on the Sabbath day to hold divine service, and partake of the Sacrament. On the occasion of their holding public worship, the people in the vicinity of their encampment would attend and wonder much at the doctrines they heard, being puzzled to know what sects they belonged to.

Such a company of men traveling in this manner through the country did not fail to excite the curiosity of the people; and every effort was made by them to learn the names of the leaders, the business, object and destination of the expedition; but in this they failed, as it was Joseph's instructions to the members of the company not to make these things known. There were several boys in the expedition, and at times these were questioned by strangers, but with very ungratifying results. Among the number of boys so questioned was George A. Smith, afterwards one of the counselors to President Brigham Young. The questions and answers were about like this: "My boy, where are you from?" "From the East." "Where are you going?" "To the West." "What for?" "To see where we can get land cheapest and best." "Who leads the camp?" "Sometimes one, sometimes another." "What names?" "Captain Wallace, Major Bruce, Orson Hyde, James Allred, etc."

The people not unfrequently, however, suspected they were "Mormons," and many times the little band was threatened with destruction. A circumstance in the experience of Parley P. Pratt furnishes us further testimony of the presence of angels with this expedition. Elder Pratt was chiefly engaged as a recruiting officer. And on one occasion, when he had traveled all night to overtake a small company he was conducting to the main company, he camped at noon on a broad level plain to let his horse feed. No habitation was near. Stillness and repose reigned around him. "I sank down," he says, "overpowered with a deep sleep, and might

have lain in a state of oblivion till the shades of night had gathered about me, so completely was I exhausted for the want of sleep and rest; but I had only slept a few moments till the horse had grazed sufficiently, when a voice, more loud and shrill than I had ever before heard, fell upon my ear, and thrilled through every part of my system; it said: 'Parley, it is time to be up and on your journey.' In the twinkling of an eye I was perfectly aroused, I sprang to my feet so suddenly that I could not at first recollect where I was, or what was before me to perform. I afterwards related the circumstance to Brother Joseph Smith, and he bore testimony that it was the angel of the Lord who went before the Camp, who found me overpowered with sleep, and thus awoke me."

Joseph continues his account of the journey as follows:

"Sunday, June 1st, 1834, we had preaching, and many of the inhabitants came to hear. Elder John Carter, who had formerly been a Baptist preacher, spoke in the morning, and was followed by four other Elders in the course of the day, all of whom had formerly been preachers for different denominations. When the inhabitants heard these Elders, they appeared much interested, and were very desirous to know who we were, and we told them one had been a Baptist preacher, and one a Campbellite; one a Reformed Methodist, and another a Restorationer, etc. During the day, many questions were asked, but no one could learn our names, profession, business, or destination; and although they suspected we were 'Mormons,' they were very civil.

"Our enemies had threatened that we should not cross the Illinois River, but on Monday, the 2nd, we were ferried over without any difficulty. The ferryman counted, and declared there were five hundred of us; yet our true number was only about one hundred and fifty. Our company had been increased since our departure from Kirtland, by volunteers from different branches of the Church through which we had passed. We encamped on the bank of the river until Tuesday, the 3rd.

"During our travels we visited several of the mounds which had been thrown up by the ancient inhabitants of this county, Nephites, Lamanites, etc., and this morning (June 2nd) I went up on a high mound, near the river, accompanied by the brethren. From this mound we could overlook the tops of the trees and view the prairie on each side of the river as far as our vision could extend; and the scenery was truly delightful. On the top of the mound were stones which presented the appearance of three altars having been erected one above the other, according to the ancient order; and human bones were strewn over the surface of the ground. The brethren procured a shovel and hoe, and removing the earth to the depth of about one foot discovered a skeleton of a man, almost entire, and between his ribs the stone point of a Lamanitish arrow, which evidently produced his death. Elder Burr Riggs retained the arrow. The contemplation of the scenery around us produced peculiar sensations in our bosoms; subsequently the visions of the past being opened to my understanding by the spirit of the Almighty, I discovered that the

person whose skeleton we had seen was a white Lamanite, a large, thick-set man, and a man of God. His name was Zelph. He was a warrior and chieftain under the great Prophet Omandagus, who was known from the Eastern seas to the Rocky Mountains. The curse was taken from Zelph, or, at least, in part; one of his thigh bones was broken by a stone flung from a sling, while in battle years before his death. He was killed in battle, by the arrow found among his ribs, during the last great struggle with the Lamanites.

"Continuing our journey on the 4th, we camped on the banks of the Mississippi River. At this place we were somewhat afflicted, and our enemies strongly threatened that we should not cross over into Missouri. The river being a mile and a half wide, and having but one ferry-boat, it took two days for us to pass over. While some were ferrying, others were engaged in hunting, fishing, etc. As we arrived, we encamped on the bank, within the limits of Missouri. While at this place, Sylvester Smith rebelled against the order of the company, and gave vent to his feelings against myself in particular. This was the first outbreak of importance which had occurred to mar our peace since we commenced the journey."

This Sylvester Smith, who afterwards apostatized, exhibited a selfish and, with others, a quarrelsome spirit. One evening when provisions in camp were scarce, Elder Parley P. Pratt called upon Sylvester Smith for something to eat; and although Smith had food, he refused to minister to Brother Pratt, and sent him to some

one else. The end of it was that Brother Pratt had to retire hungry. Joseph being told of this, severely reproofed the offender; and whether that reproof continued to gall the feelings of Sylvester Smith or not, we cannot say. But at any rate, as soon as they crossed the Mississippi, this same man and Lyman Wight made an effort to divide the camp. The company had first taken up quarters in the woods on the bank of the river; but being threatened by their enemies, Joseph decided that it would be better to move out into the open prairie. With this arrangement some were dissatisfied, as it took them away from firewood. Lyman Wight and Sylvester Smith turned aside with their companies and went into camp before leaving the timber; and as the other companies came along, they would hail the captains of them, and ask them if they were following General Wight or some other man. At this some companies hesitated a moment, and then drove out to the plain where the ensign had been planted to mark the place Joseph had chosen for the encampment. Those who had turned aside, and made an effort to divide the camp, came up also and were called upon to give an account for their conduct. They acknowledged their error and were forgiven.

On one occasion, when there was a rebellious spirit in camp, Joseph reproofed the brethren for indulging in such a spirit, and said they would meet with misfortunes, difficulties and hindrances. "You will know it," said he, "before you leave this place." He exhorted them to humble themselves before the Lord and become united that they might not be scourged. The next morning a most singular

occurrence happened. Every horse in the camp was so badly foundered that they could scarcely be led a few rods to water.

When Joseph learned this, he told the brethren, for a witness, that God had his eye upon them; that those who would humble themselves before the Lord, should know that the hand of God was in this misfortune, and their horses should be restored to health. By noon of that day the horses were as nimble as ever, with the exception of one, which soon afterwards died, and that belonged to Sylvester Smith, who had been most rebellious.

On another occasion, Joseph got up on a wagon wheel and called the people of the Camp together. He had been led before to warn them, and he was again directed to prophesy unto them. After giving them much good advice, and exhorting them to faithfulness and humility, he told the brethren that the Lord had revealed to him that a scourge would come upon the Camp, in consequence of the fractious and unruly spirits that appeared among them. Still, if they would repent and humble themselves before the Lord, the scourge might, in a great measure, be turned away, "but as the Lord lived," he said, "the Camp will have to suffer for giving way to unruly tempers."

As we proceed we shall see how literally his words were fulfilled. The following incident will serve still further to show the nature of the spirit which possessed some of the members of the Camp. The commissary had on a certain occasion purchased 25 gallons of honey and a dozen hams. The hams were cured after the Western fashion, and as

there were not enough of them to supply the different companies or messes in the Camp with a ham apiece, Joseph's company agreed to do without any, and having no flour, they made their supper on mush and honey. In their tired condition, however, that kind of food scarcely satisfied their hunger. Just as they had finished eating, some six of the hams were brought to the tent door and thrown down by persons who exclaimed in anger, "We don't want to eat dirty, stinking meat." Joseph had the ham cooked, and he and his company found it quite sweet, and they had an excellent feast.

During the journey the brethren of the Camp often came in contact with snakes, many of which were of a poisonous character. Joseph instructed them not to kill a serpent, bird or animal of any kind during the journey, unless it were necessary to preserve themselves from hunger. On one occasion some of the brethren, while pitching Joseph's tent, saw three rattlesnakes, and were about to kill them; but Joseph told them to let them alone, and not to hurt them. He then proceeded to explain to them what was right under the circumstances. He asked them how the serpent would ever lose its venom while the servants of God possessed the same disposition, and made war upon serpents whenever they saw them? "Men," said he, "must first become harmless themselves, before they can expect the brute creation to be so. When men lose their vicious dispositions and cease to destroy the animal race, the lion and the lamb can dwell together, and the sucking child play with the serpent with safety."

One day a brother in camp by the

name of Solomon Humphrey, who was older than most of the brethren, became very tired through traveling, and lay down on the prairie to rest. He soon fell asleep. At the time he dropped asleep he had his hat in his hand. When he awoke, he saw a rattlesnake coiled up between his hat and himself, and not more than a foot from his head. Just at this moment some of the brethren came up, and gathered around him, saying: "It is a rattlesnake, let us kill it;" but Brother Humphrey said: "No, I'll protect him; you shan't hurt him, for he and I have had a good nap together." The snake had not hurt him, and, remembering Joseph's advice, he left it to crawl away in peace.

June 6th, the Camp resumed the journey westward, leaving the Mississippi River, and in the evening of the 7th the expedition reached the Allred settlement on Salt River, in Monroe County, Missouri. They camped in a grove near a spring of water, and here Joseph resolved to refresh his men and teams by resting a few days, there being a branch of the Church at that place known as the Salt River Branch. On the 8th they were rejoined by Hyrum Smith and Lyman Wight, who had parted from the main company for the purpose of going into Michigan, to raise from among the several branches of that State volunteers to assist in redeeming Zion. The addition of these volunteers swelled the number in the Camp to two hundred and five men, and twenty-five baggage wagons, with two or three horses to each. During this stay of several days at Salt River, a reorganization took place. Lyman Wight, who was somewhat acquainted with military



evolution and tactics, and withal a bold, fearless man, was elected general of the Camp. Joseph chose a company of twenty men to serve as his life-guard, of whom his brother Hyrum was made captain. The rest of the men were organized into companies as at New Portage. The general of the Camp drilled these men in military style, inspected their fire-locks, and ordered a discharge of them at target by platoons—and, in short, prepared them for effective service, should the emergency arise for them to use force to retain their possessions in Zion.

As soon as the encampment was formed on Salt River, Parley P. Pratt and Orson Hyde were sent as delegates to wait upon Governor Dunklin at Jefferson City, and request him to call out a sufficient military force to reinstate the Saints in the possession of their homes. In the interview they had with the governor, he frankly admitted the justice of the demand, but expressed fears that if he should so proceed, it would excite civil war, and deluge the whole country with blood. He advised these delegates to counsel their people, for the sake of peace, to sell the lands from which they had been driven. To this the delegates refused to consent, saying, "We will hold no terms with land pirates and murderers. If we are not permitted to live on the lands we have purchased of the United States, and be protected in our rights and persons, they will at least make a good burying ground in which to lay our bones; and we shall hold on to our possessions in Jackson County for this purpose at least." The governor could not, and did not blame them; but he

trembled for the country, and dared not carry out what he admitted to be the plain imperative duties of his office.

Elders Pratt and Hyde rejoined the Camp not far from the line of Ray County. As soon as they arrived, the Prophet Joseph, his brother Hyrum, Lyman Wight and some others repaired to a grove, and heard their report.

"After hearing our report," says Elder Parley P. Pratt, "the President (Joseph Smith) called on the God of our fathers to witness the justice of our cause, and the sincerity of our vows, which we engaged to fulfil whether in this life or the life to come. For, as God lives, truth, justice and innocence shall triumph, and iniquity shall not reign."

While the Camp was journeying towards Clay County, Missouri, the citizens of that county held a meeting June 16th, agreeable to the call of John F. Ryland, circuit judge. This meeting was attended by about one thousand people, including the brethren who had been expelled from Jackson County. A deputation from the Jackson mob, which was also present, laid a proposition before the meeting respecting the brethren's lands and properties from which they were driven in that county. These propositions were apparently fair, but were in reality a sham, as they were of such a character that the brethren could not comply with them. Before any conclusion was arrived at, the meeting broke up in confusion, through one Missourian stabbing another. The man killed was a mobber, who had whipped one of the Saints nearly to death, and boasted of having done the same to many more.

From this meeting about fifteen of the Jackson County mobbers, with Samuel C. Owens and James Campbell at their head, started for Independence, to raise an army sufficient to meet Joseph and the Camp before they could reach Clay County. As James Campbell was adjusting his pistols in his holsters, previous to starting, he swore, "The eagles and turkey buzzards shall eat my flesh if I do not fix Joe Smith and his army so that their skins will not hold shucks, before two days are passed." He and his companions went to the ferry and undertook to cross the Missouri River after dusk, but the angel of God saw fit to sink the boat in the middle of the river, and seven out of twelve that attempted to cross were drowned. "Thus suddenly and justly went they to their own place by water. Campbell was among the missing. He floated down the river some four or five miles, and lodged upon a pile of drift-wood, where the eagles, buzzards, ravens, crows and wild animals ate his flesh from his bones, to fulfil his own words, and left him a horrible looking skeleton of God's vengeance; which was discovered about three weeks after by one Mr. Purtle."

Owens saved his life only, after floating four miles down the stream, where he lodged upon an island, "swam off naked about daylight, borrowed a mantle to hide his shame, and slipped home rather shy of the vengeance of God."

This calamity, however, did not discourage the mobbers, who gathered in large numbers from the surrounding counties to prevent the arrival of Joseph and his brethren on the scene of action.

In the meantime the brethren of the Camp advanced slowly. After leaving Salt River on the 12th, they traveled fourteen miles and camped on the prairie. Continuing their march daily they pitched their tents one mile from Richmond, Ray County, on the 18th.

Threats were made that they should not pass through Richmond, and rumor had it that an army was in waiting to intercept them. Daylight of the 19th of June saw them, in spite of the threats, quietly passing through the town before the inhabitants had arisen from their slumbers, and they met no opposition. When they broke camp in the morning, they designed reaching Clay County that day, but they met with so many reverses in the day's march, such as wagons breaking down, wheels running off, etc., that they failed to accomplish it. Early in the evening they went into camp on an elevated piece of ground between two branches of Fishing River, having traveled about fifteen miles during the day.

A plan had been laid for the complete destruction of "Joe Smith's Army," as Zion's Camp was called by the Missourians; and now the time for its execution had arrived. A mob of two hundred had been raised in Jackson County, which was to cross the Missouri into Clay County, about the mouth of Fishing River, where a man named Williams kept a ferry. This mob were to be joined by a party of sixty from Richmond at the fords of Fishing River; and still by another mob, seventy in number, from Clay County. Indeed, it looked as if Joseph's little band was to be annihilated in the commencement. While the brethren were making pre-

parations for the night, five men armed with guns rode into camp, and insolently told the brethren they would "catch hell" before morning; and their oaths partook of all the malice of demons.

The Jackson mob assembled opposite the mouth of Fishing River, and one scow-load—forty in number—was sent over, but the scow in returning was met by a squall and had great difficulty in reaching the Jackson side by dark.

"Soon after the five men left the camp, swearing vengeance," writes Joseph, "we discovered a small black cloud rising in the west, and in 20 minutes, or thereabouts, it began to rain and hail, and this was the squall that troubled the Jackson boat. The storm was tremendous; wind and rain, hail and thunder met them in great wrath, and soon softened their direful courage and frustrated all their designs to 'kill Joe Smith and his army.' Instead of continuing a cannonading which they commenced, the sun about one hour high, they crawled under wagons, into hollow trees, filled one old shanty, etc., till the storm was over, when their ammunition was soaked, and the forty in Clay County were extremely anxious in the morning to return to Jackson, having experienced the pitiless pelting of the storm all night; and as soon as arrangements could be made, this 'forlorn hope' took the 'back track' for Independence, to join the main body of the mob, fully satisfied, as were those survivors of the company who were drowned, that when Jehovah fights they would rather be absent. The gratification is too terrible.

"Very little hail fell in our camp, but from half a mile to a mile

around, the stones or lumps of ice cut down the crops of corn and vegetation generally, even cutting limbs from trees which were twisted into withes by the wind. The lightning flashed incessantly, which caused it to be so light in our camp through the night, that we could discern the most minute object; and the roaring of the thunder was tremendous. The earth trembled and quaked, the rain fell in torrents, and united, it seemed as if the mandate of vengeance had gone forth from the God of battles, to protect his servants from the destruction of their enemies, for the hail fell on them and not on us, and we suffered no harm, except the blowing down of some of our tents, and getting a little wet; while our enemies had holes made in their hats, and otherwise received damage, even to the breaking of their rifle stocks, and the fleeing of their horses through fear and pain.

"Many of my little band sheltered in an old meeting house through this night, and in the morning the water in Big Fishing River was about forty feet deep, where, the previous evening, it was no more than to our ankles, and our enemies swore that the water rose 30 feet in 30 minutes in Little Fishing River.

"Friday, the 20th, we went five miles on the prairie to procure food for ourselves and horses, and establish ourselves for the moment in some secure place where we could defend ourselves from the rage of our enemies.

"While in this situation, on Saturday, the 21st, Colonel Sconce, with two other leading men from Ray County, came to see us, desiring to know what our intentions were; 'for,' said he, 'I

see that there is an almighty power that protects this people, for I started from Richmond, Ray County, with a company of armed men, having a fixed determination to destroy you, but was kept back by the storm and was not able to reach you.' When he entered our camp he was seized with such a trembling that he was obliged to sit down to compose himself; and when he had made known the object of their visit, I arose, and, addressing them, gave a relation of the sufferings of the Saints in Jackson County, and also of our persecutions generally, and what we had suffered by our enemies for our religion; and that we had come one thousand miles to assist our brethren, to bring them clothing, etc., and to reinstate them upon their own lands; and that we had no intention to molest or injure any people, but only to administer to the wants of our afflicted friends; and that the evil reports circulated about us were false, and got up by our enemies to procure our destruction. When I had closed a lengthy speech, the spirit of which had melted them into compassion, they arose and offered me their hands, and said they would use their influence to allay the excitement which everywhere prevailed against us; and they wept when they heard of our afflictions and persecutions, and learned that our intentions were good. Accordingly they went forth among the people, and made unwearied exertions to allay the excitement."

It is said of Joseph that if he could but once get at the ears even of his most bitter enemies, his native eloquence inspired by the truth and pathos of the Saints' sufferings, usually overwhelming them, and in no instance was his triumph more

marked than in the one just related.

June 22nd, Cornelius Gillium, the sheriff of Clay County, came into the camp and desired a consultation with the brethren. Joseph marched his company into the grove near by and formed in a circle with Gillium in the center. Gillium commenced by saying he had heard that Joseph Smith was in the camp, and if so he would like to see him. Joseph arose and said, "I am the man." This was the first time he had been discovered or made known to strangers since he left Kirtland, as he had gone by a fictitious name through the whole journey. Gillium then proceeded to describe the manner, customs and dispositions of the Missourians and the course which ought to be pursued in order to secure their favor and protection. He also made certain inquiries in regard to the intention of the Camp, which brought out the following statements published in the *Missouri Enquirer* of July 1, 1834:

GILLIUM'S STATEMENT.

"Being a citizen of Clay County, and knowing that there is considerable excitement among the people thereof, and also knowing that different reports are arriving almost hourly; and being requested of the Hon. J. F. Ryland to meet the Mormons under arms and obtain from the leaders thereof the correctness of the various reports in circulation, the true intent and meaning of their present movements, and their views generally regarding the difficulties existing between them and Jackson County—I did, in company with other gentlemen, call upon the said leaders of the Mormons, at their camp in Clay County, and now give to the people of Clay County their written statement, containing the substance of what passed between us.

"(Signed) CORNELIUS GILLIUM.

"Propositions, etc., of the Mormons.

"Being called upon by the above-named gentlemen, at our camp in Clay County, to ascertain from the leaders of our men our intentions, views and designs in approaching this

county in the manner we have, we therefore the more cheerfully comply with their request, because we are called upon by gentlemen of good feelings, and who are disposed for peace and an amicable adjustment of the difficulties existing between us and the people of Jackson County. The reports of our intentions are various, and have gone abroad in a light calculated to arouse the feelings of almost every man. For instance, one report is, that we intend to demolish the printing office in Liberty; another report is, that we intend crossing the Missouri River on Sunday next, and falling upon women and children, and slaying them; another is, that our men were employed to perform this expedition, being taken from manufacturing establishments in the East that had closed business; also that we carried a flag, bearing 'peace' on one side and 'war or blood' on the other; and various other reports too numerous to mention, all of which a plain declaration of our intentions, from under our own hands, will show are not correct.

"In the first place it is not our intention to commit hostilities against any man, or set of men; it is not our intention to injure any man's person or property, except in defending ourselves. Our flag has been exhibited to the above gentlemen, who will be able to describe it. Our men were not taken from any manufacturing establishment. It is our intention to go back upon our lands in Jackson County, by order of the executive of the State, if possible. We have brought our arms with us for the purpose of self-defense, and it is well known to almost every man of the State, that we have every reason to put ourselves in an attitude of defense, considering the abuse we have suffered in Jackson County. We are anxious for a settlement of the difficulties existing between us, upon honorable and constitutional principles.

"We are willing for twelve disinterested men, six to be chosen by each party, and these men shall say what the possessions of those men are worth who cannot live with us in the county; and they shall have their money in one year; and none of the 'Mormons' shall enter that county to reside until the money is paid. The damages that we have sustained in consequence of being driven away, shall also be left to the twelve men, or they may all live in the county if they choose, and we will never molest them if they let us alone and permit us to enjoy our rights. We want to live in peace with all men; and equal rights is all we ask. We wish to become permanent citizens of this State; and wish to bear our proportion in support of the government, and to be protected by its laws.

If the above propositions are complied with, we are willing to give security on our part; and we shall want the same of the people of Jackson County for the performance of this agreement. We do not wish to settle down in a body, except where we can purchase the land with money; for to take possession by conquest or the shedding of blood is entirely foreign to our feelings. The shedding of blood we shall not be guilty of, until all just and honorable means among men prove insufficient to restore peace.

'(Signed) JOSEPH SMITH, jun.,  
FREDERICK G. WILLIAMS,  
LYMAN WIGHT,  
RODGER ORTON,  
ORSON HYDE,  
JOHN S. CARTER.

"To John Lincoln, John Sconce, George R. Morehead, Jas. H. Long, James Collins."

On the same day (June 22nd) that the consultation between Sheriff Gilliam and the Camp took place, Joseph received the famous revelation given on Fishing River (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 105), in which the Lord says:

"Verily I say unto you who have assembled yourselves together that you may learn my will concerning the redemption of mine afflicted people. Behold, I say unto you, were it not for the transgressions of my people, speaking concerning the Church and not individuals, they might have been redeemed even now; but behold, they have not learned to be obedient to the things which I required at their hands, but are full of all manner of evil, and do not impart of their substance, as becometh Saints, to the poor and afflicted among them, and are not united according to the union required by the law of the celestial kingdom; and Zion cannot be built up unless it is by the principles of the law of the celestial kingdom, otherwise I cannot receive her unto myself; and my people must needs be chastened until they learn obedience, if it must needs be, by the things which they suffer. \* \* \*

"Therefore, in consequence of the transgression of my people, it is expedient in me that mine Elders should wait for a little season for the redemption of Zion, that they themselves may be prepared, and that my people may be taught more perfectly, and have experience, and know more perfectly concerning their duty, and the things which I require at their hands. \* \* \*

"But the strength of mine house have not hearkened unto my words; but inasmuch as there are those who have hearkened unto my words, I have prepared a blessing and an endowment for them, if they continue faithful. I have heard their prayers, and will accept their offering; and it is expedient in me that they should be brought thus far for a trial of their faith.

"And now, verily I say unto you, a commandment I give unto you, that as many as have come up hither, that can stay in the region round about, let them stay; and those that cannot stay, who have families in the east, let them tarry for a little season, inasmuch as my servant Joseph shall appoint unto them; for I will counsel him concerning this matter, and all things whatsoever he shall appoint unto them shall be fulfilled."

On the following day (June 23rd) the Camp resumed its march for Clay County, taking a circuitous route round the heads of Fishing River to avoid deep water. When within five or six miles of Liberty, they were met by General Atchison and other gentlemen, who desired that the Camp should not pass through Liberty, as the feelings of the people were very much enraged against the Saints. Consequently the Camp wheeled to the left, crossing the prairie and woodland to Algernon Sidney Gilbert's residence, and camped on the bank of Rush Creek, in a Brother Burghart's field.

As already related, Joseph, previous to the Camp crossing the Mississippi River, informed the brethren that in consequence of the disobedience of some, who had been unwilling to listen to his words and had rebelled, God had decreed that sickness should come upon the Camp. He expressed his sorrow for this, but could not help it. The scourge must come. Repentance and humility, he said, might mitigate the chastisement, but it could not altogether be arrested.

On the 21st of June his words be-

gan to be fulfilled, as some of the brethren were seized with cholera. Brothers Hancock, Thayer and Hayes were the first to be attacked. "I called the camp together," writes Joseph, "and told the brethren that in consequence of the disobedience of some who had been unwilling to listen to my words, but had rebelled, God had decreed that sickness should come upon the Camp, and if they did not repent and humble themselves before God, they should die like sheep with the rot; that I was sorry, but could not help it. Previous to this, while on our journey, I had predicted and warned them of the danger of such chastisement; but there are some who will not give heed to my words." \* \* \*

"June 24th. This night the cholera burst forth among us, and about midnight it was manifest in its most virulent form. Our ears were saluted with cries and moanings, and lamentations on every hand; even those on guard fell to the earth with their guns in their hands, so sudden and powerful was the attack of this terrible disease. At the commencement I attempted to lay on hands for their recovery, but I quickly learned by painful experience, that when the great Jehovah decrees destruction upon any people and makes known his determination, man must not attempt to stay his hand. The moment I attempted to rebuke the disease, I was attacked, and had I not desisted in my attempt to save the life of my brother, I would have sacrificed my own, for when I rebuked the disease, it left him and seized me. \* \* \*

"When the cholera first made its appearance, Elder John S. Carter was the first man who stepped forward to rebuke it and upon this was instantly seized, and became the first victim in

the Camp. He died about 6 o'clock in the afternoon; and Seth Hitchcock died in about thirty minutes after. As it was impossible to obtain coffins, the brethren rolled them in blankets, carried them on a horse-sled about half a mile and buried them in the bank of a small stream, which empties into Rush Creek, all of which was accomplished by dark. When they had returned from the burial, the brethren united, covenanted and prayed, hoping the disease would be stayed; but in vain, for while thus covenanting, Eber Wilcox died; and while some were digging the grave, others stood sentry with their fire arms, watching their enemies.

"The cholera continued its ravages about four days, when an effectual remedy for their purging, vomiting and cramping, was discovered, viz., dipping the persons afflicted in cold water or pouring it upon them. About sixty-eight of the Saints suffered from this disease, of which number 13 died, viz., John S. Carter, Eber Wilcox, Seth Hitchcock, Erastus Rudd, Algernon Sidney Gilbert, Alfred Fisk, Edward Ives, Noah Johnson, Jesse B. Lawson, Robert McCord, Elial Strong, Jesse Smith and Betsy Parish."

Early in the morning of the 25th, the Camp was separated into small bands and dispersed among the brethren living in the vicinity, and Joseph sent by express to Messrs. Thornton, Doniphan and Atchison the following note:

"RUSH CREEK, Clay Co., June 25, 1834.

"Gentlemen.—Our company of men advanced yesterday from their encampment beyond Fishing River to Rush Creek, where their tents are again pitched. But feeling disposed to adopt every pacific measure, without jeopardizing our

lives, to quiet the prejudices and fears of some part of the citizens of this county, we have concluded that our company shall be immediately dispersed, and continue so till every effort for an adjustment of differences between us and the people of Jackson has been made on our part, that would in any wise be required of us by disinterested men of republican principles.

"I am respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOSEPH SMITH, jun."

Thus Zion's Camp was disbanded, but the Spirit whispers: It shall again be organized and accomplish the object for which it was called into existence, namely, the redemption of Zion.

On the same day Joseph left Rush Creek, in company with David Whitmer and two other brethren, to visit some Saints who lived in the western part of Clay County. On their journey they called at a house and asked for a drink of water. The women of the house shouted from the door, that they had "no water for Mormons, that they were afraid of cholera," etc. The brethren turned and departed, according to the commandment, but before a week had passed, the cholera entered that house, and the women and three others of the family died.

After this Joseph spent several days among his old friends and acquaintances in Clay County, and one day he met quite a number of the brethren of the Camp at Lyman Wight's house. He told them that if they would humble themselves before the Lord, and covenant to keep his commandments, and obey his (Joseph's) counsel, the plague should be stayed from that hour, and there should not be another case of cholera among them. They covenanted to that effect, and the plague was stayed.

After having organized a High Council in Clay County and set the affairs of the Church in order, Joseph, accompanied by his Brother Hyrum and other Elders, started on the homeward journey July 9th. (See page 416.) Most of the other brethren who had belonged to the Camp returned to Kirtland at or about the same time, and only a few, principally such as had no families, remained in Missouri.

In the early history of the Church, Zion's Camp stands out prominently as a most important organization. The mission which the brethren of the Camp were called to fill was a very hard and trying one, and their names have ever since been held in honorable remembrance among the Saints. With but few exceptions they all fulfilled their mission faithfully and without murmuring. Although Zion was not redeemed at that time, they had the satisfaction of knowing that they had obeyed the commandments of God, and they were willing to leave the results with him. A number of them distinguished themselves by extraordinary zeal and devotion to the cause of God, and exhibited those noble qualities which afterwards made them so great and useful in the midst of the Latter-day Saints.

Elders Brigham and Joseph Young were the sweet singers of the Camp, and the tedium of the journey was considerably relieved and the brethren much enlivened by their spirited singing.

The following year, when good and faithful Elders were wanted to be ordained members of the quorum of Twelve Apostles and also for organizing the first quorum of Seventy, they

were nearly all selected from among the brethren who had journeyed to Missouri in Zion's Camp.

The following is only a partial list of the members of Zion's Camp, as recorded in the History of Joseph Smith:

Aldrich, Hazen	Orton, Roger
Angell, Solomon	Parish, Betsey
Babbitt, Almon W.	Parker, John D.
Badlam, Alexander	Patten, David W.
Baldwin, Nathan B.	Pratt, Orson
Barlow, Israel	Pratt, Parley P.
Booth, Lorenzo	Pratt, Wm.
Buchanan, Peter	Rich, Leonard
Burdick, Alden	Riggs, Burr
Burgess, Harrison	Riggs, Harpin
Cahoon, Wm. F.	Richardson, Darwin
Carter, John S.	Robbins, Lewis
Cole, Zera S.	Rudd, Erastus
Coltrin, Zebedee	Salisbury, Jenkins
Coon, Libeus T.	Sherman, Lyman
Denton, Solomon W.	Shibley, Henry
Elliott, Bradford	Smith, George A.
Elliott, David	Smith, Hyrum
Frisk, Alfred	Smith, Jesse B.
Grant, Jedediah M.	Smith, Joseph, Jr.
Gifford, Levi	Smith, Lyman
Gilbert, Algernon S.	Smith, Sylvester
Hancock, Joseph	Smith, William
Harris, Martin	Snow, Willard
Hayes, —	Snow, Zerubbabel
Hitchcock, Seth	Stanley, Harvey
Humphrey, Solomon	Stevens, Daniel
Hutchins, Elias	Stratton, Hyrum
Hyde, Orson	Strong, Elial
Ives, Edward	Thayer, Ezra
Johnson, Luke S.	Thompson, Jas. L.
Johnson, Lyman E.	Warner, Solomon
Johnson, Noah	Williams, Fred'k G.
Kelley, Charles	Winchester, Benjamin
Kimball, Heber C.	Wight, Lyman
Lawson, Jesse B.	Wilcox, Eber
Littlefield, Lyman O.	Winters, Hiram
Martin, Moses	Woodruff, Wilford
McCord, Robert	Young, Brigham
Murdock, John	Young, Joseph
Noble, Joseph B.	

[As soon as we succeed in getting a full and complete list of the members of Zion's Camp, we shall publish the same in the RECORD, together with other additional information that we may obtain.]



## GALLATIN

Gallatin, the county seat of Daviess County, Missouri, located on Grand River about 50 miles east of St. Joseph and now a town of 2,000 inhabitants, is famous in Church history as the place where the difficulties commenced which finally resulted in the Saints being banished from the State of Missouri.

Some time during the month of July, 1838, a friendly judge by the name of Morin, who lived at Millport, Daviess County, informed John D. Lee and Levi Stewart, two members of the Church, that a mob had determined to prevent the "Mormons" from voting at the election to be held in Gallatin on the following August 8th, and thereby elect Colonel Wm. P. Peniston, who previously had led the mob against the Saints in Clay County. Judge Morin also advised the brethren to go to the election prepared for an attack, to stand their ground and have their rights; but the brethren "hoping for better things" gave but little heed to this warning, as they repaired to the polls at Gallatin without weapons to defend themselves.

About 11 o'clock on August 6th, 1838, Wm. P. Peniston ascended the head of a barrel and harangued the electors for the purpose of exciting them against the Saints, saying that the "Mormon" leaders were a set of horse-thieves, liars and counterfeits; that the members of the Church were dupes, and not too good to take false oath on any common occasion; that they would steal and he did not conceive property safe where they were; that he was opposed to their settling in Daviess County, and if the "Mormons" were suffered to vote, the people would soon lose their suffrage, etc. "And," said he, "you know they profess to heal the sick, cast out devils, etc.; and you know that is a damned lie." Turning to the brethren who were present, he continued: "I headed a mob to drive you out of Clay County, and I would not prevent your being mobbed here." Richard Welding (called Dick), the mob bully, who was just drunk enough for the occasion, then began a discussion with Brother Samuel Brown by saying that the "Mormons" were not allowed to vote in Clay County any more than the damned negroes, and attempted to strike Brown, who gradually retreated, parrying the blows with his umbrella, while Welding continued to press upon him, calling him a damned

liar and other hard names, and attempting to repeat the blow on Brown.

Perry Durphy attempted to suppress the difficulty by holding Dick's arm, when five or six of the mobbers seized Durphy and commenced beating him with clubs, boards, etc., and crying, "Kill him, kill him; G-d d-n him, Kill him!" A general scuffle commenced with fist and clubs, the mobbers being about ten to one of the Saints. Abraham Nelson was knocked down, and had his clothes torn off, and while trying to get up was attacked again, when his brother, Hyrum Nelson, ran in among them, and knocked the mobbers down with the butt of his whip. Riley Stewart struck Dick Welding on the head, which brought him to the ground. The mob cried out, "Dick Welding's dead, by G-d; who killed Dick?" And they fell upon Riley, knocked him down, kicked him and halloed, "Kill him, G-d d-n him, kill him; shoot him, by G-d!" and would have killed him, had not John L. Butler sprung in amongst them and knocked them down. For about five minutes it was one continued knock down, when the mob dispersed to get their firearms.

Very few of the brethren voted. Riley, escaping across the river, had his wounds dressed and returned home.

Butler called the brethren together and made a speech, saying, "We are American citizens; our fathers fought for their liberty, and we will maintain the same principles," etc., when the authorities of the county came to them, and requested them to withdraw, stating that it was a premeditated thing to prevent the "Mormons" from voting.

The brethren held a council about one-fourth of a mile out of town, where they saw mobbing recruits coming in, in small parties, from five and ten, to twenty-five in number, armed with clubs, pistols, dirks, knives and some guns, cursing and swearing.

The brethren, not having arms, thought it wisdom to return to their farms, collect their families and hide them in a thicket of hazel bush, which they did, and stood sentry around them through the night, while the women and children lay on the ground in the rain. [For further particulars, see pages 44 and 441.]

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# THE HISTORICAL RECORD

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*"What thou seest, write in a book."* REV. 1:11.

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## KIRTLAND CAMP

After the glorious endowment in Kirtland in 1836 followed a great apostasy, which affected every quorum in the Church, and which became so general and bitter in 1837, that the lives and property of those who remained faithful were exposed to the greatest danger. Consequently many of the leading men, including Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Brigham Young, found it necessary to leave Kirtland quietly and journey to Missouri, where the Saints at that time were building up Far West and other settlements which had been designated as gathering places for the Saints. After the departure of the Prophet, the desire to emigrate to Missouri became general among those who had kept the faith in Kirtland, and on the 6th of March, 1838, the Seventies assembled in the Temple for the purpose of devising means for removing their quorum thither, according to a revelation which had been given on the subject. On the 10th of March it was made manifest by vision and prophecy, that they should go up in a Camp, pitching their tents by the way. On the 13th they adopted a constitution and laws to govern them

on their journey, which were signed by 175 of the brethren. The privilege was given for any one to go, even if they did not belong to the Seventies, provided they would abide the constitution. Consequently all the faithful, who could, improved the opportunity, "for fearful sights and great signs were shown forth in and around Kirtland, clearly manifesting to the honest heart that God was not unmindful of his word, and that he would bring upon the place those judgments he had declared by his servants."

Elders James Foster, Zera Pulsipher, Joseph Young, Henry Herriman, Josiah Butterfield, Benjamin Wilber and Elias Smith were appointed to act as commissioners to lead the Camp, which was divided into companies of tens, with a captain over each; Elias Smith was chosen clerk and historian, and Jonathan H. Hale treasurer.

On Thursday, July 5th, they met about a quarter of a mile south of the Temple, and pitched their tents in form of a hollow square.

On Saturday, the 6th, at noon, they struck their tents and began to move toward the south, and in 30 minutes

the whole camp was under motion. It consisted of 515 souls, namely, 249 males and 266 females. They had 27 tents, 59 wagons, 97 horses, 22 oxen, 69 cows and 1 bull. Jonathan Dunham acted as engineer. On the first day the Camp traveled to Chester, seven miles, where they encamped for the night, again pitching their tents in a hollow square formed by their wagons.

Saturday, 7th. The Camp moved forward to Aurora (Portage County), 13 miles, and encamped for the Sabbath.

Sunday 8th. A public meeting was held; and there being some sickness in the camp the leaders informed the Saints that the destroyer was in their midst, and that some would fall victims unless they adhered strictly to the covenant they had made, laid aside all covetousness, and lived by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord. They were threatened, that night, with tar and feathers from the people of the place, and were obliged to keep a close watch to keep their horses from being stolen by the mob, who threw a club and hit Elder Tyler on the breast.

Monday, 9th. The camp passed on to Tallmadge, 20 miles, with great fatigue, the weather being very hot.

Tuesday, 10th. In the morning the counselors of the Camp drew up the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"1st. The engineer shall receive advice from the counselors concerning his duties.

"2nd. At 4 o'clock a. m. the horn shall blow for rising, and at 20 minutes past 4 for prayers, at which time each overseer shall see that the inmates of his tent are ready for worship.

"3rd. The head of each division shall keep a roll of all his able-bodied men to stand guard in turn, as called for by the engineer, one half

in the former, the other half in the latter part of the night.

"4th. Each company of the camp is entitled to an equal proportion of the milk, whether it owns the cows or not.

"5th. Thomas Butterfield shall be appointed herdsman, to drive the cows and stock, and see that they are taken care of, and call for assistance when needed.

"6th. In no case at present shall the Camp move more than 15 miles per day, unless circumstances absolutely require it."

The Camp moved six miles this day and encamped near Akron, on the Ohio Canal, where they lightened their loads by putting some of their goods on a boat to be conveyed by water.

Wednesday, 11th. At 10 o'clock a. m. Elder Wilber's child died, and was buried at 1 o'clock p. m. The Camp moved 11 miles, and tarried over night at Chippeway, and although they were thoroughly drenched with a heavy shower, and retired to their lodgings wet, one man who had been troubled with rheumatism said next morning that he had not felt so well and spry for a long time.

Thursday, 12th. The Camp traveled to Wayne (Wayne County), 17 miles, having some rain and a little murmuring.

Friday, 13th. The Camp passed on to Mohican (Ashland County), 17 miles, exciting great curiosity among the inhabitants, attended with some hard speeches about "Joe Smith," while one honest-looking Dutchman said he wished he was ready to go along with them.

Saturday, 14th. The Camp moved to Mifflin, 10 miles. This was the first day since leaving Kirtland that they did not break one or more wagons. Nathan B. Baldwin preferred a charge against Abraham Bond, for murmuring and other unchristian-like conduct. After hearing both par-

ties, the council referred them to the company of their own tent for settlement.

Sunday, 15th. The Camp was engaged in preaching the first principles of the gospel, and many came to listen.

Monday, 16th. Traveled 16 miles and encamped at Springfield. Three or four miles east of Mansfield, Richland County, the Camp was met by the county sheriff, his deputy and a Mr. Stringer, who had taken out a warrant for several of the brethren for "Kirtland Safety Society" money, and took Josiah Butterfield, Jonathan Dunham, and Jonathan H. Hale for Joseph Young, and committed them to jail. Many threats were reported that the Camp should not pass Mansfield, but they were disturbed only by the repeated discharge of cannon, to frighten their horses as they passed the court house.

Tuesday, 17th. The Camp traveled 16 miles, and pitched their tents on the prairie in Whetstone Township, Morrow County, at 7 o'clock p. m. The court was in session at Mansfield, and the case of the imprisoned brethren was called up at 8 o'clock in the morning, but no bill was found, and they were discharged at 4 minutes past 1 o'clock p. m., and joined the Camp at 7 o'clock, having traveled 22 miles. While in prison they prayed and sung, and rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake; and in the night a light equal to noon-day burst into the prison. Elder Dunham took out his watch and saw that it was 3 minutes past 1 o'clock, and he received a testimony that they would be liberated the same hour that afternoon, which proved true.

Wednesday, 18th. In the morning

the council appointed Dominicus Carter commissary of the camp. At 1 p. m., the camp halted to refresh on the edge of a prairie, the first privilege they had enjoyed without paying for it, and encamped in the town of Grand Prairie, after traveling 16 miles.

Thursday, 19th. Traveled 27½ miles, and encamped on a prairie in a line for the first time. In their travels that day they fell in with a Lamanite, of the Wyandotte tribe. Elder Parker gave him the "Stick of Joseph," which pleased him much. When he saw the Camp moving he exclaimed, "Dis surprise me amazingly."

Friday, 20th. In the morning the council reproved some of the Camp for their covetousness and complaining, and were told they must leave off all such evil practices, and banish such feelings, or they would be scattered to the four winds. Encamped for the night in the highway, about one mile from Burlington, after 9½ miles' travel. The company was thoroughly soaked by a heavy shower in the night.

Saturday, 21st. The roads were very muddy and bad; there was some disputing, and not half food enough for dinner, and some were hungry enough to eat raw corn before they could procure supper. Traveled 16 miles and encamped by the roadside, 7 miles from the Scotia River.

Sunday, 22nd. The Camp was obliged to travel part of the day to get forage; received a salute of rotten eggs from a house as they passed; administered the Sacrament for the first time on their journey. Some time during the night a luminous body, about the size of a cannon ball, came down over the encamp-

ment near the ground, then whirled around some forty or fifty times and moved off in a horizontal direction, passing out of sight. The camp had now traveled 188 miles from Kirtland.

Monday, 23rd. A wheel of a wagon heavily loaded ran over the leg of Elder Peck's son, which nearly severed the flesh to the bone. Elder Peck laid his hand on his son in the name of the Lord, and he was soon able to walk; the next morning there was not so much as a colored spot to be seen on the leg.

Tuesday, 24th. While the sisters were washing, the brethren chopped seven acres of underwood, and reaped and bound three acres of wheat, for which they received \$19.

Friday, 27th. The Camp could not buy forage because they were "Mormons," and one man threatened to shoot Captain Dunham, the engineer.

Monday, 30th. A brother Bond was disfellowshipped by the Camp for murmuring and not giving heed to counsel.

The Camp stopped in Montgomery County to rest their teams, and the brethren were engaged in making half a mile of turnpike and other little jobs to procure means to prosecute their journey.

Saturday, August 4th. In the evening the names of the brethren in Camp were called, and those who could not give a reasonable excuse for absenting themselves from labor were reprimanded by the council, who directed they should receive no rations, according to the Scripture, "the idler shall not eat the bread of the laborer." Three brethren were appointed assistant counselors and judges to settle minor difficulties in the Camp.

Wednesday, 8th. The brethren of the Camp still continued their labors in Ohio; many were sick, and evil spirits were striving to trouble the brethren. Elders Dunham, Carter, Knight, Pettingill, Brown and Perry spent the evening in walking through the tents, rebuking diseases and foul spirits, and standing between the Saints and the destroyer. Brother Byington's child died, but many were healed.

Friday, 10th. Sickness continued in the Camp, and Brother Carrico's child died. Elder Tyler was healed by the prayer of faith.

Sunday, 12th. The Camp held a public meeting, as was common with them on the Sabbath. Another camp, consisting of Saints from Canada, was in the vicinity, led by Elder John E. Page, who preached at the Kirtland Camp in the afternoon.

Monday, 13th. The Camp, as a body, were not united, and did not improve their time and labor as they ought to have done; some, however, were faithful. In the evening they were instructed in all meekness, forbearance and love, but in great faithfulness, by Elders Zera Pulsipher and Elias Smith.

Thursday, 16th. Some of the brethren passed from the Camp to work on another job, near Dayton, Montgomery County.

Sunday, 19th. Elder Joel Johnson preached to the Camp in the morning, and the Sacrament was administered in the afternoon by Elders Johnson and Hale.

Monday, 20th. Elders Nathan K. Knight and George Brooks, having previously been cut off, left the Camp with their families.

In the evening one of the children of the Camp was seized with an evil

spirit, which drew the child's face quite out of shape and produced great suffering. The Elders rebuked the spirit and it departed.

Elder Willey was taken sick the same evening; he had laid his hands on his child and rebuked an evil spirit, which left the child and entered into him. The Elders gathered around him as he lay in his wagon, and all his conversation was in rhyme. Elder Hale stepped into the wagon to lift him up, when he jumped forward at Elders Snow and Carter, crying, "Yow, yow, yow," gnashing his teeth and champing most horribly. They laid hands on him and rebuked the foul spirit in the name of Jesus, when he called for a drink and lay quietly down, but soon recommenced his poetry. Elder Duncan McArthur laid hands upon him and began to rebuke the spirit. At the same instant he groaned, yelled and screamed out, as it were, all in a whistling sound, and he began to talk like a man. As soon as Elder McArthur was done, he lay down, went to sleep and remained well.

Tuesday, 21st. There were two births in the Camp.

Thursday, 23rd. The brethren of the Camp made five rods of turnpike, in addition to their job, and the blacksmiths were engaged in setting wagon tires, horse shoes, etc., so as to be ready for traveling. They had erected a forge and burned pit-coal for their use at the place of their encampment.

Brother John Hammond and family were cut off from the Camp, because he did not govern his family and stand in his lot as tent master. The duty of a tent master in the Kirtland Camp was to see that prayer

was attended to in its season; to call all the inmates into the tent, and call the brethren by name who were to lead in prayer, as they prayed in their turns or lot. He was also to watch over his tent for good, and see that no iniquity existed; and if he discovered iniquity he was to put it down in righteousness; but if he could not, he should call for help; and if that would not do, he must prefer a charge in writing against the offenders, and report them to the council. His duty was furthermore to draw daily rations for his tent.

Elders Dunham, Pettingill, Carter and Hale laid hands upon Sister Willey, who was very sick and troubled with the powers of darkness, and prayed for her and rebuked her disease. Elder Dunham was immediately seized with terrible pain in his side, shoulders, neck, etc., and with difficulty succeeded in speaking to ask the Elders to lay hands on him in the name of Jesus, which they did, and rebuked the devil, who left him, but soon returned. He again called the Elders to rebuke the evil spirit, which they had to do sharply, and it left him very sore, for when he had dominion over him, he felt as though he must die.

Saturday, 25th. Brother Joseph Coon's son died today. The Camp was reorganized, because, by transgression and leaving, the first organization had been in some degree broken.

Sunday, 26th. President Joseph Young preached to the Camp in the morning, and two were confirmed in the Church. There were many spectators present. The Sacrament was administered in the evening. Two strangers came to dispute, but went away confounded.

Wednesday, 29th. At 3 o'clock the trumpet of the Camp sounded, it being one hour earlier than usual, to give time to prepare for the journey. Every heart leaped with joy, and even the children were so delighted that they appeared like a lot of playful lambs. The divisions moved off 4, 3, 2, 1, i. e., in transposition, and at 9 o'clock in the morning the encampment was vacated, which had been occupied for one month. Elder Martin H. Peck was left at Dayton sick. They passed through Montgomery into Jackson Township, traveled 18 miles and tented in the road, 270 miles from Kirtland.

Thursday, 30th. The Camp passed through Libertyville and Eaton, the county seat of Preble County, to the boundary line between the States of Ohio and Indiana, and encamped within 20 rods of the place where Zion's Camp tented on its journey to Missouri in 1834; 290 miles from Kirtland.

Friday, 31st. The Camp passed through Richmond (Wayne County, Indiana), crossed White Water River, and passed through Centerville and Jacksonburgh to Germantown and encamped in a stubble field near the town. The brethren bought corn standing in the field for their horses at \$10 per acre. Traveled 18 miles.

Saturday, September 1st. The Camp passed through Cambridge, Dublin (Wayne County, Indiana), Lewisville, Ogden, Raysville and Knightsown (Henry County), and encamped in Frankville Township, where they found it difficult to get grain, the people being disposed to take advantage of them. Day's travel, 22 miles; 332 miles from Kirtland.

Sunday, 2nd. The Camp passed through Charlottesville, Portland,

Jackson and Greenfield, and pitched tents near the bridge in Jones Township. Brother Merriam's child died at Center Township. In the afternoon a miserable, malicious, drunken stage driver ran his horses aside out of their course, and struck the fore wheel of one of the Camp wagons and stove it in pieces, and then drove off exulting in his mischief. The stage was marked *J. P. Voorhees*. Traveled 21 miles.

Monday, 3rd. In the morning Elder Willey's wife died. After burial, the Camp passed Cumberland village, and Indianapolis, the capital of Indiana, where they were threatened, but passed unmolested, with the exception of one brickbat, which was hurled at one of the brethren, but passed him unharmed; they encamped in Wayne Township, near the house of Brother David R. Miller. Day's journey, 17 miles; 370 miles from Kirtland.

Tuesday, 4th. The Camp passed Bridgeport, Plainfield, Guilford, Belleville and Stilesville in Morgan County, to Marion Township in Putnam County. In the morning the presidency of the Camp exhorted the brethren to humble themselves before the Lord, and put away selfishness, covetousness, complainings and murmurings, or else expect to meet the indignation of heaven. They traveled 22 miles; had an excellent encampment and plenty of dry wood.

Wednesday, 5th. Brother Nickerson's child died in the morning. The Camp passed through Mount Vernon, Mount Meridian, Putnamsville, Manhattan, Washington Township and Pleasant Garden into Van Buren Township, Clay County, and tented in the road, about one furlong west

of Grass Creek. There was much sickness in the country through which the Camp passed. Day's journey, 20 miles.

Thursday, 6th. The Camp traveled 17 miles and encamped two miles east of Terre Haute. The roads were very dusty.

Friday, 7th. In the morning a daughter of Elder Shumway and a child of Mrs. Clark died. The Camp passed through Terre Haute, crossed the Wabash River and traveled in a northwesterly direction through Fayette Township, and encamped about a furlong west of E. S. Wolff's store, within two miles of the west line of Indiana. Day's journey, 11 miles; 423 miles from Kirtland.

Saturday, 8th. The Camp passed on into the State of Illinois, leaving Pilot Grove on the right. Traveled 25 miles and camped; 448 miles from Kirtland.

Sunday, 9th. The Camp traveled two miles before breakfast and tented on each side of Little Ambro, near the west line of Edgar County, where the sisters made a washing, directed by the council, as they had not had the privilege for some days, on account of sickness and death.

The Camp was instructed that they could not all go up to Zion in a body, but it was wisdom that some should look out places and stop through the winter and work, and get means to keep themselves when they arrived, as the money received at Bath was growing short; but the Seventies ought to go up and locate their families and then go forth and preach the gospel.

Monday, 10th. Nine or ten families concluded to look for a place and stop over winter. The Camp passed Independence, crossed a fifteen-mile

prairie, and traveled during the day 22 miles; encamped by a small stream.

Tuesday, 11th. The Camp traveled 16 miles across the prairie and pitched their tents in Macon County.

Wednesday, 12th. Traveled 29 miles and camped; 534 miles from Kirtland.

Thursday, 13th. Traveled to Bolivia, 12 miles. Brother Thornton's child died in the evening and was buried in the morning of the 14th.

Friday, 14th. The Camp passed through Springfield, subsequently made the capital of Illinois, instead of Vandalia. Much opposition was manifested at Springfield in the countenances of men, in their hard and unrighteous remarks against Joseph Smith and the Church, and in much laughing. "Fever and ague and chills and fever are the prevailing diseases in this place. The drought continues, the water in the wells is very low, and many springs are entirely dry. Many families found stopping places before arriving here."

Joseph Smith writes: "The Camp is sometimes short of food, both for man and beast, and they know what it is to be hungry. Their living, for the last 100 miles, has been on boiled corn and shaving pudding, which is made of new corn ears, shaved upon a jointer or fore plane. It is excellent with milk, butter or sweetening, and with an occasional mixture of pork, flour, potatoes, pumpkins, melons, etc., makes a comfortable living. The cobs and remaining corn are given to the horses, so that nothing is lost; hence the proverb goes forth in the world, that the 'Mormons' would starve a host of enemies to death, for they will live



where everybody else would die. The Camp numbers about 260. There were 515, but they have been scattered to the four winds; and it is because of selfishness, covetousness, murmurings and complainings, and not having fulfilled their covenants, that they have been thus scattered."

The Camp traveled 23 miles, and tented five miles west of Springfield; 569 miles from Kirtland.

Saturday, 15th. The Camp traveled 12 miles before breakfast, and pitched their tents near Elder Keeler's. There was some contention among the brethren. Brother Pierce's child died in the afternoon, and was buried in the camp ground.

Monday, 17th. The Camp passed through Jacksonville, Morgan County, to Geneva, 25 miles. There was a small branch of the Church at Geneva and a few members in Jacksonville.

Tuesday, 18th. The Camp traveled to Brussells (Phillip's Ferry), 15 miles, and a part of the Camp crossed over the Illinois River.

Wednesday, 19th. The remainder of the Camp crossed the Illinois River, passed through Griggsville and Pittsfield (Pike County), and camped on the prairie; 13 miles.

Thursday, 20th. The Camp traveled 22 miles, crossed the Mississippi River on the steamer *Rescue*, opposite Louisiana, into Pike County, Missouri, and pitched their tents one mile west of the town; 666 miles from Kirtland.

To show the feeling which at that time prevailed in the State of Missouri, we give the following extract from Elder John D. Tyler's journal, from which most of the facts in the history of the Camp are derived:

"This afternoon, as I was driving the herd, I had occasion to go back after a cow that

strayed on the prairie where we baited. I found her and went on, and met two men who had crossed in the steamboat, and had quarreled with some of the Camp before me. The spokesman asked me, 'Do you belong to this gang of Mormons?'

" 'Yes I do,' said I.

" 'Are you a Mormon?'

" 'Yes I am.'

" 'Well, stop.'

" 'I am in too much hurry to be stopped, and you have not power to stop me.'

" 'Are you such a fool as to let those people lead you right into danger?'

" 'What danger?'

" 'Why don't you know the Missourians are raising armies to cut you to pieces?'

" 'We don't fear armies.'

" 'G—d d—n you, don't you fear me?' said he, at the same time making an attempt to take his arms from his side, for he was armed with a brace of pistols and a dirk.

" 'No, I don't fear you any more than I do any other man.'

" 'Well, G—d d—n ye, what do you fear?'

" 'We fear nothing but God Almighty.'

" 'Well, stop! stop!! damn ye, stop!!! or I'll shoot you down.'

" 'Well, shoot, if you like,' said I, and passed along, while he kept swearing he would shoot me, 'and' said he, 'you will all get killed before you get up the bluff.' "

Friday, 21st. The Camp traveled 17 miles. It rained much during the day. The Saints crowded into their tents in their wet clothes, and fasted till morning. The women and children slept well, and there was no complaint of "taking cold."

Saturday, 22nd. Traveled 18 miles, and tented in a grove; having to go half a mile after water. This was often the case both before and afterwards.

Sunday, 23rd. The funds of the Camp were nearly exhausted, but the counsel was to continue the journey. The tents were pitched two miles west of Paris, Monroe County, after traveling 22 miles. There was some disorder in the movements of the teams and some murmurings, Satan was trying

to divide and destroy. The brethren were hailed in Paris, and asked where they were driving the cattle to? "Towards the Rocky Mountains," was the reply. "Well, you are going into trouble," said the inquisitors. Elder Tyler replied, "We have been in that place before, and know how to take it." The people growled and grumbled like wolves.

Monday, 24th. The Camp was called together, and the council informed the brethren of their scanty means, and that there had been a delinquency in consecrating their moneys and goods according to the pattern; that the council had hired large sums of money, for which they were bound, and liable to imprisonment in case of failure, and must wait on the brethren for their pay, and these sums had been expended for the benefit of the Camp. The brethren were then required to bring forward their goods, which they did, and Elders B. Wilber and D. Carter went forward with the commissary's wagon to sell them.

The Camp went on, and passed through Madison, Monroe County, (where they were assailed with all kinds of bugbear stories about the "Mormons," war, etc.); tented on the west side of the north branch of Salt River, on the encampment that Elder John E. Page had left on the previous Saturday with his Canada Camp. The brethren were told that the governor was just ahead, with a military force, to stop them, to which they gave no heed.

Tuesday, 25th. The Camp passed through Huntsville, Randolph County, which had been appointed as one of the Stakes of Zion, and which the Prophet said was the ancient site of the City of Manti, and pitched tents

at Dark Creek, Salt Licks; 17 miles. It was reported to the Camp that 110 men had volunteered from Randolph and break up the Camp, on account of difficulties.

Wednesday, 26th. In the morning Elder James Foster, one of the counselors, proposed to the council to stop and break up the camp, on account of existing circumstances, there being so much excitement in Missouri at the time, because of so many of the Saints moving west. It was therefore thought wisdom for the brethren of the Camp to go to work and provide for their families, until the difficulties should be settled, or they heard from Far West. Four of the seven counselors were present and three absent. Elder Joseph Young had stopped by the way. A silence prevailed in the council, "and shortly," writes the historian, "it was made manifest that it was the desire of the Camp, collectively, to go forward, notwithstanding their deference always to the will of the Lord through the council. Elder McArthur said, in a low tone, that it was his impression that we might go up in righteousness, keeping the commandments, and not be molested. Some others manifested the same, in concurrence with his feelings. There was silence again. Here our faith was tried, and here the Lord looked down and beheld us, and lo, a gentleman who was directly from Far West, and was returning to the East, where he belonged, left his carriage and came among us, although we were a good distance from the road, and he told us that there was no trouble in Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman, but that we might go right along without danger of running into anybody's difficulties; and fur-

ther, said he, 'the 110 volunteers are to be discharged this day at 12 o'clock, at Keytsville.' The council replied, 'We believe you, sir, and we thank you for your kindness.' A vote of the Camp was called for, whether we should proceed, and instantly all hands were raised toward heaven!

"We then pursued our journey, and in crossing a seven-mile prairie we stopped in a hollow to bait the teams and herd; here the volunteers passed us on their homeward-bound passage, according to the man's word. One of the platoon officers said, as he passed them: 'Well, friends, we will let you go this time, but the next time we will give you the devil up to the handle.' The bugler gave a blast, and said, 'You'll soon reach the promised land, don't you hear Gabriel's trumpet?'"

The Camp passed on, crossed Chariton River, and pitched their tents. Here they found seven of the nine wagons of the Florence Camp from Huron, which had passed them at Springfield, Illinois.

Thursday, 27th. In the morning some of the wagons left the Camp, when it belonged to others to go, which produced confusion all day. There were also some murmurings and covetousness, and want of liberality to impart to the hungry, etc. The Camp passed through Keytsville, Chariton County, and encamped on the east side of Yellow Creek (18 miles), where the council spent the evening in trying to restore order.

Friday, 28th. The Camp passed but two houses in traveling 17 miles; tented at Parson's Creek. That part of Missouri was at that time well supplied with wild turkeys, prairie hens, quails, partridges, wild geese,

ducks, snipes, deer, raccoon and squirrel, which the brethren sometimes succeeded in getting for food. Green parrots, eagles, owls, turkey buzzards and cranes were also found there.

Saturday, 29th. The Camp traveled 15 miles, passed through Chilicothe, Livingston County, and encamped on the prairie, one mile west of the town. Brothers Carrico's and Holmes' wagons were upset and hurt several, and a number were sick.

Sunday, 30th. The Camp crossed Grand River, passed Utica, crossed Shoal Creek and tented on the west bank in Caldwell County (after traveling during the day 15 miles), on the farm of Brother Oliver Walker, who gave each member of the Camp a large pumpkin and plenty of shelled beans. The brethren felt as though they had entered the land of promise.

Monday, October 1st. The Camp traveled 20 miles, crossed Brush Creek and encamped on the next bank. Elder Joshua L. Holman left the Camp in the morning and went on towards Far West, which the Camp disapproved of by unanimous vote in the evening.

Tuesday, 2nd. Volunteers were called for to drive the herd, when A. P. Tyler and Aroet L. Hale offered their services with a grace becoming riper years, for they were young, "and this is recorded of them as a memorial to their praise and an encouragement to others."

The camp passed on towards Far West, and Joseph the Prophet, in company with Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith, Isaac Morley and Geo. W. Robinson, met them some miles out and escorted them into the city, where they encamped on the public

square, directly south and close by the cellar for the Lord's House. "Here friends greeted friends in the name of the Lord. Isaac Morley, Patriarch at Far West, furnished a beef for the Camp. President Rigdon provided a supper for the sick, and the brethren provided for them like men of God, for they were hungry, having eaten but little for several days, and having traveled 11 miles that day; 866 miles from Kirtland, the way the camp traveled."

Wednesday, 3rd. The Camp continued their journey to Ambrosial Creek, where they pitched their tents. The Prophet went with them a mile or two, to a beautiful spring on the prairie, accompanied by Elder Rigdon, Brother Hyrum and Brigham Young, with whom he returned to Far West.

Thursday, 4th. The Camp arrived in Adam-ondi-Ahman, Daviess County.

"This is a day," writes the Prophet Joseph, "long to be remembered by

that part of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints called the Camp, or Kirtland Camp No. 1, for they arrived at their destination and began to pitch their tents about sunset, when one of the brethren living in the place proclaimed with a loud voice: 'Brethren, your long and tedious journey is now ended, you are now on the public square of Adam-ondi-Ahman. This is the place where Adam blessed his posterity, when they rose up and called him Michael, the Prince, the Arch-Angel, and he being full of the Holy Ghost predicted what should befall his posterity to the latest generation.'"

The Kirtland Camp arrived at the time the persecutions were raging against the Saints in Missouri, and about a month later the whole "Mormon" population, including the Saints from Kirtland, were forced, by the mob, to vacate Adam-ondi-Ahman and remove to Far West.

## DE WITT

De Witt, a village in Carroll County, Missouri (550 inhabitants in 1880), is located on the north side of the Missouri River, six miles above the outlet of Grand River. In the beginning of 1838 it contained only a few houses, but through the urgent solicitations of Henry Root and David Thomas, owners of extensive tracts of land in the neighborhood, the Saints, who at that time were fast filling up Caldwell County, about fifty miles to the northwest, were induced to settle at De Witt, the opportunities offered them for getting homes there being very favorable. As quite a number of

Saints were expected from Canada that season, it was decided by the authorities of the Church that they, upon their arrival in Missouri, should locate at De Witt, if the place suited them; but previous to this quite a number of families belonging to the Saints (mostly from Ohio) settled there, and were busily engaged in agricultural pursuits during the summer. About the 25th of September (1838) Elder John E. Page arrived in De Witt with about fifty wagons and several hundred Saints from Canada, and a few days later a small company arrived from the same province under

the direction of Christopher Merkley. Zenos H. Gurley and Francis and Alexander Beckstead, from Williamsburgh (now Morrisburgh), Upper Canada, came in the latter company.

About the 12th of September, 1838, previous to the arrival of the Canada Saints, some sixty or more mobbers entered De Witt and warned the brethren to leave the place, but it was not until the 20th of that month that any serious demonstration of mob violence occurred. On that day about a hundred, perhaps a hundred and fifty, men rode into the settlement and threatened the Saints with violence and death if they did not agree at once to leave the place and move out of the county; but after some deliberation they concluded to give them till the first of October following to take their departure. They threatened further that if the "Mormons" were not gone by that time they would exterminate them without regard to age or sex, and destroy their chattels, by throwing them into the river, etc. Two days later (September 22nd) a petition, signed by about fifty of the brethren, was sent to Lilburn W. Boggs, governor of Missouri. This petition set forth the above doings of the mob and prayed the executive "to take such steps as would put a stop to all the lawless proceedings." But the governor gave no heed to their prayers.

In the meantime Dr. Austin, who had commanded the mob forces in Daviess County, was compelled through the prompt action of Generals David R. Atchison and H. G. Parks, to cease his operations in that part of the country (see *Adam-ondi-Ahman*); but instead of obeying the general's order to disperse and

go home, this notorious reprobate repaired to Carroll County with most of his outlaws, and there united with the mobbers who were already besieging De Witt.

The Saints at De Witt had paid no attention to the demand of the mob made September 20th, that they leave the State by the 1st of October, but under the command of Geo. M. Hinkle, who had removed thither from Far West, commenced making active preparations for defense. On the 2nd of that month, early in the morning, about fifty men rode into De Witt and began firing upon the peaceful inhabitants of the place. Henry Root made out an affidavit to the foregoing effect, and at once went to General Parks with it, who was still in the vicinity of Adam-ondi-Ahman with two companies of militia. Leaving Colonel Thompson he at once ordered two companies of militia under the command of Captain Bogart and Houston to arm and equip, as the law directed, with six days' provisions and fifty rounds of powder and ball. With these companies he marched for De Witt, arriving there October 4th. Just before leaving Daviess County, he sent a messenger to a Colonel Jones, of Carroll County, to call out three companies of militia and join him at Carrollton, the county seat of Carroll County. This order, however, was ignored. In his report to General Atchison (dated October 6th at the brigade headquarters, five miles from De Witt), General Parks says that when he had arrived at De Witt two days previous he found the place surrounded by Dr. Austin's men, to the number of some three hundred, provided with a piece of artillery ready to attack the "Mormons" gathered in

the town. But he expressed the opinion that the "Mormons" could beat Austin even if he had five hundred troops. In the meantime his own forces were mutinous, and refused to act against the mob; hence he had sent word to General Doniphan to raise companies from Platte, Clay and Clinton counties, as he had no faith that troops ordered from Livingston and other counties would come.

During the time that trouble was threatened at Adam-ondi-Ahman, Governor Boggs, in addition to the militia ordered out under Atchison, Doniphan and Parks, had directed General S. D. Lucas, of the 4th division of the Missouri militia to march with 400 men to join General Atchison in Daviess County. Orders similar in their nature were issued to Major-Generals Lewis Bolton, John B. Clark and Thomas D. Grant. But the success of General Atchison in scattering the mob forces about Adam-ondi-Ahman led to the disbanding of the militia under the generals just named. This apparently was not relished at all by S. D. Lucas, who a few years previous had taken an active part in connection with Governor Boggs against the Saints in the Jackson County troubles. Hearing of the difficulty arising at De Witt, he thought it another opportunity to strike a blow at the defenseless people he before had assisted in murdering and driving from their homes. He passed down the Missouri River, near De Witt, October 1st (the time the actual hostilities began there), and reported the situation to Governor Boggs, and in concluding his letter he says:

"If a fight has actually taken place, of which I have no doubt, it will create excitement in

the whole of Upper Missouri, and these base and degraded beings (the Mormons) will be exterminated from the face of the earth. \* \* \* It is an unpleasant state of affairs. The remedy I do not pretend to suggest to your Excellency. My troops were only dismissed subject to further orders, and can be called into the field at an hour's warning."

"Base and degraded beings!" comments Joseph the Prophet. "Whoever heard before of high-minded and honorable men condescending to sacrifice their honor by stooping to wage war, without cause or provocation, against 'base and degraded beings.' But General Lucas is ready with his whole division, at an hour's warning, to enter the field of battle on such degraded terms, if his own statement is true. But General Lucas knew better. He knew the Saints were an innocent, unoffending people, and would fight only in self-defense, and why write such a letter to the governor to influence his mind? Why not keep to truth and justice on your side, poor Lucas? The annals of eternity will unfold to you who are the 'base beings,' and what it will take to 'satisfy' for the shedding of 'Mormon blood.'"

Among others, the people of Chariton County were asked to assist against the "Mormons" and to drive them from De Witt; but before taking any other action in the matter the people of that county held a public meeting on the question, and sent a committee of two (John W. Price and William H. Logan) to enquire into the situation and report. Their report is a complete vindication of the action of the Saints in this instance, which the following extract will show:

"We arrived at the place of difficulties on the 4th of October, and found a large portion of the citizens of Carroll and adjoining counties assembled near De Witt well armed. We inquired into the nature of the difficulties. They said there was a large portion of the people called Mormons, embodied in De Witt, from

different parts of the world. They were unwilling for them to remain there, which is the cause of their waging war against them. To use the gentlemen's language, they were waging a war of extermination, or to remove them from the said county. We also went into De Witt, to see the situation of the Mormons. We found them in the act of defense, begging for peace, and wishing for the civil authorities to repair there as early as possible to settle the difficulties between the parties. Hostilities have commenced, and will continue until they are stopped by the civil authorities."

Following is the Prophet Joseph's account of the difficulties in De Witt:

"About this time I took a journey, in company with some others, to the lower part of the county of Caldwell, for the purpose of selecting a location for a town. While on my journey I was met by one of the brethren from De Witt, in Carroll County, who stated that our people who had settled in that place were, and had for some time been, surrounded by a mob, who had threatened their lives, and had shot at them several times; and that he was on his way to Far West, to inform the brethren there of the facts.

"I was surprised on receiving this intelligence, although there had, previous to this time, been some manifestations of mobs, but I had hoped that the good sense of the majority of the people, and their respect for the Constitution, would have put down any spirit of persecution which might have been manifested in that neighborhood.

"Immediately on receiving this intelligence, I made preparations to go to that place, and endeavor, if possible, to allay the feelings of the citizens, and save the lives of my brethren who were thus exposed to their wrath.

"I arrived at De Witt on Saturday, October 6th, and found that the accounts of the situation of that place were correct; for it was with much

difficulty, and by traveling unfrequented roads, that I was able to get there, all the principal roads being strongly guarded by the mob, who refused all ingress as well as egress. I found my brethren, who were only a handful in comparison to the mob by which they were surrounded, in this situation, and their provisions nearly exhausted, and no prospect of obtaining any more. We thought it necessary to send immediately to the governor, to inform him of the circumstances, hoping to receive from the executive the protection which we needed, and which was guaranteed to us in common with other citizens. Several gentlemen of standing and respectability who live in the immediate vicinity, who were not in any way connected with the Church of Latter-day Saints but had witnessed the proceedings of our enemies, came forward and made affidavits to the treatment we had received, and concerning our perilous situation, offering their services to go and present the case to the governor themselves.

\* \* \*

"Under the same date (October 6th), from the camp near De Witt, eleven bloodthirsty fellows, viz., Congrave Jackson, Larkin H. Woods, Thomas Jackson, Rolla M. Daviess, James Jackson, jun., Johnson Jackson, John L. Tomlin, Sidney S. Woods, George Crigler, William L. Banks and Whitfield Dicken wrote a most inflammatory, lying and murderous communication to the citizens of Howard County, calling upon them, as friends and fellow-citizens, to come to their immediate rescue, as the 'Mormons' were then firing upon them, and they would have to act on the de-

fensive until they could procure more assistance.

"A. C. Woods, a citizen of Howard County, made a certificate to the same lies, which he gathered in the mob camp; he did not go into De Witt, or take any trouble to learn the truth of what he certified. While the people will lie, and the authorities will uphold them, what justice can honest men expect?

"On Tuesday (October 9th), General Clark wrote to the governor, from Booneville, that the names subscribed to the enclosed paper (as before stated, 6th instant) are worthy, prudent and patriotic citizens of Howard County; men who would leave their families and everything dear, and go to a foreign country to seek the blood of innocent men, women and children! If this constitute 'worth, prudence and patriotism,' let me be worthless, imprudent and unpatriotic.

"The messenger, Mr. Caldwell, who had been dispatched to the governor for assistance, returned, but instead of receiving any aid, or even sympathy, from his Excellency, we were told that 'the quarrel was between the Mormons and the mob,' and that 'we might fight it out.'

"About this time a mob, commanded by Hyrum Standly, took Smith Humphrey's goods out of his house, and said Standly set fire to Humphrey's house and burned it before his eyes, and ordered him to leave the place forthwith, which he did by fleeing from De Witt to Caldwell County. The mob had sent to Jackson County and got a cannon, powder and balls, and bodies of armed men had gathered in to aid them, from Ray, Saline, Howard, Livingston, Clinton, Clay and Platte counties, and other parts of the

State, and a man by the name of Jackson from Howard County was appointed their leader.

"The Saints were forbidden to go out of the town, under pain of death, and were shot at when they attempted to go out to get food, of which they were destitute. As fast as their cattle, horses or other property got where the mob could get hold of them, they were taken as spoil. By these outrages the brethren were obliged, most of them, to live in wagons or tents.

"Application had been made to the judge of the circuit court for protection, and he ordered out two companies of militia, one commanded by Captain Samuel Bogart, a Methodist minister and one of the worst of the mobocrats. The whole force was placed under the command of General Parks, another mobber, if his letters speak his feelings; and his actions do not belie him, for he never made the first attempt to disperse the mob; and when asked the reason for his conduct, he always replied that Bogart and his company were mutinous and mobocratic, that he dared not attempt a dispersion of the mob. Two other principal men of the mob were Major Ashley, member of the legislature, and Sashiel Woods, a Presbyterian clergyman.

"General Parks informed us that a greater part of his men under Captain Bogart had mutinied, and that he would be obliged to draw them off from the place, for fear they would join the mob; consequently he could offer us no assistance.

"We had now no hopes whatever of successfully resisting the mob, who kept constantly increasing; our provisions were entirely exhausted, and we were worn out by continually stand-



ing on guard and watching the movements of our enemies, who, on frequent occasions, during the time I was there, fired at us a great many times. Some of the brethren perished from starvation; and for once in my life I had the pain of beholding some of my fellow-creatures fall victims to the spirit of persecution, which did then and has since prevailed to such an extent in Upper Missouri. They were men, too, who were virtuous, and against whom no legal process could for one moment be sustained, but who, in consequence of their love of God, attachment to his cause, and their determination to keep the faith, were thus brought to an untimely grave.

"In the meantime Henry Root and David Thomas, who had been the sole cause of the settlement of our people in De Witt, solicited the Saints to leave the place. Thomas said he had assurances from the mob that if they would leave the place they would not be hurt, and that they would be paid for all losses which they had sustained; that they had come as mediators to accomplish this object, and that persons should be appointed to set a value on the property which they had to leave, and that they should be paid for it. The Saints finally, through necessity, had to comply and leave the place. Accordingly, a committee was appointed—Judge Erickson was one of the committee, and Major Florey, of Rutsville, another; the names of others not remembered. They appraised the real estate; that was all.

"When the people came to start,

many of their horses, oxen and cows were gone and could not be found; it was known at the time and the mob boasted, that they had killed the oxen and lived on them. A great number of cows, oxen and horses have never been seen since; the mob, no doubt, took and kept them, and that was all the brethren ever received of the promised to pay for all their losses at De Witt. Many houses belonging to my brethren were burned, their cattle driven away, and a great quantity of their property was destroyed by the mob. Seeing no prospect of relief, the governor having turned a deaf ear to our entreaties, the militia having mutinied, and the greater part of them being ready to join the mob, the brethren came to the conclusion that they would leave the place and seek a shelter elsewhere. Gathering up as many wagons as could be got ready, which was about seventy, with a remnant of the property they had been able to save from their ruthless foes, they left De Witt and started for Caldwell County on the afternoon of Thursday, October 11, 1838. They traveled that day about twelve miles and encamped in a grove of timber near the road.

"That evening a woman, who had a short time before given birth to a child, died in consequence of the exposure occasioned by the operations of the mob, and having to move before her strength would properly admit of it. She was buried in the grove without a coffin.

"During our journey we were continually harassed and threatened by the mob, who shot at us several times, while several of our brethren died from fatigue and privations which they had to endure, and we had to inter them by the wayside, without a coffin and under circumstances the most distressing. We arrived in Caldwell on the 12th of October."

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*"What thou seest, write in a book."* REV. 1:11.

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## THE EIGHT WITNESSES

Of the important dates which are lacking in the early history of the Church, there are perhaps none that are missed more than those which could give the exact time when the plates of the Book of Mormon were shown to the witnesses, who testified of its divinity. It is supposed that the Three Witnesses saw the plates in the latter part of June, 1829, shortly after Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery had removed to Fayette, Seneca County, New York, from their former home in Harmony, Pennsylvania, but it may have been in the month following. The Eight Witnesses, according to the history of Joseph Smith, saw them soon afterwards; hence that must have been sometime in July, 1829. In Lucy Smith's history of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, page 140, it is recorded in substance, that a few days after the Three Witnesses had seen the plates in a grove near Whitmer's house, in Fayette, Joseph, Oliver Cowdery and some of the Whitmers came to visit Joseph's parents at Manchester, Ontario County. Another object of their visit was to make some arrangements about getting the Book of Mormon printed in the adjacent

town of Palmyra. "Soon after they came," writes Lucy Smith, "all the male part of the company, with my husband (Joseph Smith, sen.), Samuel and Hyrum (two of the Prophet's brothers), retired to a place where the family were in the habit of offering up their secret devotions to God. They went to this place, because it had been revealed to Joseph that the plates would be carried thither by one of the ancient Nephites. Here it was that those Eight Witnesses, whose names are recorded in the Book of Mormon, looked upon them and handled them." Of this they bear record in the following plain words:

### *"The Testimony of Eight Witnesses.*

"Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, unto whom this work shall come, that Joseph Smith, jun., the translator of this work, has shown unto us the plates of which hath been spoken, which have the appearance of gold; and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated we did handle with our hands; and we also saw the engravings thereon, all of which has the appearance of ancient work, and of curious workmanship. And this we bear record with words of soberness, that the said Smith has shown unto us, for we have seen and hefted, and know of a surety that the said Smith has got the plates of which we have spoken. And we give our names unto the world, to witness unto the

world that which we have seen; and we lie not, God bearing witness of it.

CHRISTIAN WHITMER,  
JACOB WHITMER,  
PETER WHITMER, jun.,  
JOHN WHITMER,  
HIRAM PAGE,  
JOSEPH SMITH, sen.,  
HYRUM SMITH,  
SAMUEL H. SMITH."

#### CHRISTIAN WHITMER,

The eldest son of Peter Whitmer, sen., and Mary Musselman, was born January 18, 1798, removed while quite young with his parents from Pennsylvania to Seneca County, western New York, where he married Anne Schott February 22, 1825, and established himself as a shoemaker. He was among the number who first embraced the fulness of the gospel as revealed through the youthful Prophet, and was baptized together with his wife in Seneca Lake, April 11, 1830, by Elder Oliver Cowdery. This was only five days after the Church was organized. In 1831 he removed with the rest of the Whitmer family and the Saints generally from New York State to Ohio, and the following year to Jackson County Missouri, where he, in a council of High Priests held August 21, 1833, was ordained to the High Priesthood. He passed through all the scenes of persecutions and mobbings which took place in that part of the country until he, in connection with the rest of the Saints, was driven out of Jackson County in November, 1833. He settled temporarily in Clay County. July 3, 1834, he was chosen as one of the High Councilors of the Church in Missouri. This position he occupied until his death which occurred in Clay County, November 27, 1835. For several years before his demise he suffered considerably from lame-

ness, having an ugly sore on one of his legs, which was the direct cause of his early death. He was faithful and true until the last, and always bore a strong testimony of the divinity of the Book of Mormon. He left no children. After his demise his wife returned to her parents in New York State, where she married again, but was divorced from her second husband. She died many years ago in Seneca County, New York.

#### JACOB WHITMER,

The second son of Peter Whitmer, sen., and Mary Musselman, was born in Pennsylvania January 27, 1800, removed with his parents to New York State when a boy, and married Elizabeth Schott, September 29, 1825, with whom he had nine children. Of these seven are now dead. He was one of the first who became convinced that the principles revealed by the Prophet Joseph were true, and was, together with his wife, baptized by Oliver Cowdery, in Seneca Lake, April 11, 1830, a few days after the Church was organized. With the rest of the Whitmer family he removed to Ohio in 1831 and subsequently settled in Jackson County, Missouri, from whence he was driven by a mob in 1833. He was also identified with the Church in Clay and Caldwell counties. In the latter county he acted a short time as a temporary High Councilor and also as a member of the building committee for the erection of the Lord's House at Far West. He severed his connection with the Church in 1838, after which he settled near Richmond, Ray County, where he remained until his death which occurred April 21, 1856. He was then 56 years 2 months and 26 days old. He was a shoemaker by trade and also owned a little farm at the time of his

demise. One of his sons, David P. Whitmer, was a lawyer of considerable prominence and served one or more terms as mayor of Richmond. His only living daughter, Mrs. Mary Ann Bisbee, widow of the late J. P. Bisbee, lives near Richmond, Missouri, and has been a widow for a number of years. John C. Whitmer, his only remaining son, also lives about a mile south of Richmond. He is the custodian of the original Church record which his uncle John Whitmer refused to give up to the proper authorities, and he also presides over the so-called "Whitmer Faction" or the Church of Christ, who believe in some of the doctrines taught by the Prophet and reject others. John C. Whitmer testified to the writer of this article in September, 1888, as follows: "My father (Jacob Whitmer) was always faithful and true to his testimony in regard to the Book of Mormon, and confirmed it on his death-bed." From other sources it is known that Jacob Whitmer ever remained firm and steadfast to his testimony of the divinity of that sacred record, of which he was permitted to be so important a witness.

#### PETER WHITMER, JUN.,

Fifth son of Peter Whitmer, sen., and Mary Musselman, was born September 27, 1809. Soon after Joseph's arrival at Fayette from Pennsylvania in the summer of 1829, Peter became a zealous friend of the Prophet and an able assistant in the work of God, and he desired most earnestly that Joseph should inquire of the Lord for him in order that he might know his duties and the Lord's will concerning him. The Prophet did so through the Urim and Thummim, and received a revelation commanding

Peter to preach repentance to this generation. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 16.) This was in June, 1829. About the same time he was baptized by Oliver Cowdery in Seneca Lake, being at that time about twenty years of age.

In September, 1830, he was called by revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 30) to preach the gospel, together with Oliver Cowdery, and in the following month he was chosen by revelation to accompany Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery and R. Ziba Peterson on a mission to the Lamanites. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 32.) They started for the West soon afterwards, and had an eventful journey, fraught with many hardships and much suffering. In Kirtland, Ohio, they raised up a large branch, after which they traveled nearly one thousand miles through mud and snow, mostly on foot, to Jackson County, Missouri, where they arrived in the early part of 1831. (See pages 385-389.)

While Parley P. Pratt and Oliver Cowdery commenced a mission among the Lamanites across the borders, Peter Whitmer, jun., and another missionary companion found employment as tailors in the village of Independence, remaining there until the arrival of Joseph Smith and a number of the brethren in July following. Subsequently Peter Whitmer, jun., took an active part with the Saints in Jackson County and still later in Clay County. He died on a farm about two miles from Liberty, Clay County, September 22, 1836, and was buried by the side of his brother Christian, who died about ten months previous. He had been consumptive for a number of years previous to his demise. He left a wife and three children, all

daughters, one of them being born after his death. One of his daughters now lives in Richmond, Missouri, another in Fort Scott, Kansas, and the third one in Moberly, Randolph County, Missouri. Like all the other witnesses to the Book of Mormon, Peter Whitmer, jun., was true and faithful to his testimony till the last.

#### JOHN WHITMER,

The third son of Peter Whitmer, sen., and Mary Musselman, was born August 27, 1802. He was baptized by Oliver Cowdery in Seneca Lake in June, 1829, soon after Joseph Smith's arrival in Seneca County from Pennsylvania. His brothers David and Peter were baptized about the same time.

John Whitmer assisted Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery considerably in writing while they were translating the latter part of the Book of Mormon in his father's house. In the meantime he became very zealous in the work, and, according to his earnest desire, Joseph inquired concerning him through the Urim and Thummim, and received a revelation in which he was commanded to declare repentance and bring souls unto Christ. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 15.) He was closely connected with the Prophet in his early administrations, and accompanied him on his first missionary trips to Colesville, Broome County, where a large branch of the Church was built up in the midst of considerable persecution. He was also present at the little meeting at Harmony, Pennsylvania, in August, 1830, when the revelation concerning the Sacrament was given. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 27.)

In September, 1830, he was called by revelation to preach the gospel and to labor continuously in the interest

of Zion (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 30), and on March 8, 1831, he was chosen by revelation to labor as a historian for the Church. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 47.) Again in November, 1831, he was called by revelation (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 69) to accompany Oliver Cowdery to Jackson County, Missouri, with the revelations which he previously had assisted Joseph in copying and preparing for printing. He was also one of the "seven High Priests sent up from Kirtland to build up Zion," to stand at the head of the Church in Jackson County, Missouri, and at the time of the persecutions was a member of the committee who negotiated with the mob and agreed that the Saints should leave Jackson County. Later we find his name attached to petitions addressed to Governor Dunklin, of Missouri, praying for redress and protection against mob violence. In Clay County he was again quite active and his name appears in connection with several important documents and correspondences of the Church at that time. Next his brother David, John was the most prominent and able man among the Whitmers, and rendered efficient service to the Church in various ways, as long as he remained faithful. July 3, 1834, he was ordained one of the assistant presidents of the Church in Clay County, his brother David being ordained president on the same occasion. Some time afterwards John paid a visit to Kirtland, Ohio, where he acted as a High Councilor and took an active part in the affairs of the Church as one of the presiding officers from Missouri. He was present at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, and received his blessings and anointings

under the hands of the First Presidency, after which he returned to Missouri. At a meeting of High Priests held in Far West, Missouri, April 7, 1837, he was appointed to act as a member of a committee for the sale of town lots in Far West.

At a conference held in Far West, November 7, 1837, objections were made to John Whitmer as one of the assistant presidents of the Church in Missouri, but after he had made confessions he was temporarily sustained in his position. On February 5, 1838, however, he was finally rejected, together with David Whitmer and William W. Phelps, the other two presidents of the Church in Missouri. John was excommunicated from the Church by the High Council at Far West, March 10, 1838, "for persisting in unchristian-like conduct," for (in connection with David Whitmer and William W. Phelps) having kept \$2,000 of Church funds, which had been subscribed and paid in by members of the Church for building the Lord's House in Far West, etc.

After his excommunication from the Church, John Whitmer refused to deliver the Church documents in his possession to the proper authorities, which gave occasion for quite a severe letter from Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon. The records, however, were never obtained; they are now in the custody of John C. Whitmer (a nephew of John Whitmer), who resides in Richmond, Clay County, Missouri.

After the fall of Far West, John took advantage of the cheap rates at which the lands, which the Saints were compelled to leave, could be bought, and he succeeded in purchasing the principal part of the old town-

site. When he died at his residence at Far West, July 11, 1878, he was known as an extensive farmer and stock-raiser. Although he never joined the Church again, after his excommunication in 1838, he was always true to his testimony in regard to the Book of Mormon. Even in his darkest days, and at the time he first turned his back upon the Church and the Prophet Joseph, he declared in the presence of a number of Missourians—enemies to the work of God—that he knew the Book of Mormon was true. (See page 458.) His nephew, John C. Whitmer, of Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, who was with him a few days before his death, testifies that he bore testimony to the truth of the Book of Mormon until the last, which is corroborated by many others who visited him on various occasions previous to that.

John Whitmer was the father of four children, three sons and one daughter. One of his sons died when about ten years old and another was killed in the late civil war. His only remaining son, Jacob D. Whitmer, lives on the old Far West site, and owns one of the best farms in that part of the country, including the Temple Block, which he has inherited from his father. John's only daughter also lives in Far West, on the old homestead, a little east of Jacob D. Whitmer's residence.

#### HIRAM PAGE

Was born in the State of Vermont in the year 1800. He commenced to study medicine when quite young, and traveled considerably in the State of New York and Canada as a physician. Finally he located in Seneca County, New York, where he became acquainted with the Whitmer family,

and finally married Catherine Whitmer November 10, 1825, with whom he had nine children. Having become a firm believer in the fulness of the gospel as revealed through the Prophet Joseph, he was baptized by Oliver Cowdery, in Seneca Lake, April 11, 1830. His wife was baptized at the same time. Soon afterwards he came in possession of a stone by which he obtained certain revelations concerning the order of the Church and other matters, which were entirely at variance with the New Testament and the revelations received by Joseph Smith. This happened at a time when Joseph was absent, and when he heard of it, it caused him much uneasiness, as a number of the Saints, including Oliver Cowdery and the Whitmer family, believed in the things revealed by Hiram Page. At a conference held September 1, 1830, when Joseph presided, this matter was given close attention, and after considerable investigation Hiram Page as well as all the other members who were present, renounced everything connected with the stone. The Lord also said in a revelation that the things which Page had written from the stone were not from him. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 28.)

In 1831 Hiram Page removed to Kirtland, Ohio, where he remained until the following year, when he settled in Jackson County, Missouri, near the town of Independence. During the persecutions of the Saints in Jackson County in 1833, he was selected, together with three others, to go to Lexington to see the circuit judge and obtain a peace warrant. Upon their affidavits, Judge John F. Ryland issued writs against some of the ring-leaders of the mob, to be placed in the hands of the Jackson County sheriff,

but these writs never accomplished any good.

After the expulsion from Jackson County, Page took an active part with the Saints in Clay County, and in 1836 became one of the founders of Far West, Caldwell County.

In 1838 he severed his connection with the Saints and subsequently removed to Ray County, where he remained until the end of his earthly career. He died August 12, 1852, on his farm, near the present site of Excelsior Springs, about 14 miles northwest of Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, and near the boundary line between Ray and Clay counties. Of his nine children only four are now alive. His eldest living son, Philander Page, resides two and a half miles south of Richmond. Another son lives near by, and a daughter resides in Carroll County, Missouri.

To the writer of this article Philander Page testified in September, 1888, as follows: "I knew my father to be true and faithful to his testimony of the divinity of the Book of Mormon until the very last. Whenever he had an opportunity to bear his testimony to this effect, he would always do so, and seemed to rejoice exceedingly in having been privileged to see the plates and thus become one of the Eight Witnesses. I can also testify that Jacob, John and David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery died in full faith in the divinity of the Book of Mormon. I was with all these witnesses on their death-beds and heard them all bear their last testimony."

John C. Whitmer, a nephew of Hiram Page by marriage, testifies: "I was closely connected with Hiram Page in business transactions and other matters, he being married to

my aunt. I knew him at all times and under all circumstances to be true to his testimony concerning the divinity of the Book of Mormon."

**JOSEPH SMITH, SEN.,**

Father of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, was born July 12, 1771, and died September 14, 1840. (See pages 89 and 90.)

**HYRUM SMITH,**

The Patriarch, and a brother of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, was born February 9, 1800, and was martyred June 27, 1844. (See page 71.)

**SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH,**

The fourth son of Joseph Smith and Lucy Mack, was born in the town of Tunbridge, Orange County, Vermont, March 13, 1808. In his early life he assisted his father in farming. He possessed a religious turn of mind, and at an early age joined the Presbyterian Church, to which sect he belonged until he visited his brother Joseph in Pennsylvania in May, 1829, when Joseph informed him that the Lord was about to commence his latter-day work. He also showed him that part of the Book of Mormon which he had translated, and labored to persuade him concerning the gospel of Jesus Christ, which was about to be revealed in its fulness.

Samuel was not, however, very easily persuaded of these things, but after much inquiry and explanation he retired and prayed that he might obtain from the Lord wisdom to enable him to judge for himself; the result was, that he obtained revelation for himself sufficient to convince him of the truth of the testimony of his brother Joseph.

May 15, 1829, having been commanded of the Lord, Joseph Smith and

Oliver Cowdery were baptized, and as they were returning from the water to the house, they overheard Samuel engaged in secret prayer. Joseph said that he considered that a sufficient testimony of his being a fit subject for baptism; and as they had now received authority to baptize, they spoke to Samuel upon the subject, and he went straightway to the water with them, and was baptized by Oliver Cowdery, he being the third person baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ in the last dispensation.

He was present at the organization of the Church, April 6, 1830, and was one of the six who at that time constituted the members of the Church. He was ordained to the Priesthood on that day.

On the 30th of June following the organization of the Church, he took some Books of Mormon and started out on his mission, to which he had been set apart by his brother Joseph, and on traveling twenty-five miles, which was his first day's journey, he stopped at a number of places in order to sell his books, but was turned out of doors as soon as he declared his principles.

When evening came on, he was faint and almost discouraged, but coming to an inn, which was surrounded with every appearance of plenty, he called to see if the landlord would buy one of his books. On going in, Samuel inquired of him, if he did not wish to purchase a history of the origin of the Indians.

"I do not know," replied the host, "how did you get hold of it?"

"It was translated," rejoined Samuel, "by my brother from some gold plates that he found buried in the earth."



"You d—d liar," cried the landlord, "get out of my house—you shan't stay one minute with your books."

Samuel was sick at heart, for this was the fifth time he had been turned out of doors that day. He left the house, and traveled a short distance, and washed his feet in a small brook, as a testimony against the man.

He then proceeded five miles further on his journey, and seeing an apple tree a short distance from the road, he concluded to pass the night under it; and here he lay all night upon the cold, damp ground.

In the morning he arose from his comfortless bed, and observing a small cottage at no great distance, he drew near, hoping to get a little refreshment. The only inmate was a widow who seemed very poor. He asked her for food, relating the story of his former treatment. She prepared him some victuals, and after eating, he explained to her the history of the Book of Mormon. She listened attentively, and believed all that he told her, but, in consequence of her poverty, she was unable to purchase one of the books. He presented her with one, and proceeded to Bloomington, which was eight miles further.

Here he stopped at the house of one John P. Greene, who was a Methodist preacher, and was at that time about starting on a preaching mission. He, like the others, did not wish to make a purchase of what he considered at that time to be a nonsensical fable; however, he said that he would take a subscription paper, and if he found any one on his route who was disposed to purchase, he would take his name, and in two weeks, Samuel might call again, and he would let him know what the

prospect was of selling. After making this arrangement, Samuel left one of his books with him and returned home.

At the time appointed, Samuel started again for the Rev. John P. Greene's, in order to learn the success which this gentleman had met with, in finding sale for the Book of Mormon. This time his father and mother accompanied him, and it was their intention to have passed near the tavern, where Samuel was so abusively treated a fortnight previous, but just before they came to the house, a sign of small pox intercepted them.

They turned aside, and meeting a citizen of the place, they inquired of him to what extent this disease prevailed. He answered, that the tavern-keeper and two of his family had died with it not long since, but he did not know that any one else had caught the distemper, and that it was brought into the neighborhood by a traveler who stopped at the tavern over night.

Samuel performed several short missions with the books, and gave the following account of his third mission to Livonia:

"When I arrived at Mr. Greene's, Mrs. Greene informed me that her husband was absent from home, that there was no prospect of selling my books, and even the one which I had left with them, she expected I would have to take away, as Mr. Greene had no disposition to purchase it, although she had read it herself, and was much pleased with it.

"I then talked with her a short time, and, binding my knapsack upon my shoulders, rose to depart; but as I bade her farewell, it was impressed upon my mind to leave the book with her. I made her a present of it, and told her that the Spirit forbade my taking it away. She burst into tears, and requested me to pray with her. I did so, and afterwards explained to her the most profitable manner of reading the book which had been left with her: which was, to ask God when she read it for a testi-

mony of the truth of what she had read, and she would receive the Spirit of God, which would enable her to discern the things of God. I then left her and returned home."

In December, 1830, Samuel was sent to preach in Kirtland, Ohio, and the surrounding country. In the beginning of 1831, Joseph, the Prophet, went to Kirtland to preside, accompanied by Hyrum and many of the Saints, and soon after Joseph Smith senior's family, and the Saints who were located in Fayette, near Waterloo, also moved to Kirtland.

In June, 1831, Samuel was called by revelation to go to Missouri on a mission, in company with Reynolds Cahoon. They immediately started, and while on their way called upon William E. McLellin, and preached the gospel to him and a large assembly, in a room which he procured. William being troubled about the things he heard, closed up his business and proceeded after the brethren to Missouri, where he was baptized before they arrived. This is the McLellin who afterwards became one of the Twelve Apostles.

On their route to Missouri they preached the gospel, traveling without purse or scrip, and enduring much for the want of food and rest.

When they started for Missouri, about fifty brethren set out for the same place, and when they all arrived they met on the spot for the Temple, in Jackson County, and dedicated the ground unto God.

Brothers Smith and Cahoon spent several days in Jackson County, attended several conferences, and were with Joseph when he received several revelations. While in Missouri they were required to remain together on their return mission until they reached

**THE TRANSLATOR:**  
Joseph Smith.....

**THE THREE WITNESSES:**

Oliver Cowdery.....  
David Whitmer.....  
Martin Harris.....

**THE EIGHT WITNESSES:**

Christian Whitmer.....  
Jacob Whitmer.....  
Peter Whitmer, Jun.....  
John Whitmer.....  
Hiram Page.....  
Joseph Smith, sen.....  
Hyrum Smith.....  
Samuel H. Smith.....

**DIAGRAM OF THE WITNESSES TO THE BOOK OF MORMON**

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	1888

home, which was in September following.

Soon after their arrival in Kirtland, they took a mission into the southern townships and counties of Ohio. Brother Cahoon returned after laboring about six weeks, but Samuel continued preaching through the winter, strengthening the churches and comforting the Saints.

In a revelation given in January, 1832, Orson Hyde and Samuel H. Smith were called to go on a mission to the Eastern country; accordingly they started in March, and traveled and preached the gospel through the States of Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Maine; they baptized several in Spafford, New York, in Boston and Lynne, Massachusetts, in Providence, R. I., and in Saco, Maine, preaching much from house to house, as well as in public congregations, and returning to Kirtland in November or December.

During the year 1833, Samuel preached among the churches as he had opportunity, and spent a good portion of his time laboring with his hands.

February 17, 1834, he was ordained and set apart as one of the High Council in Kirtland, in which office he officiated until he went to Missouri in 1838.

August 13, 1834, he married Mary Bailey, who was born in Bedford, Hillsborough County, New Hampshire, December 20, 1808.

Sept. 16, 1835, he was appointed, in company with David Whitmer, as a committee and general agent to act in the name of and for the Literary Firm. In the winter of 1835-36 he chopped cord wood for Lorenzo D. Young.

In 1838 he traveled in company with his brother Joseph from Kirtland to Missouri. He passed through the mobbings of that year, in Far West and Adam-on-di-Ahman, Missouri, and his family suffered nigh unto death from exposure, as they were driven about by the mob.

He was in the Crooked River battle, and immediately after, by the counsel of President Brigham Young, with Charles C. Rich, Benjamin L. Clapp, Lorenzo D. Young and about twenty others, they fled for Illinois by the wilderness through the north part of Missouri, and the southern part of Iowa.

Messengers overtook them and informed them that General Clark had sent a company of fifty well armed men to follow them, with strict orders not to return until they had brought back the company either dead or alive.

When this word came, a halt was called, and Samuel asked what they should do in case the enemy overtook them; after a few moments' consultation the whole company covenanted with uplifted hands to heaven, that if they were overtaken they would fight till they died, and not a man would fall into the hands of the enemy alive.

They then traveled on ten miles and camped on the edge of some timber on the north side of a four-mile prairie, and they afterwards learned that their enemies camped on the south edge of the same prairie, and would have overtaken them next day, had not the Lord sent a heavy snow storm during the night; and when the brethren arose in the morning, Phineas H. Young remarked, that that snow storm was their salvation. The air was so full of snow they could

hardly find their horses to saddle them, but they soon mounted them and continued their journey as fast as they could. The storm was from the north, and in their faces; it filled their tracks in a few moments, so that Clark's men could not follow.

It was reported that this company of men on their return informed the general that they could not overtake the d—d Mormons, for they were stopped by a snow storm.

After they had got some distance on their journey, the company divided into three parts, the three brethren named falling in company with Samuel; their provisions gave out, and after spending several days without food, except eating lynne buds and slippery elm bark, they camped upon a small stream.

The company, numbering eight, held a council, and appointed Samuel president, that they might receive the word of the Lord in relation to the situation of Joseph the Prophet and those that were with him, also in relation to their families and what they were to do to obtain food; they all knelt down in a circle, and each one prayed; then the spirit of the Lord came upon Samuel, and, being filled with the Holy Ghost, he arose and said:

"Thus saith the Lord, my servant Joseph is not injured, nor any of his brethren that are with him, but they will all be delivered out of the hands of their enemies; your families are all well, but anxious about you. Let your hearts be comforted, for I the Lord will provide food for you on the morrow."

They went to bed with glad hearts and arose in the morning, when they again prayed and went out two by two to hunt for food. Brother Clapp saw several squirrels and shot at them, but could not hit them; they were only

to stay one hour; at the end of that time they all returned, except Charles C. Rich and Samuel.

Feeling very faint, one of the brethren proposed killing a horse. Brother Clapp said that when Brothers Rich and Samuel returned they would have food, as he never knew the Lord to giye a false revelation to his servants; and while conversing upon the matter, the brethren made their appearance with two silk handkerchiefs tied up full of bread and dried meat.

Samuel's mind was led in a certain direction, and following it they came to an Indian camp; they made known to the Indians by signs, that they were hungry; upon this the squaw with all possible speed baked them some cakes, and gave each of them two, sending two to each of the six brethren in camp, giving them to understand that she would be glad to send more, but she had but little flour, and her papooses (children) would be hungry.

When they arrived in camp all felt to rejoice; they formed a circle around the food, and asked a blessing upon it. The bread was very good, being shortened with racoon's oil. After eating, they started upon their journey and obtained food sufficient, so that none perished.

Samuel arrived in Quincy, and was there to assist his father and mother over the river on their arrival, and hired a house for them, into which he also assisted four other families of the Saints; and according to the word of the Lord unto him, his brothers, Joseph and Hyrum, were delivered, and they arrived in Quincy in April, 1839.

He, in company with Don Carlos, moved on to a farm which he rented,

near Macomb, McDonough County, Illinois, where he spent the season farming.

Elders Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor called upon them as they went on their missions to England, and held a meeting with the Saints in that place (October 11, 1839). Don Carlos preached, and was followed by Samuel, who enjoyed much of the Holy Spirit and bore a strong testimony to the truth of the work of God; he assisted the brethren upon their journey.

In September, 1840, Samuel received the following blessing under the hands of his father, Joseph Smith, sen., upon his dying bed:

"Samuel, you have been a faithful and obedient son. By your faithfulness you have brought many into the Church. The Lord has seen your diligence, and you are blessed, in that he has never chastised you, but has called you home to rest; and there is a crown laid up for you which shall grow brighter and brighter unto the perfect day.

"When the Lord called you, he said, 'Samuel, I have seen thy sufferings, have heard thy cries, and beheld thy faithfulness; thy skirts are clean from the blood of this generation.' Because of these things, I seal upon your head all the blessings which I have heretofore pronounced upon you; and this my dying blessing I now seal upon you. Even so: Amen.

His wife Mary died January 25, 1841, after bearing to him four children, namely Susannah B., Mary B., Samuel Harrison B. and Lucy B.

In April, 1841, he was sent on a mission to preach the gospel in Scott and adjoining counties, Illinois. May 3rd, he married Levira Clark, daughter of Gardner and Delecta Clark, born in Livonia, Livingston County, New York, July 30, 1815; he preached during the summer and fall, his wife remaining with his father-in-law.

In the month of November he returned to Nauvoo, taking his family

with him, where he remained during the winter, and also the summer of 1842, during which time he worked mostly for Joseph, and harvested in the country.

In the fall of 1842 he removed to his brother William's tavern at Plymouth. In the summer of 1843 he was often at Nauvoo. In the fall he chopped wood, and prepared his farm by making fences and clearing off the timber, preaching the gospel in the vicinity as he had the opportunity.

In the spring of 1844 he cultivated his farm, and upon hearing of the imprisonment of his brothers in Carthage jail, he repaired thither on horseback to see them. While on the way he was pursued by the mobocrats; but in consequence of the fleetness of his horse, he was enabled to reach Carthage in safety, from whence he went to Nauvoo in company with the bodies of his martyred brothers, Joseph and Hyrum.

He was soon after taken sick of bilious fever, and died on the 30th of July, 1844, aged 36 years.

The following extract is from his obituary notice, published in the *Times and Seasons*:

"The exit of this worthy man, so soon after the horrible butchery of his brothers, Joseph and Hyrum, in Carthage jail, is a matter of deep solemnity to the family, as well as a remediless loss to all. If ever there lived a good man upon the earth, Samuel H. Smith was that person. His labors in the Church from first to last, carrying glad tidings to the eastern cities, and finally his steadfastness as one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, and many saintly traits of virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness and charity, shall be given of him hereafter, as a man of God."

His wife Levira bore to him three daughters, viz., Levira A. C., Louisa C. and Lucy J. C.

## STILL ANOTHER WITNESS.

If the statements of persons who have always been considered reliable and truthful can be taken as authority, there is, besides the eleven witnesses of the Book of Mormon, still another one, who testifies to having seen the plates. This person is a woman, and if her statement is reliable, she is the only woman on earth who has ever enjoyed the privilege of seeing the holy treasure. Her name is Mary Musselman Whitmer, familiarly known as Mother Whitmer, she being the wife of Peter Whitmer, sen., and mother of five of the witnesses. Her son, David Whitmer, before his death, testified on several occasions that his mother had seen the plates, and when the writer visited Richmond, Missouri, a few weeks ago, John C. Whitmer, a grandson of the lady in question testified in the following language:

"I have heard my grandmother (Mary M. Whitmer) say on several occasions that she was shown the plates of the Book of Mormon by an holy angel, whom she always called Brother Nephi. (She undoubtedly refers to Moroni, the angel who had the plates in charge.) It was at the time, she said, when the translation was going on at the house of the elder Peter Whitmer, her husband. Joseph Smith and his wife and Oliver Cowdery, whom David Whitmer a short time previous had brought up from Harmony, Pennsylvania, were all boarding with the Whitmers, and my grandmother in having so many extra persons to care for, besides her own large household, was often overloaded with work to such an extent that she felt it to be quite a burden. One evening, when (after having done her usual day's work in

the house) she went to the barn to milk the cows, she met a stranger carrying something on his back that looked like a knapsack. At first she was a little afraid of him, but when he spoke to her in a kind, friendly tone, and began to explain to her the nature of the work which was going on in her house, she was filled with unexpressible joy and satisfaction. He then untied his knapsack and showed her a bundle of plates, which in size and appearance corresponded with the description subsequently given by the witnesses to the Book of Mormon. This strange person turned the leaves of the book of plates over, leaf after leaf, and also showed her the engravings upon them; after which he told her to be patient and faithful in bearing her burden a little longer, promising that if she would do so, she should be blessed; and her reward would be sure, if she proved faithful to the end. The personage then suddenly vanished with the plates, and where he went, she could not tell. From that moment my grandmother was enabled to perform her household duties with comparative ease, and she felt no more inclination to murmur because her lot was hard. I knew my grandmother to be a good, noble and truthful woman, and I have not the least doubt of her statement in regard to seeing the plates being strictly true. She was a strong believer in the Book of Mormon until the day of her death."

## THE WHITMER FAMILY.

Next to the Smith family, the Whitmers are prominently connected with the early history of the Church. Of the Three Witnesses, one (David) was a Whitmer, and another (Cowdery) afterwards married one of the

"Whitmer girls." Of the Eight Witnesses, four were Whitmers, and the fifth (Hiram Page) a Whitmer by marriage. It may therefore be proper to introduce the following, which the editor of the *HISTORICAL RECORD* gleaned partly from the Whitmer family record during his late visit to Richmond, Missouri:

Peter Whitmer, senior, was born April 14, 1773, and his wife Mary Musselman August 27, 1778. They had eight children, namely:

Christian, born January 18, 1798.

Jacob, born January 27, 1800.

John, born August 27, 1802.

David, born January 7, 1805.

Catherine (wife of Hiram Page), born April 22, 1807.

Peter, born September 27, 1809.

Nancy, born December 24, 1812. (She died April 19, 1813.)

Elizabeth Ann (wife of Oliver Cowdery), born January 22, 1815. (She still lives in South West City, McDonold County, Missouri, with her only living daughter, Mrs. Johnson, wife of Dr. Charles Johnson.)

The elder Peter Whitmer was a hard-working, God-fearing man, a strict Presbyterian, and brought his children up with rigid sectarian discipline. In the early part of the present century he removed with his family from Pennsylvania to western New

York, and settled on a farm in Fayette Township, Seneca County, about three miles south of Waterloo. There he built a one and a half story log house, the one in which the Church was organized on April 6, 1830, and where Joseph Smith received a number of important revelations. The house was torn down many years ago, but when the writer and his companions visited the place in September, 1888, they found several of the logs which once constituted a part of the building lying in a ditch near by; the old family well is also in existence yet. The elder Peter Whitmer and his wife were baptized by Oliver Cowdery in Seneca Lake, April 18, 1830. The following year the family removed to Kirtland, Ohio, and in 1832 to Jackson County, Missouri, where they subsequently suffered during the persecutions. They were also identified with the Church in Clay and Caldwell counties, but in 1838 nearly the entire Whitmer family turned their back upon the Prophet Joseph, and never afterwards became identified with the Church. Peter Whitmer, sen., died in Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, Aug. 12, 1854, and his wife died in January, 1856. Their earthly remains rest in the old Richmond graveyard, side by side of their son Jacob (one of the Eight Witnesses) and their son-in-law, Oliver Cowdery.

## DAVID WHITMER

David Whitmer, the last of all the witnesses to the Book of Mormon, died at his residence in Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, January 25, 1888, aged 83 years and 18 days. From the *Richmond Democrat* of February 2, 1888, a weekly paper published at Richmond, we cull the following,

as an addition to what is published in the *HISTORICAL RECORD*, pages 203-212:

"David Whitmer was born near Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania, Jan. 7, 1805, and married Julia Ann Jolly Jan. 9, 1831. \* \* \*

"When he was 24 years of age and working on his father's farm near Palmyra, New York, all that section of the country was more or less

excited over the reported discovery by Joseph Smith of the gold plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated. Oliver Cowdery, the village school teacher, mentioned the matter to him and announced his determination to visit Smith and investigate the matter for himself, promising Mr. Whitmer, at the latter's request, to advise him of the result. A few days later he received a letter from Cowdery, urging him to join him, which he did, being received by the Prophet with open arms. After remaining long enough to satisfy himself of the divine inspiration of Smith, the three returned to Whitmer's home, where it was agreed that the work of translation could be prosecuted.

"Shortly after his return, and while he was plowing in the field one afternoon, he was visited by Smith and Cowdery, who requested that he should accompany them into the woods on a hill across the road for the purpose of witnessing a manifestation that should qualify him and Cowdery to bear witness to the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon, Smith explaining that such procedure was in accordance with explicit instructions he had received from an angel of the Lord.

"Repairing to the woods they engaged in prayer for a short time, when suddenly a great light shone round about them, far brighter and more dazzling than the brilliancy of the noon day sun, seemingly enveloping the wood for a considerable distance. A spirit of elevation seized him as of joy indescribable, and a strange influence stole over him which so entranced him that he felt that he was chained to the spot. A moment later a divine personage clothed in white raiment appeared unto them, and immediately in front of the personage stood a table on which lay a number of gold plates, some brass plates, the Urim and Thummim and the 'sword of Laban.' All of these they were directed to examine carefully, and after their examination they were told that the Lord would demand that they bear witness thereof to all the world. These plates were engraved with characters termed in the Book of Mormon 'reformed Egyptian,' characters unknown to the linguists of the present day, which is claimed as a fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah:

"'And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot; for it is sealed,' etc. (Isaiah, 29:11.)

"While describing this vision to us, all traces of a severe cold from which he was suffering disappeared for the time being, his form straightened, his countenance assumed almost a beatified expression and his tones became strangely eloquent. Although evidently no studied effort, the description was a magnificent piece of word painting and he carried his hearers with him to that lonely hill by the old farm, and they stood there with him awed in the divine presence. Skeptics may laugh and scoff, if they will, but no man can listen to Mr. Whitmer as he talks of his interview with the angel of the Lord, without being most forcibly convinced that he has heard an honest man tell what he honestly believes to be true.

"The result of this vision was a proclamation setting forth the facts enumerated.

"The 'Urim and Thummim,' mentioned in the account of the vision were a pair of transparent stone spectacles. Smith would put on the spectacles, when a few words of the text of the Book of Mormon would appear on the lenses. When these were correctly transcribed by Cowdery, who acted as his amanuensis, these words would disappear and others take their place. When 116 pages were completed, Smith entrusted them to Martin Harris, to take to his home with a view to convert his family to the new faith. They were placed at night in a bureau drawer and next morning were missing, having been stolen. They were never found and never replaced, so that the Book of Mormon today is short that number of pages of the original matter. As a chastisement for this carelessness, the Urim and Thummim was taken from Smith. But by humbling himself, he again found favor with the Lord and was presented with a strange ovalshaped, chocolate colored stone, about the size of an egg, but more flat, which it was promised should answer the same purpose.\* With this stone all the present book was translated. The Prophet would place the stone in a hat, then put his face in the hat and read the words that appeared thereon. This stone was confided to Oliver Cowdery and preserved by him until his death in 1850. After that event Phineas Young succeeded in getting it from Cowdery's widow, and it is now among the sacred relics preserved at Salt Lake City.

\* \* \*

"David Whitmer bore his long illness with

\*This is somewhat misleading. Both the Urim and Thummim and the seer stone were returned to Joseph, and, according to the best information obtainable, he used both in translating the Book of Mormon.



great patience and fortitude, his faith never for a moment wavering, and when the summons came he sank peacefully to rest, with a smile on his countenance, just as if he was being lulled to sleep by sweet music. Just before the breath left the body, he opened his eyes, which glistened with the brightness of his early manhood. He then turned them toward heaven, and a wonderful light came over his countenance, which remained several moments, when the eyes gradually closed and David Whitmer was gone to his rest.

"On Monday last (Jan. 28, 1888), at 10 o'clock a. m., after awakening from a short slumber, he said he had seen beyond the veil and saw Christ on the other side. His friends, who were constantly at his bedside, claim that he had many manifestations of the truths of the great beyond, and which confirms their faith beyond all shadow of doubt.

"On Sunday evening, at 5:30 (January 22, 1888), Mr. Whitmer called his family and some friends to his bedside, and addressing himself to the attending physician said:

"Dr. Buchanan, I want you to say whether or not I am in my right mind, before I give my dying testimony."

"The doctor answered: 'Yes, you are in your right mind, for I have just had a conversation with you.'

"He then addressed himself to all around his bedside in these words: 'Now you must all be faithful in Christ. I want to say to you all, the Bible and the record of the Nephites (Book of Mormon) is true, so you can say that you have heard me bear my testimony on my death-bed. All be faithful in Christ, and your reward will be according to your works. God bless you all. My trust is in Christ forever, worlds without end. Amen.' \* \* \*

"On Friday morning last (Jan. 27, 1888), at 10:30, a number of the friends of the deceased assembled at his late residence, to pay a last tribute of respect to the worthy dead. Mr. John J. Snyder arose and read the first fourteen verses of the 22nd chapter of Revelations, and stated that the deceased had selected the 14th verse, to be read at the funeral service over his remains. It reads as follows:

"Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree

of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.'

"After the reading, an appropriate eulogy was pronounced by Mr. John C. Whitmer, a relative and intimate associate of the deceased.

"It was then announced that all present who desired to take a last look at the remains would be given an opportunity to do so at the house, as the coffin would not be opened at the grave. All present took advantage of this opportunity to once more look upon the features of the dead.

"The following old and well-known citizens of Richmond acted as pall-bearers: Joseph S. Hughes, Thomas D. Woodson, Dr. H. C. Garner, George L. Wasson, John P. Quisenberry and Col. J. W. Black, who then took charge of the remains and bore it to the hearse.

"Notwithstanding the cold, damp weather, a large number of friends and acquaintances followed the hearse and mourning family to the new cemetery, west of the city, where the body was laid to rest, and all that was mortal of one of the most remarkable men ever connected with the history of Ray County, was forever hidden from view. \* \* \*

"David Whitmer lived in Richmond about half a century, and we can say that no man ever lived here, who had among our people more friends and fewer enemies. Honest, conscientious and upright in all his dealings, just in his estimate of men, and open, manly and frank in his treatment of all, he made lasting friends who loved him to the end. \* \* \* He leaves a wife and two children, two grandchildren and several great-grand-children."

In April, 1887, David Whitmer and his family and friends had printed a pamphlet of 75 pages, with the following title: "An address to All Believers in Christ, by a Witness to the Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon." In this pamphlet David Whitmer explained at considerable length wherein he differed in his religious belief with the Saints in Utah. He denounces polygamy and other advanced doctrines.

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# THE HISTORICAL RECORD

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*"What thou seest, write in a book."* REV. 1:11.

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## JACKSON COUNTY, MISSOURI

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Jackson County, in the State of Missouri, is located in north latitude 39 degrees. Its northwestern corner commences at the confluence of the Kansas River with the waters of the Missouri, the latter of which for a distance of forty miles of its meanderings separate it from Clay and Ray counties upon the north. Upon a straight line the distance is 27 miles from the eastern to the western boundary. The length of the eastern boundary north and south is 23 miles, and the extreme length from its most northern point upon the Missouri River to its southern line is 27 miles. It is bounded on the east by Lafayette and Johnson counties, south by Cass County, and west by the Kansas State line, having an area of 385,404 acres.

Jackson County presents some physical features found in no other county in Missouri. There are three elevations or ridges passing through it from the south bearing northward 30 degrees east. The water drained from these ridges feed streams upon the east and west sides; those upon the east side of the western ridge become tributaries to the Big Blue, which dis-

charges its waters into the Missouri six miles below the mouth of the Kansas River, and those upon the western slope empty into the Kansas. The waters drained from the central ridge form streams upon the west side that also become tributaries to the Big Blue, and those drained from the eastern slope empty into the Little Blue, which forms the eastern boundary of the second ridge. The waters of the Little Blue are discharged into the Missouri at a point thirty miles by the river line east of the mouth of the Kansas. Waters drained from the third or east ridge form streams that also become tributaries of the Little Blue, flowing west, and those from the east side flow into the Sni-a-bar, which discharges its waters into the Missouri about three miles east of the northeast corner of the county. These principal streams, having their sources in the country south and west of Jackson County, are made up of springs that are found upon the uplands in great numbers. Along the streams are found bodies of excellent timber. The three elevations mentioned passing through the county north and south terminate abruptly

on the Missouri River, the middle one having an elevation of 354 feet above high water mark at a point four miles north of Independence. The western ridge terminates at Kansas City at an elevation of 292 feet above high water mark, and the eastern ridge breaks off near the northeast corner of the county. These three elevations, running nearly parallel with each other, the eastern and western approaching the central, finally unite or consolidate in one general elevation about five miles south and five miles east of the southwest corner of the county, forming a topographical elevation, the general direction of which is southwest, and may be followed by the continued elevation to the summit of Pike's Peak, in Colorado, without crossing a single stream of water.

These elevations with their perfect drainage present an exceedingly pure atmosphere throughout the entire county, thus precluding the possibility of malaria to exist to any great extent. Hence, it is one of the most healthy and desirable places of Missouri from a sanitary standpoint.

It can be safely estimated that 300,000 acres of the entire area are susceptible of high cultivation for agricultural purposes. The soil is very rich and fertile, consisting of a rich black loam, in places intermingled with sand and clay, and is from two to ten feet in depth, with a subsoil of a fine quality of clay, and the river bottoms are susceptible of yielding a larger crop per acre than any other lands northwest of the Mississippi River. The lands upon which the huckleberry grows are regarded as being the richest and most productive. Wheat and Indian corn are raised in abundance. The wonderful blue grass

grows spontaneously, and its beautiful carpet covers the whole country, lending beauty to lawns and dooryards, and wealth to innumerable pasture lands. Under cultivation, or in prepared ground, its spears grow to the enormous height of four feet, and its seed spikes stand firm and erect at the height of two to three feet. This grass excels all others as a pasture grass. The earliest in spring to attract the lowing herd, it is the last to succumb to the frosts and snows of winter, after having furnished good grazing all through the spring, summer and autumn months. Timothy, orchard grass and red clover also grow with great rapidity when cultivated.

Thus it will be seen that the country is especially adapted for stock-raising. Both climate and soil are favorable to the production of all the fruits and vegetables of the warm temperate climate; not only the hardy cereals, such as oats, barley, wheat, rye, buck-wheat, corn, etc., but also tobacco, cotton, flax, sweet-potatoes and all other common vegetables; also apples, pears, apricots, persimmons, plums of many varieties, the luscious peach, the delicious grape and a great many kinds of berries.

Though the supply of timber useful for lumbering purposes is nearly exhausted, there are still luxuriant growths of hickory, some black walnut, a variety of oaks, plenty of elm, cherry, honey-locust, mulberry, basswood and box elder; huge sycamores and cottonwoods in the river bottoms; also hard and soft maple.

The county is well supplied with springs of living water gushing out upon every hill-side. Wells of from 10 to 50 feet deep give a supply of

good limestone water. The clay, of which there is unlimited quantities, makes a fine quality of brick, and at no very great distances are stone quarries which supply a good quality of light colored sand stone; so that substantial building material may be said to be plentiful. Being located upon the highest elevation of land between the Rocky and Alleghany mountains, the air in Jackson County is pure, healthy and salubrious. The sky is generally clear; there is scarcely a day but some sunshine is seen, and snow in winter rarely lies on the ground over a week or ten days.

In 1880 the population of Jackson County, according to the U. S. census, was as follows:

Blue Township, outside Independence.....	3,837
Independence .....	3,146
Brooking Township .....	1,247
Fort Osage Township .....	2,207
Kaw Township outside Kansas City.....	2,568
Kansas City .....	55,785
Prairie Township .....	3,270
Sni-a-bar Township .....	3,908
Van Buren Township .....	2,124
Washington Township .....	1,666
Westport Township outside Westport.....	1,627
Westport Town .....	950

82,325

In 1870 Jackson County contained 55,041 and in 1860 22,913 inhabitants. With the rapid growth of Kansas City during the last few years the county now undoubtedly has nearly 200,000 inhabitants.

### INDEPENDENCE

The county seat of Jackson County is located upon an elevation of 1,075 feet above the Atlantic Ocean and 338 feet above the level of the Missouri River, being the highest point in northwestern Missouri, or between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains, along the same line of latitude. The

public square, in the center of which stands an elegant two-story brick court-house, with a tower on the east front, is just two and two-thirds miles in a bee line southeast from the nearest point on the Missouri River. It is also a fraction over ten miles due east from the Kansas State line, and four miles east of the Big Blue. The court house is located in the center of one of the highest elevations within the city corporation limits. The ground upon which it stands comprises one acre and a half, being beautified by trees and a magnificent lawn of blue grass. From the cupola of the court house a most beautiful view can be had of the surrounding country.

The business part of Independence, as in most Missouri towns of the same size, is built facing the four sides of the public square. The houses are mostly inferior structures and not at all in keeping with the court house and its pleasant surroundings. From the corners of the square are good roads leading into the country, but speaking generally the streets of Independence are in a bad and neglected condition. They are narrow and irregular, although most of them conform to the main points of the compass and are supposed to cross each other at right angles. Judging from appearance many of them are impassable for vehicles; the only evidence of their ever being used is a well-beaten, winding foot-path through the rank weeds, leading to some humble dwelling. Along the main thoroughfares are sidewalks either of plank or rough, undressed flat stones, but in places they are sadly in need of repairs. In passing along the streets a number of tumble-down frame

cabins, grouped promiscuously together, is occasionally seen, and here and there a neat cottage home quietly nestled in a grove of trees. There are also a few palatial residences, surrounded by well kept lawns, shrubbery and flower gardens, which stand as evidence of what this blessed spot is capable of when those who possess it shall carefully cultivate it.

In 1881 there were 38 stores, 3 colleges and 12 church edifices in Independence. Now there are a number more. The present population is about 5,000, quite a number of whom are negroes.

Independence is one of the oldest towns in Northwestern Missouri, having been laid out in 1827 by commissioners appointed by the General Assembly of Missouri, to pre-empt a tract of land upon which to locate a county seat for Jackson County. The original plat contained 240 acres, upon which there are sixteen springs of pure crystal water. Since then the city has been largely added to, and the additions made now include 640 acres within the corporate limits, which extend north and south a little less than two miles and east and west over half a mile. When the Saints lived in Jackson County in 1831-33, Independence was a mere village. It may now properly be considered a suburb of Kansas City.

#### KANSAS CITY,

The great metropolis of the Missouri Valley, now said to contain 150,000 inhabitants, is what makes Jackson County so populous. Aside of that, the county is not more densely populated than the other neighboring counties. Kansas City is situated at the confluence of the Missouri and Kansas rivers, reaching up to the Kansas

State line. It was first settled by James H. McGee in 1828, and was then known as Westport Landing, the town of Westport being located about five miles inland. On account of its location it became the headquarters for the Santa Fe and southwest overland Indian trade.

At the time of the first sale of town lots, April 30, 1846, it was estimated that there were about three hundred people in the new town, nearly all along the river front. February 22, 1853, a charter was obtained from the State, and in the spring of 1853 a local government was organized.

During the civil war, the town experienced a serious struggle and came out of the conflict with a population of less than three thousand inhabitants, but since then Kansas City has grown with wonderful rapidity. During the past two years upwards of \$2,000,000 have been invested in new manufacturing and commercial enterprises. Thirty miles (double track) of cable roads have been built and are in successful operation. Public and private buildings to the amount of over \$12,000,000 are said to have been erected last summer.

#### HISTORY.

The New Jerusalem is a subject in which all Latter-day Saints are greatly interested, but all that is known about it is what the Lord has revealed through his servants, both in ancient and modern times. The most ancient prophecy now in possession of the Saints relating to the New Jerusalem is one which was delivered by Enoch, the seventh from Adam, and revealed anew to Joseph Smith in December, 1830. We make the following extract (See Pearl of Great Price, Moses 7:60-62):

"And the Lord said unto Enoch: As I live, even so will I come in the last days, in the days of wickedness and vengeance, to fulfil the oath which I made unto you concerning the children of Noah; and the day shall come that the earth shall rest, but before that day the heavens shall be darkened, and a veil of darkness shall cover the earth, and the heavens shall shake, and also the earth; and great tribulations shall be among the children of men, but my people will I preserve; and righteousness will I send down out of heaven; and truth will I send forth out of the earth, to bear testimony of mine Only Begotten; his resurrection from the dead; yea, and also the resurrection of all men; and righteousness and truth will I cause to sweep the earth as with a flood, to gather out mine elect from the four quarters of the earth, unto a place which I shall prepare; an Holy City, that my people may gird up their loins and be looking forth for the time of my coming; for there shall be my Tabernacle, and it shall be called Zion, a New Jerusalem."

From this extract we learn the important fact that a holy city called Zion, or New Jerusalem, is to be built up on this earth preparatory to Christ's second advent; that it is to be built by the elect of God under his direction; that righteousness is to be sent down from heaven, and truth sent forth out of the earth for the purpose of gathering the people of God from among all nations. But this revelation does not tell in what part of the earth the New Jerusalem shall be located.

The Book of Mormon informs us that this holy city is to be built upon the continent of America, but it does not inform us upon what part of that vast country it should be built. (Ether 13: 1-12. 3 Nephi 20:22; 21:22-25.)

John, the Apostle, while on the Isle of Patmos, mentions the New Jerusalem, in writing to the Church in Philadelphia. (Rev. 3:12.) This great Apostle was also permitted in vision to see that city, after its renewal,

descending from God out of heaven upon the earth. Rev. 21:2.)

Ancient revelation, however, fails to point out the precise spot for the location of the city. Although the Book of Mormon tells us that it is to be built on the western continent, it does not say whether it is to be in North or South America.

In September, 1830, a few months after the organization of the Church, Joseph Smith received a revelation, in which the Lord said that the New Jerusalem should be built on the borders of the Lamanites. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 28: 9.)

In February, 1831, the Saints were commanded to ask the Lord, and he would in due time reveal unto them the place where the New Jerusalem should be built, and where the Saints should eventually be gathered in one. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 42: 9, 35, 62, 67.)

In a revelation given March 7, 1831, the Saints were commanded to gather up their riches with one heart and one mind, to purchase an inheritance, which the Lord should point out to them. This inheritance was to be the place of the New Jerusalem or Zion. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 45: 64-71.)

In June, 1831, the Lord commanded between twenty and thirty of the Elders to journey westward two by two, preaching the word and building up branches of the Church wherever the people would receive their testimony. These Elders were to take different routes, and meet together in the capacity of a conference in the western parts of Missouri. In this revelation the Lord said, that inasmuch as his Elders were faithful, the land of their inheritance should be

made known unto them; and also informed them that it was then in possession of their enemies. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 52.)

In this same month a small branch of the Church, called the Colesville branch, who had emigrated from the State of New York to Ohio, where they had been for a few weeks, were commanded to remove to the western borders of Missouri, near the Lamanites. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 54.)

Joseph Smith and several of the Elders arrived at Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, about the middle of July. Soon after their arrival, a revelation was given pointing out Independence as the central place for the city, and the place for the Temple a short distance west of the court house. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 57:3.)

Previous to this, five missionaries (Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer, jun., Richard Ziba Peterson and Frederick G. Williams) had arrived in Jackson County. Four of these brethren, who were the first Latter-day Saint Elders that ever visited that part of the country, left the State of New York the previous fall and journeyed to Ohio, from where Frederick G. Williams accompanied them to Independence, where they arrived early in 1831. Except Elder Pratt, who was sent east by his fellow-missionaries to report at the head-quarters of the Church, these brethren were still in Jackson County to welcome Joseph and the other Elders and Saints from the East when they arrived in July, 1831. See pages 389 and 395.)

In this same revelation the Saints were informed that it was wisdom to purchase the land throughout the country, that they might obtain it

for an everlasting inheritance. Algeron Sidney Gilbert was appointed an agent for the Church to receive money and to buy land for the benefit of the Saints; Edward Partridge was commanded to divide to the Saints their inheritances according to their families, etc.

About a week after the arrival of Joseph and his brethren, the Colesville branch (so-called because they formerly lived in Colesville, Broome County, New York) arrived and settled on the borders of a fertile prairie west of the Big Blue, in Kaw Township, and not far from the present location of Kansas City. August 2, 1831, Joseph, the Prophet, assisted the Colesville Saints to lay the first log for a house as the foundation of Zion in Kaw Township, 12 miles southwest of Independence. On the 3rd the spot for the Temple, a little west of Independence, was dedicated, and on the 4th the first conference was held by the Saints in Jackson County. (See pages 396 and 397.)

In obedience to a commandment previously given, Sidney Rigdon wrote the following description of the land of Zion:

"The country is unlike the timbered states of the East. As far as the eye can reach, the beautiful rolling prairies lie spread out like a sea of meadows; and are decorated with a growth of flowers so gorgeous and grand as to exceed description; and nothing is more fruitful, or a richer stockholder in the blooming prairies, than the honey bee. Only on the water courses is timber to be found. There in strips from one to three miles in width, and following faithfully the meanderings of the streams, it grows in luxuriant forests. The forests are a mixture of oak, hickory, black walnut, elm, ash, cherry, honey locust, mulberry, coffee bean, hackberry, boxelder, and bass wood; with the addition of cottonwood, butterwood, pecan, and soft and hard maple upon the bottoms. The shrubbery is beautiful, and consists in

part of plums, grapes, crab apple, and persimmons.

"The soil is rich and fertile; from three to ten feet deep, and generally composed of a rich black mould, intermingled with clay and sand. It yields in abundance wheat, corn, sweet potatoes, cotton and many other common agricultural products. Horses, cattle, and hogs, though of an inferior breed, are tolerably plentiful, and seem nearly to raise themselves by grazing in the vast prairie range in summer, and feeding upon the bottoms in winter. The wild game is less plentiful of course where man has commenced the cultivation of the soil, than in the wild prairies. Buffalo, elk, deer, bear, wolves, beaver, and many smaller animals here roam at pleasure. Turkeys, geese, swans, ducks, yea, a variety of the feathered tribe, are among the rich abundance that graces the delightful regions of this goodly land—the heritage of the children of God.

"The season is mild and delightful nearly three-quarters of the year, and as the land of Zion, situated at about equal distances from the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, as well as from the Alleghany and Rocky mountains, in the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude, and between the sixteenth and seventeenth degrees of west longitude, it bids fair—when the curse is taken from the land—to become one of the most blessed places on the globe. The winters are milder than in the Atlantic states of the same parallel of latitude, and the weather is more agreeable; so that were the virtues of the inhabitants only equal to the blessings of the Lord which he permits to crown the industry of those inhabitants, there would be a measure of the good things of life for the benefit of the Saints, full, pressed down, and running over, even an hundredfold. The disadvantages here, as in all new countries, are self-evident—lack of mills and schools; together with the natural privations and inconveniences which the hand of industry, the refinement of society, and the polish of science, overcome.

But all these impediments vanish when it is recollected what the Prophets have said concerning Zion in the last days; how the glory of Lebanon is to come upon her; the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box tree together, to beautify the place of his sanctuary, that he may make the place of his feet glorious. Where for brass, he will bring gold; and for iron, he will bring silver; and for wood, brass; and for stones, iron; and where the feast of fat things will be given

to the just; yea, when the splendor of the Lord is brought to our consideration for the good of his people, the calculations of men and the vain glory of the world vanish, and we exclaim, 'Out of Zion the perfection of beauty, God hath shined.'"

From the foregoing it is seen that the land of Zion (Jackson County) was a newly settled country, containing only a few inhabitants. The few colonists who had located within its borders were mostly immigrants from the Southern States. All the unoccupied land could be purchased from the Federal Government at the nominal price of \$1.25 per acre.

Having made the necessary arrangements for laying the foundation of permanent settlements in Jackson County, the Elders who had come from the East were commanded to return to their homes, bearing record by the way of what had been revealed, except Edward Partridge and a few others whom the Lord selected to settle in Missouri. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 60.) The Saints and Elders who remained began the work of building up permanent homes. They had arrived too late to raise crops that season, but they cut hay for their cattle and prepared some ground for cultivation. The fall and winter were occupied in building log cabins; and through the long, cold winter the Saints cheerfully submitted to all kinds of inconveniences, such as several families living in an open, unfinished log room, without windows, and nothing but the frozen ground for a floor, their food consisting mostly of beef and a little bread, made of coarse corn meal, manufactured by rubbing the ears of corn on a tin grater. The spirit of peace, union and love, however, was in their midst, and at their prayer meetings, and in their family worship, they were blessed with many



seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Thus the winter of 1831-1832 passed away.

As soon as the churches scattered abroad learned that the Lord had revealed the place where the city of Zion was to be built, preparations to purchase inheritances in the goodly land absorbed the minds of the faithful; and money was sent to the Church agent from all quarters to buy lands. As early as February, 1831, the Lord had said that those who loved him would remember the poor and consecrate of their property to sustain them, for inasmuch as they did it to the poor, they did it unto him; and that which was consecrated to the poor, should be imparted to them with a deed and a covenant that could not be broken; and every man was to be made a steward over his own property. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 42.)

Their law of consecration and stewardship was as follows:

Every man was to consecrate his property to the Bishop of the Church without reserve, with a covenant that could not be broken; and then he was to receive an inheritance back from the Bishop—sharing equally with his brethren, according to his family and circumstances—this inheritance being deeded to him by the Bishop; which inheritance then became his stewardship, upon which he was to improve according to the measure of wisdom he possessed; every man being independent in his management of his stewardship. By every man consecrating his property to the Bishop, and then receiving back as his stewardship only sufficient for his support, there was a surplus left in the hands of the Bishop to be placed in the Lord's Storehouse. Then if in the

management of his stewardship a man obtained more than was needful for his support, it, too, was put into the Lord's Storehouse, and that, as well as the surplus first named, was to be used in giving inheritances to the poor; and in assisting the brethren in the improvement of their respective stewardships, as should be appointed by the High Council of the Church, and the Bishop and his counselors. And thus the Saints were to be made equal in temporal things as well as in things that are spiritual.

The hearts of the Saints in Zion were made glad in the spring of 1832, by a visit from their youthful Prophet and Sidney Rigdon, who had suffered much for the truth's sake, during the winter that had just past, at the hands of a furious mob in Ohio. (See pages 112-114.) It was during this visit that Joseph was acknowledged, by the Church and Priesthood in Zion, President of the High Priesthood. It was on the occasion of this visit, too, that Joseph sought to so "organize the Church that the brethren might, eventually, be independent of every incumbrance beneath the celestial kingdom, by bonds and covenants of mutual friendship, and mutual love." (See pages 403 and 404.)

In a revelation given through the Prophet Joseph after his arrival in Jackson County in July, 1831, William W. Phelps was appointed a printer to the Church in Zion. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 57.) Accordingly a press and type were purchased in Cincinnati, Ohio, with which Elder Phelps arrived in Jackson County in the beginning of 1832. In the month of June following the first number of a monthly paper called the *Evening*

and *Morning Star* was issued; William W. Phelps, editor. (See page 31.) Subsequently the Book of Commandments, containing a number of the revelations now found in the Doctrine and Covenants, was printed at the *Star* office, which, when first opened, was 120 miles further west than any other press in Missouri.

So rapidly did the Saints gather to Zion during the summer of 1832 that the *Star* for November reported 830 souls in the new settlements; the Lord had blessed them both with food and with raiment, and there was plenty in Zion. A feeling of insubordination, however, existed among the brethren of the Priesthood. Seven High Priests had been appointed to preside over the affairs of the Church in Zion, viz., Oliver Cowdery, William W. Phelps, John Whitmer, A. Sidney Gilbert, Edward Partridge, Isaac Morley and John Correll. These brethren with the common consent of the several branches comprising the Church in Missouri, were to appoint Elders to preside over the respective branches, and attend to all the affairs of the Church in that land. But a number of those High Priests and Elders who went up to Zion ignored the authority of the seven, who were placed there to preside, and began setting some of the branches in order without being appointed to do so; and it resulted in some confusion. Others who went there sought to obtain inheritances in some other way than according to the laws of consecration and stewardships; and these things, together with jealousies, covetousness, light-mindedness, unbelief and general neglect to keep the commandments of God, enkindled the displeasure of the Almighty against Zion and her inhabi-

tants. This state of affairs coming to the knowledge of the Prophet Joseph, he wrote a letter to the Saints in Missouri, severely reproving them for their neglect to keep the commandments of God. A council of High Priests appointed Hyrum Smith and Orson Hyde to write a letter of reproof and warning also, in which they cried, "Repent! repent! or Zion must suffer, for the scourge and judgment must come upon her." These words of reproof and warning had the effect of awakening in the hearts of the Saints the spirit of repentance. A solemn assembly was called at which a sincere and humble repentance was manifested. A general epistle to the Church authorities in Kirtland, bearing date of February 26, 1833, was adopted at a conference of the Saints in Zion, expressing their repentance and desires to keep the commandments of God in the future. This was satisfactory to the brethren in Kirtland; and the Lord said in a revelation given March 8, 1833, that the brethren in Zion "*began*" to repent; and that the angels rejoiced over them. Still there were many things with which the Lord was not well pleased, and he said that he would contend with Zion, and plead with her strong ones, and chasten her until she overcomes. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 90.)

The spring of 1833 opened early in Western Missouri. The streams, which had been so long locked up in ice, broke loose under the genial rays of the returning sun, and rushed on to swell the majestic current of the Missouri. The winter snows melted early, and grass and flowers in rich profusion and of varied hue clothed the great rolling prairies of the West

in their loveliest attire. All nature rejoiced, and the Saints who had gathered to that land to build up Zion rejoiced with her.

Under these auspicious circumstances, on the 6th of April, 1833, eighty officials and a large number of the members of the Church, met at the ferry on Big Blue, a small forest-lined stream, a few miles west of Independence, for the service of God, and to be instructed in the things of eternal life. Their conversation and discourses ranged over immense periods of time; extending back to that time when the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy, in anticipation of the blessings that would follow the creation of this earth. They spoke of the cruel persecutions endured by the disciples of Jesus in former ages, little dreaming that the time was at hand when they, too, would be required to endure like trials for the truth's sake—for the testimony of Jesus. Their minds were absorbed in contemplating the future glory of Zion; their souls were filled with joy unspeakable—filled with that spirit which ages before caused men and angels to unite in singing, "Peace on earth; good will to men." This was the first attempt of the Church to celebrate her birthday.

During the three years that had elapsed since the organization of the Church the gospel had been preached in nearly all the States of the Union, thousands had hailed the message with delight, and numerous branches of the Church had been established.

During the summer of 1833 a school for the Elders was organized in Zion, presided over by Elder Parley P. Pratt, who labored with all the

zeal of an Apostle in teaching them the principles of the gospel. They held their meetings in the open air in the shady groves, and their instructor frequently walked several miles barefooted to meet with them.

The First Presidency of the Church, although not present in person, took a very deep interest in the affairs of the Saints in Missouri and sent up many encouraging and instructive letters. On the 25th of June a plat of the future City of Zion, accompanied by an explanation, was sent to the brethren in Missouri. The plat itself is perhaps not in existence now, but from the accompanying explanation the following is obtained:

"The plot contains one mile square; all the squares in the plot contain ten acres each, being forty rods square. You will observe that the lots are laid off alternately in the squares; in the square running from the south and north to the line through the center of the square; and in the next, the lots run from the east and west to the center line. Each lot is four perches in front, and twenty back, making one half of an acre in each lot, so that no one street will be built on entirely through the street; but on one square the houses will stand on one street, and on the next one, another, except the middle range of squares, which runs north and south, in which range are the painted squares. The lots are laid off in these squares north and south, all of them; because these squares are forty perches by sixty, being twenty perches longer than the others, their greatest length being east and west, and by running all these squares, north and south, it makes all the lots in the city of one size.

"The painted squares in the middle are for public buildings. The one without any figures is for store-houses for the Bishop, and to be devoted to his use. Figure first is for temples for the use of the presidency; the circles inside of the square are the places for the temples. You will see it contains twelve figures, two are for the temples of the lesser Priesthood. It is also to contain twelve temples.

"The whole plot is supposed to contain from fifteen to twenty thousand people; you will therefore see that it will require twenty-four

buildings to supply them with houses of worship, schools, etc., and none of these temples are to be smaller than the one of which we send you a draft. This temple is to be built in the square marked, figure 1; and to be built where the circle is which has a cross on it on the north end.

"South of the plot where the line is drawn, is to be laid off for barns, stables, etc., for the use of the city; so that no barns or stables will be in the city among the houses; the ground to be occupied for these must be laid off according to wisdom. On the north and south are to be laid off the farms for the agriculturist, and sufficient quantity of land to supply the whole plot; and if it cannot be laid off without going too great a distance from the city, there must also be some laid off on the east and west." (History of the Church, page 857.)

In a revelation given through the Prophet Joseph August 1, 1831, the Lord said that the Saints would have to pass through much tribulation before they could receive the promised blessings (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 58), and in a subsequent revelation, given in Kirtland, the prediction was made that unless the Saints were diligent in purchasing the lands which had been designated by the Lord as their inheritance, they should be "scourged from city to city and from synagogue to synagogue, and but few shall stand to receive an inheritance." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 63.)

These remarkable prophecies were given at a time when no human sagacity could have foreseen such events. No man, unless he were a Prophet, could have so clearly portrayed the subsequent history of the Church. Had it not been for these and other predictions of a like nature, no one would for a moment have supposed that the people of that boasted land of freedom would shed the blood of the Saints, and drive them from the

lands which they had purchased, and persecute them from city to city, and from synagogue to synagogue. All other denominations had been tolerated for many years, and no such scenes of persecution had been known in the United States since their Constitution was formed. Religious freedom was the boast of the whole nation. Yet in the midst of such universal freedom and religious liberty, the voice of a great Prophet was heard, declaring the word of the Lord, and predicting events that no one looked for—events, that to all human appearance were very unlikely to come to pass.

The following is from the able pen of B. H. Roberts, as published in the *Contributor*, Vol. 7, with only a very few slight alterations made by the editor of the RECORD:

"The migration of the Saints to Missouri in the early summer of 1833, exceeded that of the previous season; but they were settling among a ferocious set of mobbers, like lambs among wolves. The old settlers of Jackson County were principally from the mountainous portions of the Southern States. They had settled along the watercourses, and in the forests which covered their banks, instead of out on the broad and fertile prairies, which only required fencing to prepare them for cultivation. It was the work of years to clear a few acres of the timber lands, and prepare them for cultivation, but with these small fields they were content. They had no disposition to beautify their homes, or even make them convenient or comfortable. They lived in their log cabins without windows, and very frequently without floors other than the ground; and the dingy smoked log walls were unadorned by pictures or other ornaments. They were uneducated; those who could read or write being the exception and not the rule; and they had an utter contempt for the refinements of life. It is needless to add that they were narrow-minded, ferocious and jealous of those who sought to obtain better homes, and who aspired to something better in life than had yet entered into the hearts of these people.

"There was another element in western Missouri which did not tend any to the improvement of its society. It will doubtless be remembered that western Missouri was then the frontier of the United States, and therefore a place of refuge for those who had outraged the laws of society. Here they were near the boundary line of the United States, and if pursued by the officers of the law in a few hours they could cross the line out of their reach, as the officers could not easily operate outside of their own nation. These outcasts helped to give a more desperate complexion to the already reckless society in Missouri.

"The Saints could not join the Missourians in their way of life—in Sabbath breaking, profanity, horse racing, idleness, drunkenness and debauchery. They had been commanded to keep the Sabbath day holy, to love the Lord with all their hearts, and to keep themselves unspotted from the sins of the world. The fact of the people having so little in common with each other was of itself calculated to beget a coldness and suspicion, which would soon ripen into dislike. The Saints, too, had come for the most part from the Northern and New England States, and sectional hatred that existed between the people of the slave-holding and free States was manifested toward the Saints by their 'southern' neighbors. Moreover, the old settlers were dear lovers of office, and the honors and emoluments growing out of it; and they greatly feared that the rapidly increasing Saints would soon outnumber them, and that the offices would be wrested from them. \* \* \*

"As early as the spring of 1832, there began to appear signs of an approaching storm. In the deadly hours of night the houses of some of the Saints were stoned, the windows broken, and the inmates disturbed. In the fall of the same year a large quantity of hay in the stack belonging to the Saints was burned, houses shot into, and our people insulted with abusive language. Then, in the month of April, 1833, the old settlers to the number of some three hundred met at Independence, to consult upon a plan for the destruction, or immediate removal of the 'Mormons' from Jackson County. They were unable, however, to unite on any plan, and the mob becoming the worse for liquor, the affair broke up in a Missouri row. The secret of their failure in accomplishing anything was this: A few of the brethren, learning that such a meeting was being held, met for secret prayer, and petitioned the Father to frustrate the plans of this ungodly mob, who were seeking their destruction. \* \* \* But the angry

clouds of the threatened persecution had merely been drifted to one side—not altogether driven from the horizon, and in a few months they assumed a more threatening aspect than on their first appearance.

"The sectarian priests inhabiting Jackson and the surrounding counties were earnestly engaged in fanning the flames of prejudice, already burning in the public mind. The Rev. Finis Ewing, the head and front of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, published this statement: 'The Mormons are the common enemies of mankind and ought to be destroyed.' The Rev. Pixley, who had been sent out by the Missionary Society to Christianize the savages of the west, spent his time in going from house to house, seeking to destroy the Church by spreading slanderous falsehoods, to incite the people to acts of violence against the Saints.

"Early in July, 1833, a document was in circulation known as a 'Secret Constitution,' setting forth the alleged grievances of the mob, and binding all who signed it to assist in 'removing the Mormons.' The document set forth that the signers believed an important crisis was at hand in their civil society, because a pretended religious sect—the 'Mormons'—had settled in their midst. The civil law, they said, did not afford them a sufficient guarantee against the threatening evils, and therefore they had determined to rid themselves of the 'Mormons,' 'peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must;' and for the better accomplishment of this object, they had organized themselves into a company—pledging to each other their 'bodily powers, their lives, fortunes and sacred honors.'

"The Saints were represented as being the very dregs of that society from which they came, as being poor, 'idle, lazy and vicious;' and were also accused of claiming to receive direct revelation from God; to heal the sick by the laying on of hands; to speak in unknown tongues by inspiration; and, in short, 'to perform all the wonder-working miracles, wrought by the inspired Apostles and Prophets of God;' all of which, the document claims, 'is derogatory of God and religion, and subversive of human reason.' The signers of this document also accused the Saints of sowing dissensions and inspiring seditions among their slaves. They further charged that the 'Mormons' had invited free people of color to settle in Jackson County; and stated that the introduction of such a caste among their slaves, would incite them to rebel against their masters, and to bloodshed.

"The 'Mormons' were also charged with having openly declared that God had given them the land of Jackson County; and that sooner or later they would possess it as their inheritance. The document then concludes by saying that if, after timely warning, and receiving an adequate compensation for what property they could not take with them, the Saints should refuse to leave the county, such means as were necessary to remove them were to be employed; and calls a meeting of the signers to convene at the court house in Independence on the 20th of July, 'to consult ulterior movements.' \* \* \*

"The statement made by the mob that the 'civil law did not afford them a sufficient guarantee against the threatening evils,' of which they complained, is good evidence that the Saints had violated none of their laws—it is an acknowledgment that they lived above the law. As to the Saints being the dregs of the society from which they came—it is untrue; they had a respectable standing in the society from which they came, and that society was far in advance in civilization and enlightenment of the people of western Missouri.

"The charge of idleness comes with a bad grace from the slave-holders of Missouri. Especially so since the charge is made against people chiefly from New England, who, whatever other faults they may possess, can never be truthfully charged with idleness. In addition to the Saints who settled in Missouri having been trained from childhood to habits of industry in their former homes, they had received an express command from God to labor, and the idler was not to eat the bread nor wear the garment of the laborer; and unless the idler repented, he was to be cast out of the Church. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 42, 75.)

"The Saints in Missouri not only pretended to receive revelations, but through the Prophet Joseph they actually received the revelations from God; and did also enjoy the gifts of tongues, and of healing the sick through the anointing of oil and the prayer of faith, in fulfilment of the promise of the Lord; but how all this can be 'derogatory of God and true religion,' or 'subversive of human reason,' can only be comprehended by a Missouri mob, seeking a vain excuse for the destruction of an unoffending people.

"The charge of sowing dissensions, and inspiring seditions among the slaves, and inviting free people of color to settle in Jackson County, have no foundation in truth. The July number of the *Star* for 1833 contained an article on

'Free People of Color,' and published the laws of Missouri relating to that class of people. Free people of color were negroes or mulattoes who were set free through the kindness of their masters, or who, by working extra hours, for which they were sometimes allowed pay, were able at last to purchase their liberty. Concerning such people the Missouri law provided, that:

"If any negro or mulatto came into the State of Missouri, without a certificate from a court of record in some one of the United States, evidencing that he was a citizen of such State, on complaint before any justice of the peace, such negro or mulatto was to be commanded by the justice to leave the State; and if the colored person so ordered did not leave the State within thirty days, on complaint of any citizen, such person was again brought before the justice who was to commit him to the common jail of the county, until the convening of the circuit court, when it became the duty of the judge of the circuit court to inquire into the cause of commitment; and if it was found that the negro or mulatto had remained in the State contrary to the provisions of this statute, the court would sentence such person to receive ten lashes on his or her bare back, and then order him or her to depart from the State; if the person so treated should still refuse to go, then the same proceedings were to be gone through, and punishment inflicted as often as was necessary until such person departed.

"And further: If any person brought into the State of Missouri a free negro or mulatto, without the aforesaid certificate of citizenship, for every such negro or mulatto, the person so offending should forfeit five hundred dollars; to be recovered by action of debt in the name of the State.

"The editor of the *Star* adds: 'Slaves are real estate in this and other States, and wisdom would dictate great care among the branches of the Church of Christ, on this subject. So long as we have no special rule in the Church, as to people of color, let prudence guide; and while they, as well as we, are in the hands of a merciful God, we say: 'Shun every appearance of evil.'

"Publishing this law, and the above comment, was construed, by the old settlers, to be an invitation to free people of color to settle in Jackson County; whereupon an extra was published to the July number of the *Star* on the 16th of the month, which said:

"The intention in publishing the article,

'Free People of Color,' was not only to stop free people of color from emigrating to Missouri, but to prevent them from being admitted as members of the Church \* \* \* To be short, we are opposed to having free people of color admitted into the State.'

"But in the face of all this, the mob still claimed that the article was merely published to give 'directions and cautions to be observed by colored brethren, to enable them upon their arrival in Missouri to claim and exercise the rights of citizenship;' and this base falsehood was used to inflame the minds of the people against the Saints.

"That the Saints may have said that the Lord would yet give them the land of Missouri for their inheritance, is doubtless true; but that they were to obtain it in other than a legal way never entered their hearts. They had been commanded of the Lord to purchase the land for an inheritance. Besides, the Elders stationed in Zion, about this time, addressed an epistle to the churches abroad, in which they alluded to the gathering of ancient Israel, and pointed out the difference in their circumstances and those by which they were surrounded, and how ancient Israel had been compelled to obtain the lands of their inheritance by the sword, and there add; 'But to suppose that we can come up here and take possession of this land by the shedding of blood, would be setting at naught the law of the glorious gospel, and also the word of our great Redeemer; and to suppose that we can take possession of this country without making regular purchases of the same, according to the laws of our nation, would be reproaching this great Republic, in which most of us were born, and under whose auspices we all have protection.' (*Evening and Morning Star*, July, 1838.) Nothing then can be clearer than that while the Saints may have said that Missouri would eventually be the land of our inheritance, they were expecting to obtain it in a perfectly legitimate manner—by purchase—through the overruling providences of God."

By the foregoing it is clearly proven that the charges made against the Saints by their enemies were without any real foundation. Elder Roberts continues his narrative as follows:

"In answer to the call made for the citizens of Jackson County to assemble at the court-

house on the 20th of July, to devise means to rid the county of the 'Mormons,' between four and five hundred gathered in from all parts of the county. Colonel Richard Simpson was elected chairman of the meeting, and James H. Fournoy and Colonel S. D. Lucas chosen secretaries. A committee of seven was appointed by the chair to draft an address to the public, in relation to the object of the meeting; the following was the committee: Russell Hicks, Esq., Robert Johnson, Henry Childs, Esq., Colonel James Hambricht, Thomas Hudspeth, Joel F. Childs and James M. Hunter.

"The address this committee reported repeated the falsehoods concerning the Saints interfering with their slaves, and inviting free people of color to settle in Jackson County, and the Saints being the very dregs of the society from which they had emigrated; again charged them with most abject poverty, idleness and of coming to obtain inheritances in Jackson County, 'without money and without price.' They declared the evils which threatened their community, by the 'Mormons' settling among them, were such that no one could have foreseen, and therefore unprovided for by the laws; and the delays incident to legislation would put the mischief beyond all remedy. They expressed the fear that if the Saints were not interfered with, the day would not be far distant when the civil government of the county would be in their hands; when the sheriff, the justices and the county judges would be 'Mormons,' or persons wishing to court their favor from motives of interest or ambition, and then ask: 'What would be the fate of our lives and property, in the hands of jurors and witnesses who do not blush to declare, and would not, upon occasion, hesitate to swear that they have wrought miracles, and have been the subjects of miraculous and supernatural cures, have conversed with God and his angels, and possess and exercise the gifts of divination and of unknown tongues, and fired with the prospects of obtaining inheritances without money and without price—may be better imagined than described.' (*Western Monitor*, Aug. 2, 1838.)

"However, in speaking of the gifts of the spirit which the Saints claimed to enjoy—revelation, prophecy, speaking in tongues, healing the sick, etc., they propose to have nothing to say, but piously close the clause which refers to these things with '*Vengeance belongs to God alone.*' For the other things with which they charge the Saints—each and all of which are most damnably false, except, perhaps, the

one that charges them with being poor—they most solemnly declare:

"That no Mormon shall in future move to or settle in this (Jackson) county. That those now here, who shall give a definite pledge of their intention, within a reasonable time, to remove out of the county, shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property and close their business without material sacrifice. That the editor of the *Star* be required forthwith to close his office, and discontinue the business of printing in this county; and as to all other stores and shops belonging to the sect, their owners must in every case strictly comply with the terms of the second article of this declaration; and upon failure, prompt and efficient measures will be taken to close the same. That the Mormon leaders here are required to use their influence in preventing any further immigration of their distant brethren to this county, and to counsel and advise their brethren here to comply with the above requisitions. That those who fail to comply with these requisitions, be referred to those of their brethren who have the gifts of divination, and of unknown tongues, to inform them of the lot that awaits them." (*Western Monitor*, Aug. 2, 1833.)

"This address was unanimously adopted by the meeting, and a committee of twelve appointed to wait upon the 'Mormon' leaders, and see that the foregoing regulations were complied with. In case of a refusal on the part of the 'Mormons' to comply with these demands, the committee, acting as the organ of the county, were to inform them that it was the fixed determination of the mob to adopt such means as would enforce their removal. The committee called upon Edward Partridge, A. Sidney Gilbert, John Correll, Isaac Morley, John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps, and demanded that they cease publishing the *Star* and close the printing office, and that, as Elders of the 'Mormon' Church, they agree to move out of the county forthwith. Three months was asked for by these Elders in which to consider the proposition, and to counsel with the Church authorities in Ohio, as closing a printing office, and removing twelve hundred people from their homes was a work of no small moment. But this time was denied them. They asked for ten days, but that was not granted, and fifteen minutes only allowed them to decide. At this the conference broke up, and the mob returned to the courthouse and reported to the meeting that they had called upon the 'Mormon' leaders

and that they refused to give a direct answer, but asked for time to consider the propositions and counsel with their brethren in Ohio. The meeting then resolved that the printing office be razed to the ground, and the type and press secured.

"With demoniac yells the mob surrounded the printing office and house of W. W. Phelps. Mrs. Phelps, with a sick infant in her arms, and the rest of her children were forced out of their home, the furniture was thrown into the street and garden, the press was broken, the type pied—the revelations, book work and papers were mostly destroyed or kept by the mob—and the printing office and the house of W. W. Phelps were razed to the ground. Having reduced these buildings to a mass of ruins, the mob proceeded to demolish the mercantile establishment of Gilbert, Whitney and Co., and destroy the goods, but when Mr. Gilbert assured them the goods would be packed by the 23rd, they desisted from their work of destruction.

"But their fiendish hate had not spent its force. With horrid yells and loud cursings they sought for the leading Elders. Men, women and children ran in all directions, not knowing what would befall them. They caught Bishop Edward Partridge and Charles Allen, and dragged them to the public square, through the maddened crowd, which insulted and abused them along the road. When they reached the public square, two alternatives were placed before them, either to renounce their faith in the Book of Mormon, or leave the county. The Book of Mormon they would not deny, nor consent to leave the county. Bishop Partridge, being permitted to speak, told them the Saints had had to suffer persecution in all ages of the world, and that he was willing to suffer for the sake of Christ, as they had done; that he had done nothing which ought to offend anyone, and that if they abused him, they would injure an innocent man. Here his voice was drowned by the tumult of the crowd, many of whom were shouting, 'Call upon your God to deliver you—pretty Jesus you worship!' These expressions, intermingled as they were with the vile oaths of the mob, put hell itself to shame. The two brethren, Partridge and Allen, were stripped of their outer clothing, and daubed with tar, mixed with lime, or pearl-ash, or some other flesh-eating acid, and a quantity of feathers scattered over them. They bore this cruel indignity and abuse with so much resignation and meekness, that the crowd grew still, and appeared astonished at what they witnessed. The brethren were per-



mitted to retire in silence—in silence, except when it was broken by the voice of a sister, crying aloud, 'While you who have done this wicked deed, must suffer the vengeance of God, they, having endured persecution, can rejoice, for henceforth for them is laid up a crown, eternal in the heavens!' By this time it was getting late and the mob suddenly dispersed. As night drew her sable mantle over the scene of ruin, those who had escaped to the woods and corn fields began to return, to learn what had befallen their friends. Wives anxiously inquired of the fate of their husbands, and children of the fate of their parents.

"This outrage was the more reprehensible because of the characters of the leaders of the mob—they being in the main the county officers—the county judge, the constables, clerks of the court and justices of the peace—yes, and there was Lillburn W. Boggs, the lieutenant-governor, the second officer in the State, looking quietly on and secretly aiding every measure of the mob—who, walking among the ruins of the printing office and house of W. W. Phelps, remarked to some of the Saints, 'You now know what our Jackson boys can do, and you must leave the country.'

"The third day after these events occurred (July 23rd) the mob, to the number of some five hundred, again came dashing into Independence bearing a red flag, and armed with rifles, pistols, dirks, whips and clubs; riding in every direction in search of the leading Elders, making the day hideous with their inhuman yells and wicked oaths. They declared it to be their intention to whip those whom they captured with from fifty to five hundred lashes each, allow their negroes to destroy their crops and demolish their dwellings. Said they: 'We will rid Jackson County of the 'Mormons,' peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. If they will not go without, we will whip and kill the men; we will destroy their children, and ravish their women!'

"The leading Elders, seeing their own lives, and the property and lives of those over whom they presided in Christ in jeopardy, resolved to offer themselves as a ransom for the Church—willing to be scourged, or even put to death if that would satisfy their tormentors, and stop their inhuman cruelties practiced toward the flock, over which the Church had made them overseers. The men who thus offered their own lives for the lives of their friends were John Correll, John Whitmer, W. W. Phelps, A. S. Gilbert, Edward Partridge and Isaac Morley. Forever let their names be known throughout

all Israel as men who have given the greatest evidence within the power of man to give, that they loved the brethren—'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.' \* \* \* But the inhuman wretches, who had combined to drive the Saints from their hard-earned homes, were insensible to the sublime manifestation of love they witnessed. It appealed not to their adamant hearts. With brutal imprecations they told these men that not only they, but every man, woman and child would be whipped or scourged until they consented to leave the county, as they had decreed that the 'Mormons' should leave the county, or they or the 'Mormons' must die.

"The presiding brethren, finding that there was no alternative but for them to leave speedily, or witness the blood of innocence shed by fiends incarnate, concluded to leave the country. A new committee was selected by the mob to confer with the brethren, and the following agreement entered into:

"The leading Elders with their families were to move from the county by the first of January following; and to use their influence to induce all their brethren to leave as soon as possible; one-half by the first of January, 1834, and the remainder by April, 1834. They were also to use all the means in their power to stop any more of their brethren moving into the county; and also to use their influence to prevent the Saints then en route for Missouri permanently settling in Jackson County, but they were to be permitted to make temporary arrangements for shelter until a new location was agreed upon by the society. John Correll and A. S. Gilbert were to be allowed to remain as general agents to settle up the business of the Church, so long as necessity required. Gilbert, Whitney & Co. were to be permitted to sell out their merchandise then on hand, but no more was to be imported. The *Evening and Morning Star* was not again to be published, nor a press established by any members of the Church in the county. Edward Partridge and W. W. Phelps were to be allowed to pass to and from the county to wind up their business affairs, provided they moved their families from the county by the first of January following. On the part of the mob, the committee pledged themselves to use all their influence to prevent any violence being used against the Saints, so long as the foregoing stipulations be complied with on the part of the Church. (*Evening and Morning Star*, page 229.)

"A day or two after this treaty was entered into, the Church in Zion dispatched Oliver Cowdery to Ohio to confer with the general Church authorities on the situation of the Saints in Missouri. This conference resulted in the authorities sending, as special messengers, Elders Orson Hyde and John Gould to Jackson County, with instructions to the Saints not to dispose of their lands or other property, nor remove from the county, except those who had signed the agreement to do so.

"In the meantime, however, the Saints attempted to settle in Van Buren, the county joining Jackson County on the south—the name has since been changed to Cass—but the people of that county, after the Saints commenced a settlement, drew up an agreement to drive them from there, and destroy the fruits of their labors, so they were obliged to return to their former homes. While the Saints were making these efforts to carry out the first part of the stipulation entered into with the mob, the mob on their part failed to refrain from acts of violence. Daily the Saints were insulted. Houses were broken into, and the inmates threatened with being robbed, if they stirred. But truth began to make itself heard; and as the fiendish acts of the mob were dragged into light, they called execrations from various quarters. Some publications in the *Western Monitor*, printed at Fayette, Howard, Co., Missouri, censured the conduct of the mob, and suggested that the Saints seek redress for the wrongs they had suffered. Whereupon the leaders of the mob began to threaten life, and declared that if any 'Mormon' attempted to seek redress by law or otherwise, for character, or loss of property, they should die!

"But these threats did not deter the Saints from appealing to the chief executive of the State for a redress of grievances. On the 8th of August, 1833, a petition setting forth their sufferings, and denying the allegations of the mob, was presented by Orson Hyde and W. W. Phelps to Daniel Dunklin, who, at the time, was governor of the State. In addition to relating the story of their wrongs, and denying the charges made by the mob on which they depended to excuse their cruelty to the Saints, the petition set forth that whenever that fatal hour arrived that the poorest citizen's person, property, or rights or privileges, shall be trampled upon by lawless mobs with impunity, 'that moment a dagger is plunged into the heart of the Constitution, and the Union must tremble.' \* \* \* 'We solicit,' said they, 'assistance to obtain our rights; holding ourselves

amenable to the laws of our country, whenever we transgress them.' They asked the governor, by express proclamation, or otherwise, to raise a sufficient number of troops, who, with them, might be empowered to defend their rights; that they might sue for damages in the loss of property—for abuse—for defamation as to themselves—and, if advisable, try for treason, against the government; that the law of the land might not be defied, nor nullified, but peace restored to their country.

"To this very reasonable request Governor Dunklin made a patriotic reply, under date of Oct. 19th. He stated he would think himself unworthy the confidence, with which he had been honored by his fellow-citizens, did he not promptly employ all the means which the Constitution and laws had placed at his disposal to avert the calamities with which the Saints were threatened, and adds: 'Ours is a government of laws, to them we owe all obedience, and their faithful administration is the best guarantee for the enjoyment of our rights. No citizen, nor number of citizens, have a right to take the redress of their grievances, whether real or imaginary, into their own hands. Such conduct strikes at the very existence of society, and subverts the very foundation on which it is based. I am not willing to persuade myself that any portion of the citizens of the State of Missouri are so lost to a sense of these truths as to require the exercise of force, in order to ensure respect for them.'

"He advised the Saints to make a trial of the efficacy of the laws. That wherein their lives had been threatened, that they make affidavits to that effect before the circuit judge, or the justices of the peace in their respective districts, whose duty it then became to bind the threatening parties to keep the peace. By this experiment it would be proven whether the laws could be executed or not; and in the event that they could not be peaceably executed, the governor pledged himself, on being officially notified of that fact, to take such steps as would enforce a favorable execution of them.

"As to the injuries the Saints had sustained in the loss of property, the governor advised them to seek redress by civil process—expressing the opinion that the courts would grant them relief. We do not doubt the sincerity of Governor Dunklin in giving this counsel to the Saints, and under ordinary circumstances to seek redress at the hands of the civil authorities of the county would be the proper thing to do; but in this case the officers of the law had been the head and front of this high-

handed and infamous proceeding. In proof of this statement we give the names and offices held by those who were most active in bringing the mischief upon the Saints: Samuel D. Lucas, colonel and judge of the county court; Samuel C. Owens, county clerk; Russell Hicks, deputy clerk; John Smith, justice of the peace; Samuel Weston, justice of the peace; William Brown, constable; Thomas Pitcher, deputy constable; besides Indian agents, postmasters, doctors, lawyers and merchants. These were the men who had despoiled the Saints—these were the ones, in connection with the secret assistance of the lieutenant-governor of the State, Lilburn W. Boggs, who inflamed the minds of the ignorant against an innocent people, and encouraged the vicious to maltreat the virtuous. These were the men who on the 23rd of July of the same year had said: 'We will rid Jackson County of the 'Mormons,' peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. If they will not go without, we will whip and kill the men; we will destroy the lives of the children, and ravish their women.' And these were the men—the officers of justice to whom the 'Mormons' were to appeal for a redress of grievances! To say the least, does it not smack of 'going to law with the devil, when court is to convene in hell?' Surely it was only a forlorn hope the Saints could entertain of being redressed for their wrongs by the very parties who inflicted those wrongs upon them; but being willing to magnify the law, they acted upon the governor's advice. For this purpose they engaged the services of four lawyers from Clay County, then attending court at Independence, viz., Messrs. Wood, Reese, Doniphan and Atchison. These gentlemen were engaged to plant all the suits the Saints might wish to present before the courts, and attend to them jointly throughout for one thousand dollars. W. W. Phelps and Bishop Partridge gave their notes for that sum, endorsed by Gilbert & Whitney.

"No sooner did the mob witness these movements on the part of the Saints, than they began to prepare for further hostilities. The red right hand of a relentless persecution was armed again to plague them.

"Strange as it may appear, and almost past believing, it is our task in these pages to chronicle events which have taken place in the Nineteenth Century—in this age of boasted enlightenment and toleration—that shall make the expulsion of the French peasants from Acadia pale in comparison with them; events which have occurred in America, in the United States,

the boasted asylum for the oppressed of all nations; events which would be more in keeping with the intolerance of the dark ages and the cruelty of Spain, during the reign of the Inquisition, than in this age and in this nation.

\* \* \*

"Sunday, Oct. 20, 1833, the Saints declared publicly, that as a people they intended to defend their lands and homes, and the next day the leaders of the mob began to prepare to inflict further violence upon them. Strict orders were circulated among the Saints not to be aggressors, but to warn the mob not to come upon them. Court was to convene on Monday, Oct. 28th, and it was expected that some of the leaders of the mob would be required to file bonds to keep the peace. While these preparations were progressing on the part of the Saints, the mob were not idle. They resorted to their old method of circulating false rumors. Saturday, the 26th, about fifty met in counsel, and 'Voted to a hand to move the Mormons;' and, as an earnest of their intentions, attacked a number of families who had but lately arrived from Ohio and Indiana, but without inflicting much injury. Monday, the 28th, the circuit court convened, but very few were in attendance. There was no mob there, but threats of the most violent character were made.

"The night of October 31st, however, may be regarded as the time when hostilities recommenced in earnest. That night the mob to the number of forty or fifty proceeded against a branch of the Church located on the stream called Big Blue, known as the Whitmer settlement. They shamefully whipped several of the brethren nearly to death, among whom was Hiram Page. With brutal threats they frightened helpless women and children into the wilderness in the middle of the night, and then unroofed and demolished ten or twelve houses.

"This outrage was followed up the next night, November 1st, by an attack upon the Saints living in Independence and vicinity. Their houses were brick-batted, doors broken down, and long poles thrust through their windows. A party of the brethren had gathered together for protection about half a mile west of Independence, and to them word was sent that the mob were tearing down the store of Gilbert, Whitney & Co., and destroying their goods. Whereupon these brethren went in a body to the store. At their approach the main body of the mob fled. One of their number, bolder than his fellows, remained, however, and continued sending brick-bats and stones through the shattered doors and windows, while the

goods were scattered around him in the street. This man the brethren took prisoner, and brought him immediately before Samuel Weston, justice of the peace; entered a complaint, and asked that a warrant be issued that he, Richard McCarty, might be secured. But the justice refused to make out the warrant, or do anything in the matter. McCarty was turned loose, and subsequently got out a warrant from the same justice of the peace, and tried the men, who had caught him in the act of his villainy, for false imprisonment!

"The same night an attack was contemplated upon another branch of the Church, known as the Colesville branch, located in Kaw Township, about twelve miles west of Independence. They sent two of their number, Robert Johnson and a Mr. Harris, armed with two guns and three pistols. They were discovered by some of the brethren, among whom was Parley P. Pratt. Without provocation, Johnson struck Parley P. Pratt over the head with the breech of his gun, which staggered him for a moment, and made the blood flow in streams down his face. These two men were then retained as prisoners through the night. The spies not returning rather disconcerted the mob, and it is generally supposed prevented an attack that night upon the Colesville branch of the Church. The morning following, these two men were given their arms, and permitted to return to their companions, without receiving injury from the hands of those whom they had so maliciously assaulted, and into whose power they had fallen.

"On the night of November 2nd, a party of the mob went against the branch located on Big Blue, unroofed one house and destroyed some furniture. They also broke into the house of David Bennett, whom they found sick in bed; being unable to resist them, they beat him unmercifully, and swore they would blow out his brains. One of their number shot at him with a pistol, but the ball instead of entering his head, as intended, cut a deep gash across the top of it, which, however, did not prove fatal. While the mob were in the act of beating Bennett, a number of the brethren who had gathered in a body for mutual protection came upon the scene, and a firing of guns commenced. Both parties claim that the other commenced the firing, but which began it does not matter here. If the brethren opened the fire, they were altogether justified in doing so under the circumstances. Women and children were running here and there screaming with terror, not knowing where to go for

safety. Their piteous cries mingled with the brutal oaths of the mob, and the firing of guns, made the night hideous. In the melee a young man with the mob was shot through the thigh, but by which party it is not known. This day also the Saints in Independence gathered in a body as much as possible, about half a mile west of town, for the purpose of better defending themselves against their heartless enemies.

"The day following these outrages Joshua Lewis, Hiram Page and two others, were despatched to Lexington to see John F. Ryland, judge of the circuit court, and obtain a peace warrant. The Saints had previously applied for a peace warrant to Squire Silvens, but he refused to grant one. They read to him the governor's letter, which directed them to proceed in that manner, but he replied that he cared nothing for that. Either his fears of the mob were greater than his respect for the judge or the law, or he was in hearty sympathy with the rioters. Judge Ryland issued a peace warrant on the 6th; but whether it ever reached the hands of the county sheriff is not known. \* \* \*

"There were a few of the citizens of Jackson who did not take part in these shameful proceedings against the Church—they were friendly disposed towards the Saints, but lacked the courage to speak out boldly in their defense, or take up arms to protect suffering innocence. On the contrary, they advised the Saints to leave the State immediately, as the wounding of the young man on Saturday night had enraged the whole county against them; and it was a common expression among the mob that Monday (the 4th of November) would be a bloody day.

"Early on Monday (Nov. 4th) the mob took the ferry-boat on the Big Blue, west of Independence, which belonged to the Saints, driving the owners away with threats of violence. From thence they went to a store, about one mile west of the ferry, kept by one Wilson. Word was brought to a branch of the Church located several miles still further west from the ferry, that the mob east of the Blue were destroying property, and the Saints needed assistance. Upon hearing this, nineteen of the brethren volunteered to go to their aid; but on approaching Wilson's store they learned that the mob were there, and that the report of the destruction of property east of the Blue was false. The company started to return to their homes, but two small boys passing on their way to Wilson's store saw this company, and

reported to the mob that the 'Mormons' were on the road west of them. At this the mob, which numbered between forty and fifty, started in pursuit, and soon came in sight of the company of volunteers, which, at the enemies' approach, fled in all directions. The mob gave hot pursuit, hunting for the brethren through the corn fields, and even searching the houses of the Saints for them, and at the same time threatening the women and children if they did not tell where the men were hiding. They fed their horses in Christian Whitmer's corn field, and took him and pointed their guns at him, threatening his life if he did not tell them where the brethren were.

"Two or three of the company who were dispersed by the mob, made their way to the Coleville branch of the Church, which was but about three miles away. A company of thirty men was quickly formed, and although they were armed with but seventeen guns, and knew that their enemies were more numerous than they, and better armed, they promptly marched to the assistance of their brethren. They found the mob hunting for the brethren, and threatening the women and children. As the mob saw this new company approaching, some of them exclaimed, 'Fire, G-d d-n ye, fire!' and then fired two or three shots at the approaching company, which were promptly returned by a volley from the brethren, at which the mob fled, leaving two of their number and some of their horses dead on the ground. The two killed were Hugh L. Brazeale and Thomas Linville. Brazeale had been known to say, 'With ten fellows I will wade to my knees in blood, but what I will drive the Mormons from Jackson County.'

"The first shot fired by the mob wounded Philo Dibble in the bowels, the ball remaining in him. As he bled much inwardly his bowels became swollen, and his life was despaired of. But Newel Knight administered to him, by laying on hands in the name of Jesus Christ, and a purifying fire penetrated his whole system. He discharged several quarts of blood and corruption, with which was the ball that inflicted the wound. He was immediately healed, and remained an able-bodied man, and performed military duty for a number of years afterwards, was always a hard worker, and at present lives in Springville, Utah County, Utah. A brother by the name of Andrew Barber was mortally wounded, his death occurring the next day.

"This battle was fought about sundown, and during the night the mob despatched runners

in all directions with the false report that the 'Mormons' had been joined by the Indians, and had taken the town of Independence; that the 'Mormons' had gone into Wilson's store and shot his son,' and other rumors that were calculated to excite the people, and enrage them against the Saints.

"This same day (Nov. 4th) a most extraordinary affair occurred at Independence. We have already told how a number of the brethren caught Richard McCarty on the night of November 1st, in the act of hurling stones and brick-bats through the doors and windows of Gilbert, Whitney & Co.'s store, while the goods—calicoes, shawls, cambries, handkerchiefs, etc., were scattered around him in the street; and how the brethren took him before the justice of the peace, Samuel Weston, and asked for a warrant to be issued against him, and how the justice refused to issue the warrant. But, on this 4th day of November, Richard McCarty obtained a warrant from this same justice of the peace for the arrest of A. S. Gilbert, Wm. E. McLellan, Isaac Morley, John Correll and three or four others, charging them with assault and battery and false imprisonment. In relation to this matter Brother Correll tersely remarks, 'Although we could not obtain a warrant against him for breaking open the store, yet he had gotten one for us for catching him at it.'

"The trial of these men was in progress in the court-house at Independence, when the news of the battle west of the Big Blue was brought to town. But instead of being reported correctly, it was said that the 'Mormons' had gone into Wilson's house and shot his son. This so enraged the crowd that were in attendance at the trial, that a rush was made for the prisoners to kill them. This, however, was prevented; and at the suggestion of Samuel C. Owens, clerk of the county court, those on trial were locked up in the jail for their own safety. During the night the mob were busy collecting arms and ammunition, making every preparation for a general massacre of the Saints the next day. The brethren who were imprisoned were frequently told of these warlike preparations during the night, and that, too, by men of note; and were further informed that nothing but their leaving the county would prevent bloodshed. Whereupon these brethren consented to leave the county, and furthermore to go and consult with their brethren on the subject of all the Saints leaving. For this purpose Elders Gilbert, Morley and Correll were accompanied by the sheriff

and two others to the branch of the Church some half-a-mile from Independence, and held an interview with their brethren upon the subject of their moving from the county, to which the brethren of that branch consented.

"The sheriff and his prisoners then returned to the jail—it being about 2 o'clock in the morning. As they approached the jail they were halted by a company of armed men, six or seven in number. The sheriff answered them, giving his own name and the names of his prisoners, at the same time exclaiming, 'Don't fire, don't fire, the prisoners are in my charge!' Morley and Correll turned and fled, and the party who had halted them fired one or two shots after them. Gilbert stood his ground, and while the sheriff held him several guns were presented at him. Two of the men, more desperate than the rest, attempted to shoot him, but their guns missed fire; seeing that they failed to shoot him, one of the party, Thomas Wilson, knocked him down. His life, however, was preserved, and his injuries were not very serious.

"The morning of the 5th of November witnessed the people from all parts of the county crowding into Independence well armed. But few knew of the agreement made by the Saints in and about Independence to leave the county; and the presence of the armed crowds was made the occasion of calling out the militia. This last move was at the instigation of Lieutenant-Governor Boggs—at least such was the report among the people that day. The command of this militia was given to Colonel Pitcher, but the men who had formerly been the mob made up the ranks of the militia; and the only difference between the mob and the militia was that the mob, organized as a militia, were prepared to adopt more effective measures in driving the Saints from their homes, than before they were so organized. The colonels in command—Pitcher and Lucas—were known as the bitter enemies of the Saints, and their names were attached to the agreement circulated in the July previous, to drive the Saints from the county. From such a militia, officered by such men as Pitcher and Lucas, the Saints could hope for no protection.

"The branches of the Church west of Independence did not hear of the agreement of the Independence branch to leave the county, but reports reached them that a number of their brethren were imprisoned, and that the mob were determined to kill them. About a hundred of the brethren gathered from the various branches, and marched in a body to assist

those in peril. They halted about a mile west of Independence, to learn the situation of affairs. Learning that the mob had not attacked the branch at Independence, and that the militia was called out, they concluded to quietly disperse and go to their homes. But some one had seen them on the road, and reported that the 'Mormons' were on the march toward Independence, with the intention, no doubt, to do mischief.

"Hearing this the militia under Colonel Pitcher became enraged, and would only consent to grant the people peace on the condition of their agreeing to deliver up certain men, engaged in the battle the evening before, to be tried for murder, and to surrender their arms. To this last proposition Lyman Wight, who it appears acted as the leader of the body of brethren, would not consent, unless Colonel Pitcher would also disarm the mob. "To this the colonel cheerfully agreed, and pledged his honor with that of Lieutenant-Governor Boggs, Samuel C. Owens and others." (*Times and Seasons*, 1843, page 268.)

"Upon this treaty being made, the brethren surrendered their arms—in all forty-nine guns and one pistol. They also gave up a number of the parties who were engaged the night before in the battle, to be tried for murder. These men were detained a day and a night, during which time they were insulted, threatened and brick-batted; and after receiving a mockery of a trial, Colonel Pitcher let them go, after taking an old watch from one of them to satisfy costs.

"The agreement made by Colonel Pitcher, to disarm the mob as well as the 'Mormons,' was never executed; but as soon as the brethren had surrendered their arms, bands of armed men were turned loose upon them. Lyman Wight was chased by one of these gangs across an open prairie for five miles, but fortunately escaped. He lay three weeks in the woods, and was without food three days and nights. He was hunted for by the mob through Jackson, Lafayette and Clay counties, and also through the Indian Territory. Some of the parties who were hounding him were asked why it was they had so much against him, to which they replied: 'He believes in Joe Smith and the Book of Mormon, G—d d—n him; and we believe Joe Smith to be a d—d rascal!'

"The men who had made up the rank and file of the militia on the 5th of November, the next day, were riding over the country in armed gangs threatening men, women and children with violence, searching for arms and

brutally tying up and whipping some of the men and shooting at others. The leaders of these ruffians were some of the prominent men of the county, Colonel Pitcher and Lieutenant-Governor Boggs being among the number. The priests were determined not to be outdone by the politicians, for the Rev. Isaac McCoy and other preachers of the gospel (?) were seen leading armed bands of marauders from place to place, and were the main inspirers of their cowardly assaults on the defenseless. All through this day and the day following (Nov. 6th) women and children were fleeing in every direction from the presence of the merciless mob. One company of one hundred and ninety—all women and children, except three decrepit men—were driven thirty miles across a burnt prairie, the ground thinly crusted with sleet, their trail being easily followed by the blood which flowed from their lacerated feet! (Lyman Wight's affidavit, *Times and Seasons*, 1843, page 264.) This company and others who joined them erected some log cabins for temporary shelter, and not knowing the limits of Jackson County, built them within the borders of that county. Subsequently, in the month of January, 1834, parties of the mob again drove these people, and burned their scanty cabins, leaving the former occupants to wander without shelter in the most severe winter months. Some of them were taken suddenly ill and died.

"Other parties during the two days mentioned flocked to the Missouri River, and crossed at the ferries into Clay County. One of the companies of distressed women and children were kindly lodged by a Mr. Bennett for the night in his house. We speak of this, because acts of benevolence towards the Saints were so rare that whenever they occur they should be remembered.

"In one of the companies that went to Clay County was a woman named Ann Higbee, who had been sick for many months with chills and fever—she was carried across the river, apparently a corpse. Another woman named Keziah Higbee, in the most delicate condition, lay on the bank of the river all night, while the rain descended in torrents, and under these circumstances was delivered of a male child; but the mother died a premature death through the exposure. All the pity they received from their relentless persecutors was this brutal expression, 'G—d d—n you, do you believe in Joe Smith now?' The scene that was witnessed on the banks of the Missouri on the 7th of November is so graphically described in Joseph's

History that I cannot forbear inserting it here:

"The shore began to be lined on both sides of the ferry with men, women and children, goods, wagons, boxes, chests, provisions, etc., while the ferry-men were busily employed in crossing them over; and when night again closed upon the Saints, the wilderness had much the appearance of a camp meeting. Hundreds of people were seen in every direction; some in tents, and some in the open air, around their fires, while the rain descended in torrents. Husbands were inquiring for their wives, and women for their husbands; parents for children, and children for parents. Some had the good fortune to escape with their family, household goods and some provisions, while others knew not of the fate of their friends, and had lost all their goods. The scene was indescribable, and would have melted the hearts of any people upon earth except the blind oppressor and prejudiced and ignorant bigot. Next day the company increased, and they were chiefly engaged in felling small cottonwood trees and erecting them into temporary cabins, so that when night came on, they had the appearance of a village of wigwams, and the night being clear, the occupants began to enjoy some degree of comfort.' (*Mill. Star*, Vol. 14, page 582.)

"On the night of the 13th of November, while large bodies of the Saints were still encamped on the Missouri bottoms, exiled from their homes for the gospel's sake, one of the most wonderful meteoric showers occurred that was ever witnessed. The whole heavens and the earth were made brilliant by the streams of light which marked the course of the falling aerolites. The whole upper deep was one vast display of heaven's fireworks. The long trains of light left in the heavens by the meteors would twist into the most fantastic shapes, like writhing serpents. Its grandeur was far beyond the power of words to describe. \* \* \*

"It is needless to say then, that this sign in the heavens encouraged the distressed Saints; that it revived their hopes, that it calmed their fears, that the coming of their deliverer was drawing nigh. Nor need I say that it awed the mob, and made a pause in their cruel proceedings for a season. But that pause was brief; for on the 23rd of November the mob held a meeting, and appointed a committee to warn any of the Saints, who might possibly be found within the borders of the county, to leave. Accordingly what few families were scattered here and there through the county

were threatened and abused until they were finally forced from their homes. On the 24th of December four aged families were assaulted at Independence. The mob tore down their chimneys, broke open their doors, and threw large stones into their houses. A brother by the name of Miller, 65 years of age, and the youngest of the men in the four families, narrowly escaped fatal injuries. A brother Jones, who was also subject to this inhuman treatment, served as a life-guard to General Washington in the Revolution and had fought for the establishment of the sacred principles of liberty guaranteed in the Constitution of his country, the free exercise of which was now denied him by a gang of heartless wretches, who had conspired against the liberty of worthy citizens.

"Some time later Father Lindsey, an old man of about seventy years, was driven from his house, after which it was thrown down. His household goods, corn, etc., were piled together and set on fire; but fortunately, after the mob left, his son extinguished the flames. On February 20, 1834, Lyman Leonard had two chairs broken to splinters about him, being dragged out of doors, where he was beaten with clubs until he was supposed to be dead. The same day Josiah Sumner and Barnet Cole received the same kind of treatment. (*Evening and Morning Star*, page 277.)

"Early in the spring the mob burned the houses belonging to the Saints. According to the testimony of Lyman Wight, two hundred and three dwelling-houses and one grist-mill were so destroyed. Destroyed, doubtless, for the same purpose that the brutal English officers laid waste the property of the Arcadians, on the plea of discouraging the return of the exiles."

#### THE TEMPLE LOT.

The Temple Lot in Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, is situated about three-quarters of a mile west of the court house, on the south side of the street along which the track of the dummy railway connecting Independence with Kansas City is laid. It is a quarter of a mile due north of the Missouri Pacific Railway depot and near the western boundary of Independence corporation limits. The

lot, as it is now owned by the Hedrickites, consists of about three acres of land and comprises the summit of a crowning hill, the slope of which to the south and west is quite abrupt, but very gradual toward the north and east. It is inclosed by a barbed wire fence. The Temple Lot is a part of the southeast quarter of Section No. 3, Township 49," etc. The original patent from the Federal Government to the State of Missouri is not recorded in the Jackson County recorder's office, but the State of Missouri deeded that particular quarter-section to Jones H. Flournoy, January 24, 1827. In 1831 the Saints purchased either a part or all of Section 3, on which a site was selected for a Temple and the ground dedicated by Joseph Smith, in the presence of seven other men, August 3, 1831. December 19, 1831, 63 acres and 43 square rods of the southeast quarter of Section 3 was deeded by Jones H. Flournoy and his wife to Edward Partridge; Samuel C. Owens was county clerk at the time. The consideration was \$130. There is no mention in the Jackson County records of any administration upon the estate of Edward Partridge, the next official entry being an illegal deed from Samuel I. Edwards to Samuel H. Woodson.

The next link in the chain of title is a "Deed from Lydia Partridge, widow of Edward Partridge, Eliza M. Partridge, Emily D. Partridge and Caroline E. Partridge, heiresses of Edward Partridge, then living in Pottawattamie County, Iowa, to James Pool, of Jackson County, Missouri." This deed was dated May 5, 1848, and signed in the presence of Allen Atwood and Nathan A. West.



August 3, 1848, James Pool gave a deed to John Maxwell for the same 63 acres and a fraction, the consideration being \$600. Subsequently a lawsuit was planted against James Pool by Thomas J. Payne for the recovery of \$330, and by others for various other amounts, and to satisfy these claimants the land was put up at sheriff's sale, at which it was purchased anew by John Maxwell for \$1,315. The sheriff's deed to Mr. Maxwell is dated March 24, 1849.

John Maxwell died in 1856, without making a will, but his children and heirs made good their claim and had the land surveyed and divided up into blocks and lots known as the "Woodson and Maxwell Addition" to the town of Independence. These new lots were then sold to different parties for building spots.

When the Hedrickites first came to Independence in 1867 they found the Temple site divided up into several lots and owned by various parties. In order to avoid suspicion and trouble, the Hedrickite brethren, who had concluded to secure the site, went to work quietly and bought from the different owners, at different times, the three acres they now hold, and after all had thus been secured the brethren who

had purchased the various fractions, deeded the whole to Granville Hedrick, president of and trustee-in-trust for their little church, and his successor in office. The very best lawyers were employed to examine the records and to obtain an abstract to prove an unbroken chain of title. The whole lot cost them about \$1,500. At the time the lots were bought by the Hedrickites several of the small fractions of land had already changed hands several times after the "Woodson and Maxwell Addition" had first been made.

In the summer of 1887 a little lumber meeting house, 26x18 feet, was erected by the Hedrickites on the northeast corner of the Temple Lot, and since that time regular meetings have been held therein. The Hedrickites, being friendly to the Latter-day Saints in Utah, have invited several of our Elders, who have visited Independence of late, to preach in their meeting house; and in the evening of September 10, 1888, Elders Edward Stevenson, Joseph S. Black and Andrew Jenson filled a regular appointment there, speaking with considerable freedom to a crowded audience, consisting chiefly of Hedrickites and Josephites.

## CLAY COUNTY, MISSOURI

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Clay County, Missouri, the temporary home of the Saints from 1833-1836, is situated north of the Missouri River opposite Jackson County. It is bounded on the west by Platte, north by Clinton and east by Ray County; has an area of about 410 square miles and 16,000 inhabitants. In 1860 Clay County had 13,000 in-

habitants; hence it has only increased 3,000 during the last 28 years. When the Saints lived in Clay County it was very thinly inhabited, and the county seat, only had a few hundred inhabitants. The surface is somewhat uneven, but the soil is very fertile. There is considerable coal and lead-ore, limestone and sand-stone are among the

sources. Its chief products are corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, tobacco, butter, wool, hay, pork and live stock. Carriages, flour, lumber, metallic wares, saddlery, wool-carding and cloth-dressing are represented in its manufacturing establishments, which in 1880 numbered 49, employing 170 hands.

#### LIBERTY.

The county seat of Clay County is pleasantly situated on rising ground three and one-half miles north of the nearest point on the Missouri River called Liberty Landing. By rail it is 12 miles northeast of Kansas City, and it is 11 miles in a straight line due north from Independence, in Jackson County. Liberty has now a population of 2,500 and is noted for its excellent schools. The Clay County Seminary and William Jewell (Baptist) College are located here. The latter is beautifully situated on a hill in the east part of the town. The court house is considered one of the finest in the State of Missouri. There are a number of substantial brick stores and some handsome private residences. Two weekly papers, one democratic and one republican, are published here.

RUSH CREEK, the stream on which the members of Zion's Camp were scattered when the cholera broke out among them in the summer of 1834, heads about two miles northwest of Liberty; it runs in a southeasterly direction (passing within two miles east of Liberty) and empties into the Missouri River, near Missouri City, seven miles southeast of Liberty.

DUCKER'S FERRY, where the mobocrats crossed the Missouri River in 1834 (on the occasion when James

Campbell and six others were drowned) is seven miles south of Liberty and three-and-a-half miles north of Independence, at the place where Wayne City, on the Jackson County side, now is situated.

#### HISTORY.

When the Saints were expelled from Jackson County in November, 1833, the greater part of them found a temporary resting place in Clay County, though some of them were scattered through Ray, Lafayette, and Van Buren counties. Those, however, who settled in Van Buren were again driven away. The people in Clay County, as a rule, were kind to the Saints, who were thrown so uncereemoniously upon their hospitality. They were permitted to occupy every vacant cabin, and build others for temporary shelter. Some of the sisters obtained positions as domestics in the households of well-to-do farmers, while others taught school. For these acts of kindness the people of Clay County were well repaid in labor performed by the brethren, who were by no means idle, nor of the class who would receive a gratuity when it was within their power to give its equivalent in honest toil. Some heads of families were able to and did purchase land and homes, but the majority rented.

But look at the situation of the Saints in the best possible light, and after all, it was a gloomy prospect. In their scattered condition no regular discipline could be enforced. Many of them were beyond the reach of their spiritual teachers; and being surrounded by wickedness, their hopes blighted, and witnessing the apparent triumph of the wicked over the

Saints, is it any wonder if, in their despair, many of them committed sins, and were chargeable with follies unbecoming people of their profession? But in the main the Saints were immovable as the everlasting hills in their righteousness and integrity to God; willing to count all things as dross for the excellency of the knowledge of God.

They were perplexed as to what course to pursue. They knew not whether they would be permitted to return to the lands from which they had been driven or not; nor did they know whether it would be best to lease or buy lands in Clay County. In the midst of this uncertainty, a conference was convened January 1, 1834, at the house of Parley P. Pratt, at which it was "Resolved, that Lyman Wight and Parley P. Pratt be sent as special messengers, to represent the situation of the scattered brethren in Missouri to the Presidency of the Church in Kirtland, and ask their advice." Accordingly these brethren started to perform this mission, leaving their families in a penniless condition, while they themselves faced the winds and snows of winter in the interests of their afflicted brethren.

Pending the Saints receiving instructions from their youthful Prophet, several events worthy of mention occurred. In the latter part of December, 1833, a court of inquiry was held at Liberty, Clay County, to investigate the conduct of Colonel Pitcher, in dispossessing the "Mormons" of their arms, and driving them from their homes. It resulted in his arrest and trial before a court martial; but said court did not convene until February 20, 1834; and so remiss in the performance of his duty

was General Thompson, who presided over the court martial trial, that no report was made to the governor until the 1st of May; and even then it had to be solicited by the governor. From the facts brought out in that trial, the governor decided that Colonel Pitcher had no right to dispossess the "Mormons" of their arms; and sent an order to Samuel D. Lucas, colonel of the 33rd regiment, to deliver the arms taken from the "Mormons" on the 5th of December, 1833, to William W. Phelps, John Correll, Edward Partridge, Algernon Sidney Gilbert, or their order. Lucas, in the meantime, however, had left Jackson County, resigned his position, and had settled in Lexington. Learning of this, the governor issued a second order for the arms, directing it this time to Colonel Pitcher. This letter was inclosed in a letter from the governor to William W. Phelps, and sent to Pitcher on the 10th of July. But between the issuing of the first and second order of the governor, for their restoration to their owners, the arms were distributed among the mob; and they insolently boasted that the arms should not be returned, notwithstanding the order of the executive. The determination of the mob proved to be stronger than the authority of the governor—the commander-in-chief of the militia of the State. The arms were never returned.

In December, 1833, the mob permitted the firm of Davies & Kelly to take the printing press owned by the Saints in Jackson County over to Liberty, in Clay County, where they began the publication of *The Missouri Enquirer*. This firm paid the lawyers, employed by the Saints, \$300 on the \$1,000 note they had given

their attorneys. Not much towards paying for a press that, with the book works, had cost between three and four thousand dollars.

It would appear that as soon as the news of the expulsion of the Saints reached the ears of the State officers, they were anxious to reinstate them in their possessions. R. W. Wells, the attorney-general of Missouri, wrote to the lawyers employed by the Church, November 21, 1833, to the effect, that if the "Mormons" desired to be returned to their homes in Jackson County, an adequate force of the State militia would be sent forthwith to accomplish this object, the militia having been ordered to hold themselves in readiness. He also promised that if the "Mormons" would organize themselves into a company of militia, they should be supplied with arms by the State. And also suggested that, "as only a certain quantity of public arms can be distributed in each county, those who first apply will most likely receive them." This letter was written after a conversation with the governor, and by that conversation, the attorney-general believed that he was warranted in making these suggestions to the "Mormons," so that we may regard the foregoing as the sentiments of the governor, as well as of the attorney-general.

Under date of November 24, 1833, John F. Ryland, the circuit judge for that district of which Jackson County was a part, wrote to Amos Reese, circuit attorney for the same district, and also counsel for the Church, saying that he had been requested by the governor to inform him "about the outrageous acts of unparalleled violence that had lately happened in

Jackson County; \* \* \* and to examine into these outrages, and to take steps to punish the guilty, and screen the innocent." He said, however, that he could not proceed without some person was willing to give the proper information before him. He asked the circuit attorney to find out from the "Mormons," if they were willing to take legal steps against the citizens of Jackson County; and if they desired to be reinstated in their possessions. If so, he was willing to adopt measures looking toward the accomplishment of this object, saying that the military force would repair to Jackson County, and execute any order he might make respecting the subject. "It is a disgrace to the State," said he, "for such acts to happen within its limits, and the disgrace will attach to our official characters, if we neglect to take proper means to ensure the punishment due such offenders."

The order for an immediate court of inquiry had been prepared by the governor, but he waited to hear from the Saints, as to whether they desired to be reinstated in their homes or not. The leading Elders of the Church, hearing through their attorneys of the steps taken to hold an immediate court of inquiry, at once wrote to the governor, asking him not to hold an immediate court of inquiry, as at that time many of those persons whom they would want as witnesses were scattered through several of the surrounding counties, and could not be notified in time to be in attendance. Besides this, they urged that many of their principal witnesses would be women and children, and so long as the rage of the

mob continued unabated, it would be unsafe to take these witnesses to Independence. "An immediate court of inquiry," wrote A. Sidney Gilbert, under date of November 29, 1833, "called while our people are thus situated, would give our enemies a decided advantage in point of testimony." He asked His Excellency, therefore, in behalf of the Church to postpone the court of inquiry until the Saints were restored to their homes, and had an equal chance with their enemies in producing testimony before the court.

Amos Reese, the circuit attorney, and one of the counsel for the Church, concurred in these very reasonable requests, and said further: "I think that at the next regular term of the court, an examination of the criminal matter cannot be gone into without a guard for the court and witnesses." The communication which made these suggestions was followed up, on the 6th of December, by a petition to the governor, which set forth briefly the outrages committed against the Saints by the Jackson County mob, and asked him to restore them to their possessions in that county; and protect them when restored by the militia of the State, if legal, or by a detachment of the United State Rangers; suggesting that doubtless the latter arrangement could be effected by the governor conferring with the President of the United States on the subject. They also asked that their men be organized into companies of "Jackson Guards," and furnished with arms by the State, that they might assist in maintaining their rights. "And then," said they, "when arrangements are made to protect us in our persons and property (which cannot be done without an armed force, nor

would it be prudent to risk our lives there without guards, till we receive strength from our friends to protect ourselves), we wish a court of inquiry instituted to investigate the whole matter of the mob against the 'Mormons.'"

To this petition the governor replied on the 4th of February, 1834, and said the request to be restored to their homes and lands needed no evidence to support the right to have it granted. He also promised that if, on inquiry, it was found that they had been wrongfully dispossessed of their arms, an order would be issued for them to be returned. But as we have already traced that matter to its final issue, we need to allude to it no further. In relation to the brethren organizing into military companies, the governor said:

"Should your men organize according to law, which they have a right to do—indeed it is their duty to do so, unless exempted by religious scruples—and apply for public arms, the Executive could not distinguish between their right to have them, and the right of every other description of people similarly situated."

All these answers of the governor's to the petition of the exiled Saints, so far, were good, and manifested a spirit to administer evenhanded justice. But when he comes to consider their request to be protected in their possessions, as well as reinstated in them, his reply is not so favorable. "As to the request," said he, "for keeping up a military force to protect your people, and prevent the commission of crimes and injuries, were I to comply, it would transcend the power with which the Executive of this State is clothed." Still the laws of the State empower the "commander-in-chief, in case of actual or threatened invasion, insurrection, or war,

or public danger, or other emergency, to call forth into actual service such portion of the militia as he may deem expedient." The governor explained further:

"The words 'or other emergency' in our militia law, seem quite broad; but the emergency, to come within the object of that provision, should be of a public nature. Your case is certainly a very emergent one, and the consequences as important to your society as if the war had been waged against the whole State, yet the public has no other interest in it, than that the laws be faithfully executed."

The sequel will show how faithfully the law was executed, and how the "public" stood by, indifferent spectators, while an unoffending people were robbed of their possessions and the laws of the State set at defiance by insolent mobs. The governor closes his answer to the petition of the exiles by saying, that as then advised, it would be necessary to have a military guard for the court and State witnesses, while sitting in Jackson County; and he sent an order to the captain of the Liberty Blues to comply with the requisition of the circuit attorney, in protecting the court, and executing its orders during the progress of the trials arising out of the Jackson County difficulties; and said the Saints could, if they felt so disposed, return under the protection of this guard to their homes and be protected in them during the progress of these trials.

It required no great wisdom to foresee that for the Saints to return to their homes, and then be left there without protection—left to the mercy of inhuman wretches, in whose veins ran none of the milk of human kindness—would not be far removed from suicide, as the mob greatly outnumbered

the Saints. To return under these circumstances would not only be laying the foundation for a more fatal tragedy than the one already enacted; and the brethren wisely concluded not to attempt to regain possession of their homes, until some measure was adopted to protect them when there—until "God or the President ruled out the mob."

At the February term of the circuit court, which convened at Independence, about twelve of the leading Elders were subpoenaed as witnesses on the part of the State against certain citizens of Jackson County for their acts of mob violence against the 'Mormons.' On the 23rd of the month, these witnesses crossed the Missouri River into Jackson County, under the protection of the Liberty Blues, Captain Atchison commanding. The company numbered about fifty and were well armed with United States muskets, bayonets fixed—presenting an outward look "fair and warlike." The company and witnesses commenced crossing the river about noon, but it was nearly night before the baggage wagon was taken across. While waiting for the arrival of the wagon, it was decided to camp in the woods, and not go to Independence until the next morning. Half the company and the witnesses went about half a mile towards Independence and built fires for the night. While engaged in these duties the quartermaster and others, who had gone ahead to prepare quarters in town for the company, sent an express back, which was continued by Captain Atchison to Colonel Allen, for the two hundred drafted militia under his command; and also sent to Liberty for

more ammunition. The night was passed around the camp fires, as the party was without tents, and the weather cold enough to snow a little.

Next morning the witnesses were marched to Independence under a strong guard, and quartered in the block-house—formerly the Flournoy Hotel. The attorney-general of the State, Mr. Wells, had been sent down by the governor to assist the circuit attorney, Mr. Reese, “to investigate, as far as possible, the Jackson outrage.” These gentlemen waited upon the witnesses in their quarters, and gave them to understand that all hopes of criminal procedure against the mob was at an end. Only a few minutes afterwards, Captain Atchison informed the witnesses that he had received an order from Judge Ryland that the services of his company were no longer needed in Jackson County. So the witnesses for the State were marched out of town to the tune of Yankee Doodle—quick time. Thus ended the sickly attempt of the State authorities to execute the law—in which the “public,” according to the governor, was interested, but no further interested in this outrage. But, “so far as a faithful execution of the laws is concerned,” he presumed, “the whole community felt a deep interest; for that which is the case of the Mormons today, may be the case of the Catholics tomorrow, and after them, any other sect that may become obnoxious to a majority of the people of any section of the State.” But after this effort by the State authorities to execute the law, doubtless all other sects or parties who were likely to come under the ban of popular sentiment, felt secure in their liber-

ties—satisfied with the valor of the officers of the State who had trembled before the bold front of a mob—a mob which had boasted that if the “Mormons” were reinstated in their homes by the authority of the governor, not three months should elapse before they would drive them again. And even while the circuit court was convened at Independence, and a company of militia in attendance to execute its mandates, and the attorney-general of the State present to assist the circuit attorney in prosecuting those who had violated the law—yet, in the presence of all this authority, the old citizens of Jackson gathered and assumed such a boisterous and mobocratic appearance, that their bold front overawed the officers of the court; the attorneys of the State telling the State witnesses—who were also sufferers from the previous violence of the mob—that all hopes of criminal prosecution against the mob were at an end; while Judge Ryland issued an order for the militia to withdraw, just when they were needed to protect his court in vindicating the law.

Thus ended the only effort that was ever made by the officers of the State to bring to justice these violators of the law. One class of citizens had conspired against the liberties of another class, and being the stronger had, without the authority of law or shadow of justification, driven twelve hundred of them from their possessions, and there was not virtue enough in the Executive of the State and his associations to punish the offenders. The determination of the mob to resist the law was stronger than the determination of the State officers to execute it and make it honorable. And

yet the constitution of the State made it the imperative duty of the executive to "take care that the laws are faithfully executed." And the laws of the State empowered the "commander-in-chief of the militia (the governor) in case of \* \* \* insurrection, or war, or public danger, or other emergency, to call forth into actual service such portion of the militia as he might deem expedient." With this power placed in his hands by the laws of the State, Governor Dunklin permitted mobs to overawe the court of inquiry he himself had ordered, and allowed them to continue unchecked in their unhallowed deeds of devastation and violence. And while the mobocrats triumphed over the law, the governor's letters to the leading Elders of the Church contained many pretty patriotic sentiments, but he lacked the courage to execute the law.

In the meantime the Prophet Joseph was not an uninterested spectator of the stirring events that were being enacted in Missouri. The circumstances of the Church were such that his presence was necessary in Kirtland, but all the sympathy of his noble nature went out to his brethren in affliction, and his letters were filled with words of encouragement and wise counsel; and so far as his embarrassing financial circumstances would permit, he rendered them material aid. There were two things, however, that he could not understand: "And," said he, "they are these: Why God has suffered so great a calamity to come upon Zion; and what the great moving cause of this persecution is. And again, by what means he will return her back to her inheritance, with everlasting joy upon her head." (See page 412.)

He was not left long in doubt as to these matters. On the 16th of December, 1833, the Lord, in a revelation to him, said (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 101:1-7):

"Verily I say unto you, concerning your brethren who have been afflicted, and persecuted, and cast out from the land of their inheritance, I, the Lord, have suffered the affliction to come upon them, wherewith they have been afflicted, in consequence of their transgressions; \* \* \* Behold, I say unto you, there were jarrings, and contentions, and envyings, and strifes, and lustful and covetous desires among them; therefore by these things they polluted their inheritances. They were slow to hearken unto the voice of the Lord their God; therefore the Lord their God is slow to hearken to their prayers, to answer them in the day of their trouble."

This explained to the uttermost why the Saints were driven away from Zion. Of the evils which were in their midst they had been warned time and again by the Prophet and the council of the Church. But these warnings had only aroused them to a partial repentance; and the Lord, true to his word at the time of giving the warning, was pleading with the strong ones in Zion, and chastening her mighty ones, that they might overcome. Seeing then that the Saints were punished for neglecting to observe the counsels of God, the question may arise: Is the mob to be held responsible for their acts of violence against them? Most assuredly, for it is a case where "offenses must needs come, but woe unto them by whom they come."

In relation to the other matter about which Joseph was perplexed, viz.: By what means the Lord would redeem Zion, this same revelation, and one given subsequently (February 24, 1834), explained. From these two important revelations we learn that Zion is to be redeemed by power.



The Lord said (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 103):

"I will raise up unto my people a man, who shall lead them like as Moses led the children of Israel. For ye are the children of Israel, and of the seed of Abraham, and ye must needs be led out of bondage by power, and with a stretched-out arm. And as your fathers were led at the first, even so shall the redemption of Zion be. Therefore, let not your hearts faint, for I say not unto you as I said unto your fathers: Mine angel shall go up before you, but not my presence. But I say unto you: Mine angels shall go up before you, and also my presence, and in time ye shall possess the goodly land."

But this great blessing, they were given to understand, was not to be granted "until after much tribulation."

Joseph was commanded to gather up the strength of the Lord's house, the young men and the middle aged, and march with them to Zion. (See *Zion's Camp*.)

Pending the gathering of the strength of the Lord's house to go up to redeem Zion, the Saints who had been driven from their homes were instructed to importune at the feet of the judge; and if he heeded them not, then to importune at the feet of the governor; and if the governor heeded them not, then "importune at the feet of the President; and if the President heed them not, then will the Lord arise and come forth out of his hiding place, and in his fury vex the nation; and in his hot displeasure, and in his fierce anger, in his time, will cut off those wicked, unfaithful, and unjust stewards." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 101:86-90.)

The brethren now began the work of petitioning in earnest. The authorities and brethren in Kirtland petitioned the governor of Missouri in behalf of their afflicted brethren of

that State, inclosing in their petition the revelation which the Lord had given respecting the redemption of Zion. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 101.) They also sent a petition and the same revelation to the President in their behalf. The Saints in Missouri also continued to keep the subject of their wrongs constantly before the authorities of the State. They also prepared a petition, dated April 10, 1834, to the President of the nation, setting forth their wrongs at considerable length, inclosing in it the reply of the governor to their petition to him. And since the governor claimed that the laws of this State did not authorize him to keep a military force in Jackson County, to protect the Saints in their homes after their restoration, they asked the President to restore them to their possessions, and protect them when so restored, by an armed force, until peace was insured. They pointed out the fact to the President, that the Constitution authorized Congress to provide for the calling forth of the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasions. At the same time the exiles informed the governor that they had petitioned the President for a force to protect them in their homes, and asked him to assist them by sending to the President a few lines in support of their claims. Elder Phelps also wrote to Senator Thomas H. Benton, informing him of their having sent a petition to the President, and asked him for his cooperation in securing their rights. The governor answered under date of April 10, 1834, that as it was possible that the Saints had asked the President to do something that he was not empowered to do, he could not consistently join with them in

urging him to do it. "If you will send me a copy of your petition to the President, I will judge of his right to grant it; and if of opinion he possesses the power, I will write in favor of its exercise." But whether the Saints complied with this request or not, is not known.

May 2, 1834, the Saints in Clay County received a communication from Washington, which stated that the offenses of which they complained were violations of the laws of the State of Missouri, and not the laws of the United States. And the clause in the Constitution, to which they had alluded, extended only to proceedings under the laws of the United States. "Where an insurrection in any State exists, against the government thereof," said the communication from Washington, "the President is required, on the application of such State, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), to call forth such a number of the militia as he may judge sufficient to suppress such insurrection. But this state of things does not exist in Missouri, or, if it does, the fact is not shown in the mode pointed out by law. The President cannot call out a military force to aid in the execution of the State laws, until the proper requisition is made upon him by the constituted authorities." And as the "constituted authorities" would not make that requisition, all hopes for assistance from the General Government were at an end.

When the Missouri State legislature convened, the governor called the attention of the body legislative to the outrages committed by the citizens of Jackson County against the "Mormons," saying, "As yet,

none have been punished for these outrages, and I believe that, under our present laws, conviction for any violence committed against a Mormon cannot be had in Jackson County.

\* \* \* It is for you to determine what amendment the law may require, so as to guard against such acts of violence for the future." This notice of the question in the governor's message revived the sinking hopes of the exiles, but it was only again to have them disappointed. The portion of the governor's message which referred to the Jackson outrage was given to a special committee, and at the suggestion of Messrs. Thompson and Atchison, of the Missouri Legislature, the Saints petitioned that body for an enactment to reinstate them in their homes and protect them, but it availed nothing. The Legislature took no action in the matter. The violators of the law went unwhipped of justice. Suffering innocence found no protector in the State or Nation.

In May, 1834, it appears that the Jackson County mobocrats, through some person of influence in Clay County, had suggested to Governor Dunklin the propriety of dividing Jackson County so that the old settlers and the Saints could occupy separate territory, and confine themselves within their respective limits, with the exception of the public right of ingress and egress upon the highway. This plan of settling the Jackson County trouble was suggested by Colonel John Thornton, and concurred in by Messrs. Reese, Atchison and Doniphan. Their communication brought out a reply from the governor, dated June 6, 1834, in which he expressed his pleasure at these gentlemen making an effort to

bring about a compromise of the Jackson County difficulties. He told them had he not been afraid of embarrassing himself by an official interposition, he should have exerted himself to have brought about a compromise even before then; but he was fearful of traveling out of the strict line of his duty as the chief executive of the State, should he do so. Said he:

"My first advice would be to the Mormons to sell out their lands in Jackson County, and to settle somewhere else, where they could live in peace, if they could get a fair price for them and reasonable damages for injuries received. If this failed, I would try the citizens, and advise them to meet and rescind their illegal resolves of last summer, and agree to conform to the laws in every particular in respect to the Mormons."

Should success attend neither of these plans, he would then try the plan of dividing the county as suggested by Colonel Thornton. "If all these failed," said the governor, "then the simple question of legal right would have to settle it. It is this last that I am afraid I shall have to conform my action to in the end."

The whole tenor of this communication plainly shows that the governor fully understood that the "simple question of legal rights" would reinstate the Saints on the lands from which they had been driven. The following extract from the letter confirms this statement:

"A more clear and indisputable right does not exist, than that the Mormon people, who were expelled from their homes in Jackson County, should return and live on their lands; and if they cannot be persuaded, as a matter of policy, to give up that right, or to qualify it, my course as the chief executive officer of the State is a plain one. The Constitution of the United States declares, 'that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' Then we cannot interdict any people, who have a political franchise in the United States, from

emigrating to this State, nor from choosing what part of the State they will settle in, provided they do not trespass on the property or rights of others. \* \* \* And again, our Constitution says, 'that all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences.' I am fully persuaded that the eccentricity of the religious opinions and practices of the Mormons is at the bottom of the outrages committed against them. They have the right constitutionally guaranteed to them, and it is indefeasible, to worship Joe Smith as a man, an angel, or even as the only true and living God, and to call their habitation Zion, the Holy Land, or even Heaven itself. Indeed there is nothing so absurd or ridiculous that they have not a right to adopt as their religion, so that in its exercise they do not interfere with the rights of others."

Surely this is a liberal statement of the rights and privileges of the Latter-day Saints, and indeed, of any other people, but the governor was loath to perform what he admits to be his plain duty in restoring the "Mormons" to their homes. Indeed, he at length refused to do it, fearing that in executing the law, by returning the Saints to their homes, he would involve the county in a civil war.

June 10, 1834, the district judge, John F. Ryland, wrote a letter to Elder A. Sidney Gilbert, asking him to use his influence in gathering his brethren at Liberty, in Clay County, on the 16th of the month; saying that he expected to meet a delegation of citizens from Jackson County there, and he was desirous of giving his views upon the present situation of the parties concerned in the Jackson troubles, with the hope of bringing about a peaceable adjustment of them. This letter was read in a public meeting of the Saints, and a respectful answer given, promising that as many of the Saints as could attend the meeting on the 16th would be present. Knowing there had been some talk about the propriety of the

Saints selling out their lands in Jackson County, and fearing the judges would advise them to do so, the brethren took occasion to say in this communication that no such proposition could possibly be acceded to by the Saints; and concluded by saying:

"Home is home, and we want possession of our homes from which we have been wickedly expelled—and those rights which belong to us as native, free-born citizens of the United States."

About one thousand people were in attendance at the meeting at the court house in Liberty on the 16th of June; and among them were many of the brethren and a deputation of citizens from Jackson County, who made in substance the following proposition for the settlement of the Jackson difficulties:

"The people of Jackson County hereby propose to the Mormons, that they will buy all the land that the said Mormons own in the County of Jackson, and also the improvements which the said Mormons had on any of the public lands in said County of Jackson, as they existed before the first disturbance between the people of Jackson and the Mormons, and for such as they have made since. They further propose that the value of said land and improvements shall be ascertained by three disinterested arbitrators, to be chosen and agreed to by both parties. They further propose, that should the parties disagree in the choice of arbitrators, then..... is to choose them. They further propose, that twelve of the Mormons shall be permitted to go along with the arbitrators to show them their land and improvements while valuing the same, and such others of the Mormons as the arbitrators shall wish to do so, to give them information; and the people of Jackson hereby guarantee their entire safety while doing so. They further propose, that when the arbitrators report the value of the land and improvements, as aforesaid, the people of Jackson will pay the valuation, with

one hundred per cent. added thereon, to the Mormons, within thirty days thereafter. They further propose, that the Mormons are not to make any effort, ever after, to settle, either collectively or individually, within the limits of Jackson County. The Mormons are to enter into bonds to insure the conveyance of their land in Jackson County, according to the above terms, when the payment shall be made; and the committee will enter into a like bond, with such security as may be deemed sufficient for the payment of the money, according to the above proposition. While the arbitrators are investigating and deciding upon the matters referred to them, the Mormons are not to attempt to enter Jackson County, or to settle there, except such as are by the foregoing propositions permitted to go there.

"They further propose that the people of Jackson will sell all their lands and improvements on public lands, in Jackson County, to the Mormons, the valuation to be obtained in the same manner, the same per cent in addition to be paid, and the time the money is to be paid is the same as the above set forth in our proposition to buy; the Mormons to give good security for the payment of the money, and the undersigned will give security that the land will be conveyed to the Mormons. They further propose, that all parties are to remain as they are till the payment is made, at which time the people of Jackson will give possession."

After these propositions were submitted to the meeting, Samuel C. Owens made a flaming war speech against the "Mormons," and General Doniphan replied on the side of peace. The Reverend M. Riley, a Baptist minister, after delivering a bitter speech, said:

"The Mormons have lived long enough in Clay County; and they must either clear out, or be cleared out."

To which the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Turnham, replied:

"Let us be republicans, let us honor our country, and not disgrace it like Jackson

County. For God's sake don't disfranchise or drive away the Mormons. They are better citizens than many of the old inhabitants."

General Doniphan exclaimed:

"That's a fact, and as the Mormons have armed themselves, if they don't fight they are cowards. I love to hear that they have brethren coming to their assistance. Greater love can no man show than he who lays down his life for his brother."

Cries of "adjourn" and "no, no, go on" were now heard, mingled with curses loud and deep, and the ominous gleaming of knives, and cocking of pistols; to add to the excitement, a man by the door yelled out: "A man stabbed!" At this those in the court room rushed out to learn what had happened. It turned out that a blacksmith by the name of Calbert had stabbed a man by the name of Wales, who had boasted of having whipped many of the Mormons—one of which had nearly lost his life through the injuries received. The wound was dangerous, but the meeting broke up without further bloodshed.

In the midst of this excitement, a few of the brethren retired and addressed a communication to the Jackson County delegation, to the effect that their proposition for a settlement of the Jackson difficulties should be presented to the Saints, and an answer to it should be handed to Judge Turnham by the 20th, sooner if possible. The brethren assured the Jackson delegation that peace was what they desired, and promised to use all their influence to establish it, and disclaimed any design to commence hostilities against the inhabitants of Jackson County; and further pledged themselves to use their influence to prevent the large company of their

men (Zion's Camp), then *en route* for Missouri, going into Jackson County, until the citizens of Jackson should receive an authoritative answer to their proposition to "buy or sell."

The Jackson delegation, in a very bad humor, started for Independence. One of the leaders, James Campbell, as he adjusted his pistols in their holster, exclaimed: "The eagles and buzzards shall eat my flesh, if I don't fix Joe Smith and his army (meaning Zion's Camp) so that their skins won't hold shucks before two days are passed." They went to Ducker's Ferry and started to cross the Missouri, but when about the middle of the river, their boat suddenly went down as if made of lead. There was no storm—the river was calm, and no natural explanation could be given for the sinking of the boat. Joseph declares that the angel of the Lord sank it. Indeed, the circumstances are such as to go very far toward strengthening the statement. It is supposed that about twelve men were in the boat, and of the number seven were drowned. (See page 585.) Of the number drowned the names of three are all that have been learned—Ibe Job,—Everett and James Campbell. The body of Campbell was found about three weeks after the occurrence, on a pile of drift-wood, some four or five miles below where the boat sank, by a Mr. Purtle. But little more than the skeleton of the man remained. His flesh had been eaten by the eagles and buzzards. His fate points a fearful warning to those who raise their hands against God's anointed. It gives us reason to believe that the day is not distant

when the command of Jehovah—"Touch not mine anointed, and do my Prophets no harm"—must be obeyed.

The fate of Owens was more ludicrous. He floated down the stream until he landed on an island; where he remained all night. The next morning he stripped off his clothes and swam ashore and laid down by the side of a log, close to the road. A lady passing on horse-back, learning of his condition, dropped him her shawl to cover his nakedness, until he could secure clothing.

Concerning the propositions made by the Jackson people to the Saints for the peaceful adjustment of their difficulties, Elder B. H. Roberts, in his article on "The Missouri Persecutions," reasons as follows:

"To have the lands owned by the Saints and the improvements thereon valued by disinterested arbitrators, and the amount paid with one hundred per cent. added within thirty days, looks like a very fair proposition; but still the Saints could not accept such terms, as the condition upon which the proposition was made required the surrender of some of their rights as citizens of the United States and freemen.

"The Constitution of the United States says expressly: 'The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.' The Saints were citizens of the United States, possessing all the rights and franchises thereof, and they had a right—an indefeasible one, too—to settle in whatever State they saw proper to choose for their abode—and they had a right to settle in whatever part of the State pleased them best; and, as Governor Dunklin admitted, they had a right to call their habitation "Zion, the Holy Land, or Heaven itself," so long as in doing so they interfered not with the property and rights of others. To accept the proposition of the Jackson people then, and bind themselves never again to make any effort to settle collectively or individually within the limits of Jackson County, would be a surrender of their dearest rights of citizenship—and would be permitting mobocrats and murderers to dictate them in the exercise of their liberties—binding not only themselves, but their children as well,

to the dictum of these wretches. To accept such a settlement of their troubles, would have been a covenant with death—an agreement with hell! To their honor be it said, they spurned the proposition with the contempt it deserved.

"But the surrender of some of their rights as citizens of the United States was not the only difficulty involved in the settlement of the Jackson troubles by the Saints selling their possessions. God had revealed to them that Jackson County was the place where is to be built the Zion of their God. For them to sell their lands then, and agree never after to make a settlement there collectively or individually, would be a denial of their faith and bring upon them the displeasure of their God. For them to sell their lands was entirely out of the question.

"But the mob offered not only to buy, but to sell upon the same conditions that they proposed to buy. Why did not the Saints accept this offer? Simply because they could not, and the citizens of Jackson knew very well they could not. The old settlers of Jackson owned many times more the amount of land than was possessed by the Saints, say thirty acres to one. The Saints were not wealthy to begin with; and now, after they had been driven from their homes, robbed of their goods, their cattle driven away, their homes, stables, and stacks of grain burned, they are asked to buy nearly the whole of Jackson County, for which they must pay double price—because they were to add one hundred per cent to the appraised value—in thirty days. I don't believe the people of Jackson County were sincere in making the proposition. They knew the Saints could not sell their lands without surrendering many of their rights as freemen and citizens of the United States, and without being untrue to their God, by virtually denying their faith in the revelations he had given regarding the building up of Zion in Jackson County. This the old settlers knew the 'Mormons' would not do. They had tried to whip and frighten too many of them into a denial of their religious convictions to think for one moment that money would induce them to deny that faith. On the other hand, they determined to put the price of their own land beyond the possibility of the Saints purchasing it. The whole scheme was concocted with a view of covering up their damnable outrages against the Saints, under an appearance of fairness. 'In the corrupted currents of this world, where Offense's gilded hand may shove by justice,' where hypocrisy is often mistaken for piety,

and cunning for fairness, the subterfuge may have served its purpose; but when the wretches who have murdered the Saints and plundered them of their goods shall stand before the bar of God, they will find their refuge of deceit will not shield them from the justice of him who has declared 'vengeance is mine, I will repay!'

The Saints refused to accept the terms of settlement made by the people of Jackson, but on the 23rd of June Elders William W. Phelps, Edward Partridge, Isaac Morley, John Correll, John Whitmer and A. Sidney Gilbert, in behalf of the Saints, wrote the following to the Jackson County delegation:

"We the undersigned committee, having full power and authority to settle and adjust all matters and differences existing between our people or society and the inhabitants of Jackson County, upon honorable and constitutional principles; therefore, if the said inhabitants of Jackson County will not let us return to our lands in peace, we are willing to propose first: That twelve disinterested men, six to be chosen by our people, and six by the inhabitants of Jackson County; and these twelve men shall say what the lands of those men are worth in that county, who cannot consent to live with us, and they shall receive their money for the same in one year from the time the treaty is made, and none of our people shall enter the county to reside till the money is paid. The said twelve men shall have power also to say what the damages shall be for the injuries we have sustained in the destruction of property and in being driven from our possessions, which amount of damages shall be deducted from the amount for their lands. Our object is peace, and an early answer will be expected."

The only reply received to this proposition was in a letter from Samuel C. Owens, to Mr. Amos Reese, dated Independence, June 26, 1834, which plainly said that the Jackson people would do nothing like the proposition made by the Saints, and here the hopes of settling the Jackson County troubles by arbitration ended.

In the meantime Joseph Smith and his brethren from the East had arrived in Clay County. (See *Zion's Camp*). On June 23, 1834, the Prophet met in council with the High Priests, agreeable to a revelation given the day previous on Fishing River (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 105), and the following brethren, who had proven themselves faithful and true during the late persecutions, were chosen by the voice of the spirit and revelation to go to Kirtland, Ohio, to receive their endowments: Edward Partridge, William W. Phelps, Isaac Morley, John Correll, John Whitmer, David Whitmer, A. Sidney Gilbert, Peter Whitmer, jun., Simeon Carter, Newel Knight, Parley P. Pratt, Christian Whitmer, Solomon Hancock, Thomas B. Marsh and Lyman Wight.

On the 1st of July the Prophet with four of the brethren crossed the Missouri into Jackson County, "once more," as he remarked, "to set my foot on this 'goodly land.'" What contending emotions would be awakened by such a visit! There, just west of the court house in Independence, three years before, he had assembled with his brethren, and dedicated a site for the Temple of the Lord. Now and then they would come to the ruined homes of the Saints, or, if preserved from the hands of the spoiler, it was that they might shelter some land pirate who had driven away the rightful owner. Now in vision he might, for a moment, see the future glory of Zion—then he would weep to think of the Saints stripped of all their worldly goods, and in the midst of strangers whose bonds of friendship were not strong.

On the 3rd of July, 1834, in a council of High Priests held in Clay

County, Joseph proceeded to organize a High Council similar to the one previously organized in Kirtland, Ohio. David Whitmer was elected president and William W. Phelps and John Whitmer assistant presidents. The following High Priests were appointed High Councilors: Christian Whitmer, Newel Knight, Lyman Wight, Calvin Beebe, William E. McLellin, Solomon Hancock, Thomas B. Marsh, Simeon Carter, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Murdock and Levi Jackman. All these brethren were ordained and set apart to their various positions on the 7th.

Joseph remained with the Saints in Clay County, giving such instructions as were needed for the prosperity of the Church in that part of the country, until the 9th of July, when he left to return to Kirtland.

The High Council proceeded to discuss a variety of subjects pertaining to the situation of the Saints. They made a direct appeal to the people of the United States, and to mankind everywhere—stating their wrongs and imploring their assistance in securing and maintaining their rights. They declared their devotion to the laws of their country, and their faith in God, and the final establishment of Zion in Jackson County, and expressed a desire to be at peace with all mankind. They also investigated some matters arising between the members of the Church, of setting the Church in Missouri in order generally. On the 12th of July the council appointed Edward Partridge, Orson Pratt, Isaac Morley and Zebedee Coltrin to visit the afflicted and scattered brethren in Missouri. They were not to hold public meetings, as that would arouse too much popular prejudice, but they

were to work quietly, setting the Saints in order and teaching them the way of holiness, as the Lord by his Spirit might direct. Subsequently a few Elders were sent out to hold public meetings, "to teach the disciples how to escape the indignation of their enemies, and keep in favor with those who were friendly disposed." On the 7th of August the council sent out about twenty Elders to preach the gospel to the world; and thus in these trying circumstances these faithful men continued to preach the gospel of Christ restored to the earth.

In the meantime Joseph and a few of his brethren who had accompanied him from Missouri had arrived in Kirtland. On the 16th of August, 1834, he wrote to the brethren in Missouri, requesting that another petition be written, such as the High Council would approve, asking the governor of Missouri to call on the President of the United States to furnish a guard to protect the Saints in their homes in Jackson County from the insults and violence of the mob. Copies of this petition were to be placed in the hands of the Elders going on missions through the United States, and every effort was to be made to get signers; "that peradventure," wrote Joseph, "we may learn whether we have friends or not in these United States." Lyman Wight was instructed to enter complaints to Governor Dunklin as often as he should receive insults or injuries; and should mobs take life or burn houses, and the people of Clay County refuse to protect the Saints, he was to collect the little army, be set over into Jackson, and do the best he could in maintaining the ground. If the excitement continued



to abate, then the Saints were to gather quietly together in the regions surrounding, and be in "readiness to move into Jackson County in two years from the 11th of September next (1836), which is the appointed time for the redemption of Zion. If—verily I say unto you—if the Church, with one united effort, perform their duties—if they do this, the work shall be complete." If, on the other hand, the Church failed to gather up the young men and means to redeem Zion by the appointed time, "behold," saith the Prophet, "there remaineth a scourge for the Church, even that they shall be driven from city to city, and but few shall remain to receive an inheritance."

For the next two years the Prophet and his brethren were busily engaged in setting in order the various quorums of the Priesthood, but he still had time to think of Zion and her redemption. On the occasion of a large body of the Priesthood being present on the 2nd of May, 1835, he moved that they never give up the struggle for the redemption of Zion, so long as life should last. September 24th, following, the High Council met at the house of Joseph Smith to take into consideration the redemption of Zion. It was the decision of the council that the Saints who had been expelled from Zion petition the governor of the State to reinstate them the following spring, and they would either live or die on their lands; and Joseph prayed that they might be successful in getting eight hundred or a thousand emigrants to go up to settle in Zion; and still later (March 13, 1836) the First Presidency resolved to remove on or before the 15th of May next to Zion, if the

Lord should open the way before them, that their influence might be more effectual in encouraging the Saints to gather there.

But events of a strange character were to occur that would prevent the carrying out of these resolutions. The Saints did not comply with the conditions upon which Zion was to be redeemed. They did not with a united effort do their duty, and they did not give of their means liberally, nor did their young men volunteer readily to go up to Zion. Hence they were not entitled to the fulfilment of God's promise to redeem Zion; but instead of this blessing there was suspended over them the promised scourge of being driven from city to city, because they failed to keep the commandments—a scourge that has been executed to the uttermost.

The petitions the Elders circulated throughout the States in their travels, asking the people to petition the governor of Missouri to reinstate the Saints in their homes, met with considerable response and awakened some sympathy among the people generally. The petition was mailed to the governor December 9, 1835. But all these efforts failed to move the State officials to make any effectual effort towards restoring the outraged Saints to their own and protecting them in the quiet possession of their property and lives.

July 28, 1836, the Saints in Clay County received a letter from Governor Dunklin, which may be considered the funeral knell to their hopes of executive interference in their behalf. In that letter, which was dated Jefferson City, July 18, 1836, the governor informed them that their cases were individual cases, and as

such were subjects for judicial interference, and not for the special cognizance of the executive. He stated further:

"And there are cases, sometimes, of individual outrage which may be so popular as to render the action of courts of justice nugatory in endeavoring to afford a remedy. \* \* \* Your neighbors accuse your people of holding illicit communications with the Indians, and of being opposed to slavery. You deny. Whether the charge or the denial is true I cannot tell. The fact exists, and your neighbors seem to believe it true; and whether true or false, the consequence will be the same (if your opponents are not merely gasconading), unless you can, by your conduct and arguments, convince them of your innocence. If you cannot do this, all I can say to you is, that in this Republic the *vox populi* is the *vox dei*."

What a mockery, then, is such a government! Under it none may hope to enjoy liberty but those who are willing to swim in the stream of popular sentiment—a stream oftener filthy than clean. How precarious is the hold of the inhabitants of such a government upon their liberties—dependent upon the changing whims of the populace—the populace which "today will weep a Caesar slain; tomorrow vote a monument to Brutus!" Under such a government what is to become of Reformers? Perhaps the fate of Reformers of other ages, who have fallen victims to the hatred of popular sentiment, will answer the question. What is to become of the weaker parties if all are to be crushed or banished that popular sentiment condemns? For what are governments established if not to protect all, the weak as well as the strong, the despised as well as the favored, in the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?

June 29, 1836, the leading citizens of Clay County assembled in the court-

house of Liberty to consider the difficulties threatening the people of Clay County in consequence of the presence of the "Mormons." After the usual organization at such meetings, the committee on resolutions reported a document that briefly stated the circumstances under which the Saints flocked into Clay County, without money, without property, without food for their wives and children, and, like Noah's dove, without a resting place for their feet; and how the people of Clay County, in face of the thousand reports accusing them of every crime known to the laws of the country, had treated them with toleration and often with peculiar kindness. The document refers to the statements of the Saints who had said they did not regard Clay County as their permanent home, but merely as a temporary asylum which they would promptly leave whenever a respectable portion of the citizens of Clay County should request it; and now the best interest of the county demanded the fulfilment of this pledge.

The reasons why the Saints had become objects of hatred and detestation to many of the citizens of Clay County are stated to be:

1. Their religious tenets were so different from the present churches of the age, that this always had and always would excite deep prejudice against them in any populous country where they might locate.

2. They were eastern men, whose manners, habits, customs and even dialect were essentially different from the Missourians.

3. They were *non-slave-holders* and opposed to slavery, which excited deep and abiding prejudices in a com-

munity which tolerated and protected slavery.

4. Common report had it that they kept up a constant communication with the Indian tribes on the frontier; and declared from the pulpit that the Indians were a part of God's chosen people, destined by heaven to inherit with them the land of Missouri.

"We do not vouch for the correctness of these statements," said the committee in their report, "but whether they are true or false, their effect has been the same in exciting our community."

The causes named are represented as having raised a prejudice against the Saints and a feeling of hostility, that the first spark might, and the committee deeply feared would, ignite into all the horrors and desolations of a civil war, and it was therefore

*"Resolved*, That it is the fixed and settled conviction of this meeting, that unless the people commonly called Mormons will agree to stop immediately the immigration of their people to this county, and take measures to remove themselves from it, a civil war is inevitable."

The committee said further:

"We do not contend that we have the least right under the Constitution and laws of the country to expel them by force. But we would indeed be blind, if we did not foresee that the first blow that is struck, at this moment of deep excitement, must and will speedily involve every individual in a war, bearing ruin, woe and desolation in its course. It matters but little how, where or by whom the war may begin; when the work of destruction commences, we must all be borne onward by the storm, or crushed beneath its fury."

The Saints were told that if they had one spark of gratitude, they would not willingly plunge a people into civil war, who had held out to them the friendly hand of assistance in the dark hour of their distress. A com-

mittee of ten were appointed to present these views to the leading Elders among the "Mormons," with the understanding that if the "Mormons" would consent to move as requested, the gentlemen who had called the meeting, and asked them to leave Clay County, would use all their influence to allay the excitement among the citizens of the county.

The reply of the Saints to the request to remove from Clay County was adopted at a general mass meeting, held July 1, 1836. In their reply the Saints express their appreciation of the kindness shown them by the people of Clay County. They denied having any disposition to meddle with slavery, and also denied holding any communication with the Indians, and said they had held themselves as ready to defend their country against their barbarous ravages as any other people. After making these denials they resolved:

"For the sake of friendship, and to be in a covenant of peace with the citizens of Clay County, and they to be in a covenant of peace with us, notwithstanding the necessary loss of property and expense we incur in moving, we comply with the requisitions of their resolutions in leaving the county of Clay, as explained by the preamble accompanying the same; and that we will use our exertions to have the Church do the same."

It appears that the committee, which had presented the resolutions of the Clay County citizens, had tendered its services to assist the Saints in selecting a new location, and the Saints resolved to accept its assistance. The reply from the Saints was perfectly satisfactory to the people of Clay County, and they made some arrangements to assist the Saints in complying with their request; that is, two persons from each township were appointed to raise money by subscrip-

tion to aid the "Mormons" who might need assistance to leave the county, and also arrange for some suitable person to assist in selecting a new location for settlement; and recommend the "Mormons" to the good treatment of the citizens in surrounding counties, and ask them to assist the "Mormons" in selecting some abiding place for their people, where they would be, in a measure, the only occupants; and where none would be anxious to molest them.

Almost immediately after these proceedings, the Saints proceeded to make preparations for leaving their temporary homes in Clay County, and in September following (1836) they commenced removing into a new location which had been selected on Shoal Creek, in the territory attached to Ray County. By the following spring nearly all the Saints from Clay County had changed their places of abode to that section of the country, which in December, 1836, was organized into Caldwell County. (See *Caldwell County*.) This was the second exodus of the Saints of a series of five in the early days of the Church.

#### LIBERTY JAIL.

The next thing of importance connecting Clay County with the history of the Church was the imprisonment of Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae and Caleb Baldwin in the Liberty jail from November, 1838, to April, 1839. Elder Lyman O. Littlefield, who at that time was learning the trade of a printer in the town of Liberty, gives in this connection the following graphic description of his youthful experience, in his interesting little work "Reminiscences of Latter-

day Saints," just published in Logan, Cache County:

"It must have been about the first of December when the prisoners assigned to the Liberty jail were conveyed to that place.

"It was the privilege of the writer—if it may be called such—to witness their entrance into the place. They, of course, traveled upon the main road leading from Richmond, and entered the town of Liberty on the east. They were all in one large, heavy wagon with a high box, which, as they were seated, hid from view all of their forms, except from a little below the shoulders. They passed through the center of the town, across the public square, in the center of which stood the court house. After crossing this square the wagon containing them was driven up the street northward about the distance of two blocks, where, at the left hand side of the street, was a vacant piece of ground, upon which, close to the street, stood the Liberty jail, ever to be remembered famous by the entrance into it of these illustrious prisoners. \* \* \* The inhabitants of Liberty, and many from the surrounding country, were out to witness the entrance of the prisoners into the place, and many, on that occasion, in my hearing, expressed their disappointment that the strangers should so much resemble all other men of prepossessing appearance.

"This large, clumsily built wagon—the box of which was highest at each end—finally halted close to the platform in front of the jail, which platform had to be reached by means of about a half a dozen steps, constructed on the south and north sides of the same. The jail fronted the street at the east.

"The prisoners left the wagon and immediately ascended the south steps to the platform, around which no banisters were constructed. The door was open; one by one, the tall and well proportioned forms of the prisoners entered. The Prophet Joseph was the last of the number who lingered behind. He turned partly around, with a slow and dignified movement, and looked upon the multitude. Then turning away, and lifting his hat, he said, in a distinct voice, 'Good afternoon, gentlemen.' The next moment he had passed out of sight. The heavy door swung upon its strong hinges, and the Prophet was hid from the gaze of the curious populace who had so eagerly watched.

"Because Joseph used the term 'good afternoon,' some of the people became excited and made various threats. The custom of a Mis-

sourian would have been to say 'good evening.' They thought his expression implied a covert meaning that he should make his escape before morning. Joseph being an eastern man, expressed himself after the custom of the eastern people. Finally the excitement subsided, the people dispersed, and the prisoners were left to seek the best rest their hard, dark and cheerless prison quarters might afford them.

"We, also, retired from the scene, full of anxiety and concern. In the *Missouri Inquirer* office, after that day, ample opportunities were afforded for meditation, as the past and present came up for review. Joseph and his fellow-prisoners were men whom I knew and loved—men who with me possessed 'like precious faith' in the God of heaven. These men were actually, so to speak, within a stone's throw of the place of my employment. So very near, and yet so far were they beyond my power to render them aid! For me or any others of our faith in that place to have tried to aid them would have been useless, if known to the people. There were those, however, who did aid them in a certain way. Just across the street, directly opposite the jail, lived a family of Latter-day Saints, who were full of sympathy for their imprisoned brethren. This family befriended them in the only way within their power. Having heard it whispered that their food was not, at all times, of a very good quality, they, as often as convenient, and when safe to do so, found means to pass to them through the prison grates (which could be reached by a person standing upon the ground from the outside) various articles of food, such as cakes, pies, etc., which they themselves prepared. This had to be done very cautiously, under the cover of night. The names of those who performed these good Samaritan-like deeds were Samuel Kingsley and his wife Olive Martha; also his sisters Rachel, Eleanor and Flora. The doubtful character of the food sometimes placed before the prisoners, by those to whom that duty had been assigned (it is said that human flesh had actually been given them to eat), doubtless caused them to duly appreciate and relish those wholesome repasts, knowing, as they did, that they had been carefully prepared by the hands of sympathizing friends.

"The prisoners had been some time confined in the Liberty jail when a circumstance occurred in which they were among the principal actors. \* \* \* I was just returning from supper on my way to the printing office and had reached a position in front of the jail, when

suddenly and unexpectedly was heard the sound of anxious voices and a quick rush as if made by a strong and determined man. Above the tumult was distinguished the well known voices of my friends—and that of Joseph's distinctly—asking in earnest tones for freedom. Also the voice of Mr. Samuel Tillery, the jailer, was plainly heard resolutely denying their petition. This struggle continued only for a brief period, when the jailer's light shone at the outside of the jail walls, and the door lock gave a clicking sound as the key turned in the heavy lock. Just then a man jumped from the platform, and Mr. Tillery's assistant, with an oath, fired a shot at him as he ran a few rods north, sprang upon a horse that was hitched to a fence, and rode rapidly away. This was some friend of the prisoners', who had tried to render assistance to his imprisoned brethren. I have heard that it was Brother Cyrus Daniels, and that he was wounded in one of his arms by the shot of the assistant jailer, but have no means of knowing as to the correctness of this.

"Mr. Tillery and his man then hastened past the place where I was standing, and ran down the street into the town alarming the people with their cries for help, calling them to rally to the jail, as the prisoners were trying to make their escape. \* \* \*

"A large crowd gathered there, and every one was filled with the most intense excitement. Several demanded of the jailer the keys, but he stoutly refused to let them pass from his possession. He had wished the people to gather there lest the prisoners might make their escape, but when he found that they were securely locked within the walls and everything was all safely arranged, he was satisfied for the prisoners to remain in their secure quarters, and would not consent that they should be delivered to the populace in their excited and enraged condition, knowing that the consequences would be fatal to the defenseless men. In this he filled the requirements of the law.

"Some time was spent around the jail in vain attempts to get possession of the men to whom they desired to do violence. Wicked profanations were freely indulged in and a variety of threats made; but finally, growing disheartened, they withdrew, and the precincts of the jail soon were made lonely in the still shadows of night.

"The most orderly portion of the citizens repaired to their homes, but the profligate and rowdy class resorted to the groceries and saloons and spent the night in drinking, gam-

bling, and cursing 'Joe Smith' and the 'Mormons.'

"The attempted escape was the topic of conversation, and the most exaggerated stories and rumors were told. Their imaginations were so wrought up that many of them believed there was a chain of 'Mormon' forces all along the road to Far West, determined to effect the release of their friends and carry them away in triumph to some place of safety. But as time wore away, in a few days their excitement was allayed and they began to breathe freely, so far as the terrible 'Mormons' were concerned.

"Some of those who attempted to rescue the prisoners were shut into the jail, and they were taken before the court to answer to the charge of attempting to release the prisoners. \* \* \*

The following is what Joseph, the Prophet, himself says in reference to this attempt to regain their freedom (*Times and Seasons*, Vol. 1, page 101):

"We should have taken out a writ of *habeas corpus* and escaped the mob in a summary way, but unfortunately for us, the timber of the wall being very hard, our auger handles gave out, which hindered us longer than we expected; we applied to a friend for assistance, and a very slight uncautious act gave rise to suspicion, and before we could fully succeed, our plan was discovered. We should have made our escape, and succeeded admirably well, had it not been for a little imprudence or over-anxiety on the part of our friend.

"The sheriff and jailer did not blame us for our attempt; it was a fine breech, and cost the county a round sum. Public opinion says we ought to have been permitted to have made our escape, but then the disgrace would have been on us; now it must come on the State. We know that there cannot be any charge sustained against us; and that the conduct of the mob, the murders committed at Haun's Mill, the exterminating order of Governor Boggs, and the one-sided, rascally proceedings of the legislature, has damned the State of Missouri to all eternity. General Atchison has proved himself to be as contemptible as any of our enemies.

"We have tried a long time to get our lawyers to draw up some petitions to the supreme judges of this State, but they have utterly refused. We have examined the law, and drawn the petitions ourselves, and have obtained abundance of proof to counteract all the testimony

that is against us, so that if the judges do not grant us our liberty, they have got to act contrary to honor, evidence, law or justice, merely to please the mob, but we hope better things, and trust, before many days, God will so order our case, that we shall be set at Liberty and enjoy the society of the Saints."

#### Elder Littlefield continues:

"It is beyond my power to record but a small portion of the acts, the oaths and criminal threats of that angry crowd of men, who, doubtless, would have murdered those innocent men, could they by any means have gained possession of them. My poor prayer ascended to the God of Israel for their preservation. For that once I was rejoiced that the building was a strong one, for although it was a prison, it was, under the circumstances, a very ark of safety for them, when furious and wicked men were filled with rage and vengeance around its walls. Otherwise, had it been frail and vulnerable enough to yield to the attacks of assailants, their lives would have been sacrificed—even as lambs that fall among ravenous wolves. And within its uninviting courts the Lord communed with the Prophet Joseph by his Spirit, revealing unto him the counsel of his will concerning Joseph himself and also for the welfare and safety of his people in their scattered and forlorn condition. Section 121 of the Doctrine and Covenants was written in that jail, by the Prophet, March 20, 1839, and Sections 122 and 123 were written by him a few days later, while he was held a prisoner for his religion, because he dared proclaim to the world that God lived and had again spoken to man upon the earth. From this jail Joseph also found means of writing and sending letters of counsel to his brethren who had arrived in the State of Illinois."

Finally, having secured a change of venue, the Prophet and his fellow-prisoners were on the 6th of April, 1839, taken out of the Liberty jail and hurried on toward Daviess County. A few days later they regained their freedom. (See pages 451-459.)

The old jail continued to be used as a prison until about the year 1856, when it was deemed unsafe, and for a couple of years and more Clay County criminals were sent to Platte City, in

the neighboring county on the west, for safe-keeping. In 1858 the present Liberty court house was erected, with apartments for prisoners. For years afterwards the old jail was utilized as an ice-house, but has not been used for any purpose whatever during the last decennium or more. The roof fell in years ago, and the rock wall is crumbling down more and more every season, so there is every reason to believe that in a few years, even if permitted to stand as it does now, there will be nothing but a heap of rocks and rotten timber left to designate the place where this historic building stood.

The writer of this article, accompanied by Elders Edward Stevenson and Joseph S. Black, visited the ruins of the jail September 18, 1888. By the assistance of a colored neighbor we succeeded in gaining an entrance to the interior of the half-tumble-down building, which we found very filthy indeed, filled with cobwebs and insects of numerous kinds which had their abode in the rotten timbers. Mr. Theodore Shivley, who has charge of the property for the present owner (Mortimer Dearing, a wealthy banker of Kansas city), told us that the jail had not been opened and entered until that day for many years. The smell from the decaying timber and dead insects was something sickening, and a couple of minutes' stay there made us wish for the fresh air outside. How the Prophet and his fellow-prisoners could endure life in such a hole for upwards of five months is more than we can comprehend. Of course it was not so filthy then, but the openings for ventilation and light seem to have been so small that it cannot possibly have been a healthy abode

for human beings at any time. We found the space inside to measure about fourteen and one-half feet from east to west, and fourteen feet from north to south. From the basement floor to the ceiling we should judge it to be about fourteen feet, two feet of which is under ground. The middle floor, which, while Joseph and his fellow-prisoners were there, divided the space into an upper and lower story, has been torn away, but we could see where it had been, and should say that the cell or lower room at that time measured six and one-half feet, and the upper about seven feet from floor to ceiling.

Joseph and his fellow-prisoners were confined in the upper room. The only openings giving light and ventilation to the cell part are two very small grated windows through the wall, one on the south and another on the north side. These openings, each of which has a heavy square iron bar running horizontally through the middle, are two feet wide and six inches high. Above them there are, near the roof, two larger openings, two feet in width and one foot in height, giving light and air to the upper story. In each of these two upper windows there are five square iron bars standing perpendicularly and fastened very securely in the timbers of the building. In fact the whole structure is a double building, the inner being built of hewn oak logs about a foot square and the outside of rock. The floor and ceiling are constructed of the same material, thus making a huge wooden box. The rock walls are two feet thick, and in building them a space of about one foot was left between the rock and timber, which space was filled up with loose rock. Thus it will be seen

that the prison walls are virtually four feet thick. Several loads of rock were also placed on top of the log ceiling in order to make escape through the roof impossible. The outside dimensions of the building are: twenty-two and one-half feet long, twenty-two feet wide and twelve feet high to the square. The door is on the east end, facing the street, and is five and one-half feet high and two and one-half feet wide, and opens to what was the upper apartment. The west gable and most of the west wall has tumbled down, and also part of the north wall, thus leaving the timber or inside structure partly exposed. The

east wall and gable are in a good state of preservation and only one corner of the south wall is torn down. The building stands on the west side of what is known as Main Street, one and a half blocks north of the northwest corner of the Liberty court house square. It stands back from the street about 20 feet, on an uncultivated acre lot, which the owner has offered to sell for \$2,500, but no one seems to care to purchase the property. To reach the building from the street we had to make a path through the thick growth of grass and weeds. Some of the latter, being more than six feet high, partly hid the building from view.

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### HAUN'S MILL MASSACRE

In the eastern part of Caldwell County, Missouri, at a point on the north bank of Shoal Creek, about 22 miles by road or 16 miles in a straight line due east of Far West, 12 miles northeast of Kingston, the county seat, eight and one-half miles southwest of Breckenridge, on the St. Joseph and Hannibal Railway, two miles north of the little village of Catawba, and four and one-half miles west of the boundary line between Caldwell and Livingston counties, on the northeast quarter of Section 17, Township 56 of Range 26, and in what is now called Fairview Township, stood the once famous Haun's Mill, where one of the most cruel and bloody tragedies ever recorded in the history of religious persecutions took place on the 30th day of October, 1838.

According to a recently published history of Caldwell County, Jacob Haun, who came from Green Bay, Wisconsin, built his mill on the north bank of Shoal Creek in 1835 or '36. It

was the second mill built in Caldwell County. In 1836-37 the Saints entered considerable land and made settlements up and down Shoal Creek. By October, 1838, there were as many as 75 families, all "Mormons," living in what is now known as Fairview Township. Some of these, however, were new-comers and were living in tents and wagons, and in the houses of their brethren who had come before them. The little settlement of the Saints at Haun's Mill, in October, 1838, consisted of the mill, a blacksmith shop and about half a dozen houses. All told there were perhaps thirty families of the Saints located around the mill, several of which had just recently arrived from the Eastern States, and were camped in their wagons and tents behind the blacksmith shop adjacent to the mill. The banks of the stream were lined with a growth of scattered timber and an undergrowth of hazel and other brush, while back from the banks was the rolling prairie, which



extended northward for several miles toward where Breckenridge now stands.

The little body of Saints had been threatened by mobs for some time and were therefore on their guard. The country, in fact, was full of marauding bands of mobbers who were engaged in burning the houses of the Saints and otherwise destroying life and property. On the 28th of October, 1838, however, Colonel William O. Jennings, of Livingston County, whose band of mobbers had been most menacing to the peace and safety of the Saints, sent one of his men to the little settlement to make a treaty of peace. This proposition of peace was gladly accepted by the Saints. There was to be mutual forbearance, and each party was to exert itself to the extent of its influence to prevent further hostilities. There were other mobs collecting in the vicinity, however, who were not affected by this agreement of peace entered into by the Saints and Colonel William O. Jennings, one particularly on Grand River, at William Mann's residence; hence the Saints remained under arms.

"The 30th of October," writes B. H. Roberts, "is said by some of the survivors to have been a most beautiful one—one of those days in mid-autumn, when smoky mists hang about the horizon—the sure sign of the Indian summer; when the sun shines with all the brightness, but without the scorching heat of August; when the gentle breeze rustles through the ripened corn and softly stirs the leaves of the forests that have been kissed by the early frosts and autumn sun to purple and gold, and all the shades and tints known to the practiced eye

of the artist; when the sinking sun paints the heavens with new glories; and when hill and plain, and stream and sky, forest and field all reflect the fulness of nature's beauties. Oh, is it not passing strange that one of God's fairest days should be made to look upon so foul a deed as that committed at Haun's Mill! The merry laughter of the children as they played upon the banks of Shoal Creek, mingled with snatches of songs the mothers sang as they went about their domestic employment, made sweet music to the fathers engaged in gathering the crops, or guarding the mills. In their neighborhood all apparently was peace, and no premonitory shuddering warned the Saints of their approaching fate. It burst upon them with all the suddenness of a clap of thunder from a cloudless sky. The sun had sunken more than halfway down the western sky, when some of those on guard saw a large body of armed and mounted men approaching the mill at full speed."

It was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon when this company of mobbers, numbering 240 men, under the leadership of William O. Jennings and Nehemiah Comstock, advanced through the scattered trees that stood on the edge of the prairie, where they seemed to form themselves into a three-square position, forming a vanguard in front. Elder David Evans, who had command of the few brethren who had organized for self-defense, ran out to meet them, swinging his hat and crying, "Peace, peace." But this request was unheeded; no peace was granted. The mob continued to advance, and one of them fired a gun which was followed by a solemn pause of ten or twelve seconds, when all at once they dis-

charged about one hundred rifles aiming at a blacksmith shop, into which a number of the brethren had fled for safety. The leader of the mob, on approaching the hamlet, cried out to the brethren, "All who desire to save their lives and make peace, run into the blacksmith shop." But this was done treacherously, for the infuriated assailants immediately surrounded the shop and commenced firing between the logs, the cracks between which were sufficiently large to enable them to aim directly at the brethren who had fled there for refuge, there being no chinking between the logs. They also fired through a long opening made at one side of the shop by one of the logs being sawed out to admit light; and at the same time they fired through the door which was standing open. In the meantime several families, who lived in tents pitched in the rear of the shop, fled for their lives to the woods in different directions, amidst a shower of bullets.

The mob continued firing until they thought all inside had been killed or mortally wounded. They then entered, and among the dead and dying they found Sardius Smith, a lad 10 years old, who in his fear had crawled under the bellows for safety. He was dragged from his place of concealment by William Reynolds, a Livingston County man, who placed the muzzle of his gun near the boy's head and literally shot off the upper part of it, leaving the skull empty and dry, while the brains and hair of the murdered boy were scattered around and on the walls of the building. The inhuman murderer afterwards shamelessly boasted of his dastardly deed, and as a justification for his barbarous act said, "Nits will make lice,

and if he had lived he would have become a Mormon." A seven year old brother of the murdered boy (Alma L.) was shot through the hip. He had seen his father and brother shot down, and fearing, if he moved, that the heartless wretches would shoot him again, he remained quiet among the dead until he heard the voice of his mother quietly calling his name in the darkness. This boy was subsequently healed in a most miraculous manner. (See pages 84-86 and 118.) Another boy (Charles Merrick) was killed in the same manner as Sardius Smith. He begged piteously for his life, exclaiming beseechingly, "Oh! don't kill me, I am an American boy!" But this touching appeal to their patriotism was unheeded, and the innocent and noble boy, while thus appealing to the memory of his native country, had his brains dashed out.

Thomas McBride, an old grey-haired veteran of the American revolution, was met by a number of the mob in front of Brother Haun's house. The old man, trembling with age rather than from fear, surrendered his gun, saying, "Spare my life, I am a Revolutionary soldier." But the inhuman murderer, to whom he made this simple, pathetic appeal, shot the veteran down with his own gun, and then a Mr. Rogers, of Daviess County, fell upon him and hacked him to pieces with an old corn-cutter, leaving the veteran soldier of the Revolution covered with a score of unsightly wounds, either of which alone had been fatal—his brains oozing from his cracked skull, and his white hairs crimson with his gore. A Miss Rebecca Judd was an eye-witness to this terrible butchery. Mr. Rogers, who kept a ferry

on Grand River, repeatedly boasted of this act of savage barbarity afterwards, and on one occasion in Far West he and two other mobbers met Brother Nathan K. Knight, whom they threatened to kill without the least provocation. Mr. Rogers drew a butcher knife, and said that he had not got his corn-cutter with him with which he had cut down McBride, "but, by J—s," he continued, "I have got something that will do as well." By a great chance Brother Knight escaped from these ruffians.

Austin Hammer was mortally wounded; seven balls were shot into his body, breaking both thigh bones. After the firing had ceased he was found among the dead by the surviving brethren and carried into Haun's house, where he died about 12 o'clock the following night.

When the mob first opened their deadly fire on the village, the Saints were thrown into the wildest state of excitement. Women and children were so terrified that some of them would run in front of the mobbers' guns and cry "murder, murder." After firing a few shots, the brethren, seeing that the mob party were so numerous and bloodthirsty, concluded that it was useless to make any further defense. Their only safety was in every one making their escape the best way they could, which they did. Some of them sought shelter in the blacksmith shop, others, together with the women and children, made for the woods and brush, and others again crossed the creek on the mill-dam, seeking places of safety on the other side. Among the latter was Sister Amanda Smith, who seized her two little girls, and ran with them across the mill dam. The mob sent volley after volley to

kill them as they climbed the hill on the opposite side of the stream, and a number of bullets entered Sister Smith's clothing, but she was not wounded. A young sister, Mary Stedwell, who was with her, was shot through the hand just as she had reached the trunk of a fallen tree. Fainting, she fell behind the tree, where she was sheltered from the deadly fire of the mobbers, who, while she was lying there, sent upwards of twenty balls after her which lodged in the log. Sister Smith continued her flight to some bottom land not far away, and when the firing ceased, she returned to the scene of the massacre, where she found her husband, Warren Smith, and her son Sardius, killed and another son (Alma) badly wounded. Her eldest son, Willard, escaped unhurt.

Isaac Laney was wounded by five bullets, which passed through different parts of his body, but, strange to say, it never crippled him for life, although he suffered the most excruciating pain afterwards. During the first few days after he was wounded he lay entirely helpless and could neither open his eyes or mouth, nor move a limb. Upon examining his clothing, 23 bullet holes were found through his underwear. (See *Biographical Encyclopedia*, \* \* \* Salt Lake Stake, page 52.)

Jacob Foutz, one of the brethren who ran into the blacksmith shop, was shot in the thigh. After he was wounded, he and another brother covered themselves up with some of the corpses of the men who had already expired, and pretended to be dead also; by this stratagem they saved their lives. While lying in this situation they heard the two little boys beg for

their lives and then saw them shot down in the cruel and barbarous manner previously mentioned. They also listened to the terrible language used by the murderers after the shooting was over.

One of the first balls fired by the enemy lodged in John Walker's right arm. He returned the shot, but finding it impossible to reload, he ran down the bank of the creek, and just before him one of the brethren, in ascending the opposite bank, was shot down. Elder Walker stopped under some lumber leaning against the bank, which, however, afforded him but little protection; but in answer to his earnest prayer, the eyes of the mobbers were blinded, and although they looked directly at him, they apparently did not see him. Passing on, they declared with an oath that not another "Mormon" was to be seen. He remained at his hiding place until all was silent, when he ventured forth to witness the dreadful scene of the massacre, and afterwards aided in dressing the wounds of those who were worse off than himself, and to bury the dead as best he could with his left hand. His own arm was not cared for, or scarcely thought of, in the midst of the terrible sufferings of others, until it was in danger of mortifying.

Joseph Young, who, together with a company of Saints had arrived at the mill two days previous, first discovered the mob advancing while he was sitting in a cabin on the south side of the creek with a babe in his arms, and his wife standing by his side. He stood and watched the bloody scene for a few minutes until he found himself and family in the greatest danger, the bullets already flying thick and fast around the house where they were. He

committed his family to the protection of heaven, left the house from the south side and took a path which led up the hill, following in the trail of three of his brethren who had fled from the shop. While ascending the hill they were discovered by the mob, who immediately opened fire on them and continued to shoot at them until they reached the summit. In descending the slope of the hill on the other side, Brother Young secreted himself in a thicket of bushes, where he lay until 8 o'clock in the evening, when one of the sisters called him, telling him in an undertone that the mob had gone and that there was no immediate danger. He then left the thicket and went to the house of Benjamin Lewis, where he found his family (who had fled there for safety) well and preserved; but two of the brethren were there, mortally wounded, one of whom died before morning. Here Elder Young and his friends passed the night in deep and awful reflections on the scenes of the preceding evening.

Nathan K. Knight, when he saw the mob approaching, caught his gun and hung his powder-horn over his neck, when the buckskin string was cut by a ball fired by one of the mob leaders, which also passed through his vest pocket, taking out his pocket knife. Seeing one of the mobbers running to cut Thomas McBride down, swearing as he went, Brother Knight fired his gun at him, hitting him in the hip, which made him a cripple ever afterwards. A few moments later Elder Knight was wounded in one of the fingers of his right hand; next he was hit by a ball in his left leg and subsequently by a third ball in his body, the latter entering just above the

small of his back and lodging below the pit of his stomach. This last shot brought him on his hands and knees. By exerting himself to the utmost he succeeded in getting three-quarters of a mile away through the timber and brush, and secreted himself in some fallen tree tops. There he remained about an hour, and a little after sunset he saw Sister Polly Wood at a distance. He motioned for her to come to him, as he by this time had become so weak with bleeding from his wounds that he could neither speak nor rise to his feet. The young lady came and tried to lead him back to the village, but he was too weak to walk. She then kneeled by his side, placed her hands on his wounds and prayed that God would strengthen and heal him. Elder Knight said afterwards: "I never heard a more powerful prayer. The Lord answered her petition, and I received sufficient strength to walk back to Haun's house by resting three or four times."

William Yokum was shot in the leg, which was subsequently amputated in consequence of the wounds received at the massacre. He was also shot through the head, the ball entering near the eye and coming out of the back part of the head. Another ball wounded him in the arm.

Altogether nineteen men and boys were killed outright or fatally wounded in this inhuman butchery, and about fifteen were wounded more or less severely. The names of the killed and mortally wounded are as follows: Thomas McBride, Levi N. Merrick, Elias Benner, Josiah Fuller, Benjamin Lewis, Alexander Campbell, Warren Smith, George S. Richards, William Napier, Austin Hammer, Simon

Cox, Hiram Abbott, John York, John Lee, John Byers, Sardius Smith (aged 10 years), Charles Merrick (a boy 8 or 9 years of age), and two others whose names are not known. Among the wounded who recovered were Isaac Laney, Nathan K. Knight, William Yokum, Jacob Myers, George Myers, Tarleton Lewis, Jacob Haun (founder and owner of the mill), Jacob Foutz, Jacob Potts, Charles Jimison, John Walker, Alma L. Smith, Miss Mary Stedwell and two others.

According to the statement of the leaders of the mob, they fired seven rounds each, making in all some sixteen hundred shots fired at a company in which there were not more than thirty men. The mobbers consisted of men from Daviess, Livingston, Ray, Carroll and Chariton counties, led by some of the principal men of that section of country. Besides Colonel Jennings and Mr. Comstock already mentioned, there were Daniel Ashley, of Chariton County, a member of the State legislature, Thomas O. Bryan, of Livingston County, Robert White, William Mann, Mr. Randall and many others.

Having killed all the brethren they could find, the mob next proceeded to pillage the village and rob the dead of their boots, clothing and valuables. Some of the dead were dragged out of the shop into the yard, in order to give the mobbers a better chance and more room to strip them of their clothing. All who had on good coats and boots were rifled of these articles. Brother Austin Hammer, who was mortally wounded, had on a new pair of boots that fitted him tightly, and in the efforts to get them off he was dragged and pulled out of the shop and about the yard in a barbarous

manner. In his mangled condition this cruel treatment must have caused him the most excruciating pain. Two men also stripped Warren Smith of his coat, hat and boots, and dragged him around before he was dead and kicked him. A son of Brother Smith, who escaped unhurt, saw the notorious mobocrat William Mann drag his father across the shop, in the act of pulling off his boots. "Oh! you hurt me!" groaned the dying man. But the murderer dragged him back again, pulling off the other boot. At that moment Brother Smith expired. Afterwards this William Mann showed the boots on his own feet, in Far West, saying, "Here is a pair of boots that I pulled off before the d—d Mormon was done kicking."

At last, when the murderers left the scene of their bloody deeds, they took with them the horses, wagons, cows and property of nearly every description belonging to the settlement, leaving the widows and orphans destitute of the necessities of life. They also carried off the property belonging to the brethren who were camped by the mill. Brother Nathan K. Knight states that they took everything that belonged to him, except a small trunk, the contents of which were carried off. All they left was a bottle of consecrated oil, which they had thrown on the ground.

Brother Haun's house escaped their ravages, but his horses were taken from the stable.

As the shadows of night enclosed the ghastly scene about Haun's Mill in its cheerless embrace, a number of those who had escaped to the woods returned to learn the fate of their friends. During the night the few surviving brethren kept up the search

as well as the darkness would permit, but were only able to find the wounded by their groans. All they were able to find in this manner were taken into Haun's house as soon as possible, so as to be protected from being torn or mangled by the hogs with which the woods at that place were filled.

It was a terrible night indeed for the survivors of the awful tragedy. The groans and shrieks of the wounded made the night hideous and horrible beyond description. The women were sobbing in their great anguish of spirit; the children were crying loudly with fear and grief at the loss of fathers and brothers; the dogs howled over their dead masters, and the cattle were terrified with the scent of the blood of the murdered.

Mrs. Haun and others of the sisters passed the night in dressing the wounds and making the wounded and dying as comfortable as possible. The women were in fact the only ones left to administer comfort during that night of desolation and suffering. Comparing their lonely fate with that of Moroni anciently, who was left to bewail his murdered people, the Nephites, some of the sisters sought a little relief in singing the lamentations of that Prophet of God, as rhymed in the Latter-day Saints' hymn book, commencing as follows:

I have no home, where shall I go?  
While I am left to weep below;  
My heart is pained, my friends are gone,  
And here I'm left on earth to mourn.  
I see my people lying round,  
All lifeless here upon the ground—  
Young men and maidens in their gore,  
Which does increase my sorrow more.

When daylight on the morning of the 31st of October had fully dawned on the land of Missouri, the brethren

who had been spared had to move with great caution, knowing that the mobbers were liable to fall upon them at any moment for the purpose of continuing their bloody work. They repaired as soon as possible to the mill to learn the condition of their friends whose fate they had but too truly anticipated. In the rear of Brother Haun's house they found the dead body of Levi N. Merrick lying prostrate on the ground, while in the front of the house they found the lifeless form of Thomas McBride literally mangled from head to foot, Brother York's body was found in the house. The brethren then proceeded to the blacksmith shop where they saw a sight that was truly appalling. Here nine of the brethren lay weltering in their gore, eight of whom were already dead; the other, Brother Simon Cox, who had recently come from Indiana, was struggling in the agonies of death and expired shortly afterwards. The earth constituting the floor in the blacksmith shop was covered with blood, and in places, where there were small hollows in the soil, the blood stood in pools from two to three inches deep.

"What shall be done with the dead?" was the important question asked in the morning after the massacre. There was no time to bury them, neither to dig the graves; for all the men, excepting the two or three who had narrowly escaped, were either dead or wounded. A little northwest of the mill was an old vault which had been dug for a well; into this the butchered brethren were thrown in haste, as those performing these rude, sad offices feared that the mob any moment would return to massacre the survivors of the tragedy of the day

before. Nineteen bodies were put in the well together, and the only burial clothes with which they could be dressed under the circumstances were what the murderers had left upon them. No funeral services could be performed. After all the bodies were thus disposed of, straw and earth were thrown into the rude vault, which, however, was only partly filled at that time.

Sister Margaret Foutz, a survivor of the massacre, who is yet alive and resides at Pleasant Grove, Utah County, Utah, says that when the firing commenced she was at her house, a short distance away, with her family of five little children. Soon a runner came to her house telling the women and children to hasten into the timber and secrete themselves. "This we did," said Sister Foutz, "without taking anything to keep us warm; and had we been fleeing from the scalping knife of the Indian we could not have made greater haste. And as we ran from house to house, gathering as we went, we finally numbered about forty or fifty women and children. We ran about three miles into the woods, and there huddled together, spreading what few blankets or shawls we chanced to have on the ground for the children; and here we remained until 2 o'clock the next morning, before we heard anything of the result of the firing at the mill. Who can imagine our feelings during this dreadful suspense? And when the news did come, oh! what terrible news! Fathers, brothers and sons, inhumanly butchered. We now took up the line of march for home. Alas! what a home! Who would we find there? And now, with our minds full of the most fearful forebodings,

we retraced those three long, dreary miles. As we were returning I saw a brother, Myers, who had been shot through his body. In that dreadful state he crawled on his hands and knees, about two miles, to his home. After I arrived at my house with my children, I hastily made a fire to warm them, and then started for the mill, about one mile distant. My children would not remain at home, saying, 'If father and mother are going to be killed, we want to be with them.' It was about 7 o'clock in the morning when we arrived at the mill. In the first house I came to there were three dead men. One, a Brother McBride, was a terrible sight to behold, having been cut and chopped, and horribly mangled, with a corn-cutter. I hurried on, looking for my husband, and I found him in an old house, covered with some rubbish. (The mob had taken the bedding and clothing from all the houses near the mill.) My husband had been shot in the thigh. I rendered him all the assistance I could, but it was evening before I could get him home. I saw 13 more dead bodies at the shop, and witnessed the beginning of the burial, which consisted in throwing the bodies into an old, dry well. Oh! what a change one short day had brought! Here were my friends, dead and dying; one in particular asked me to give him relief by taking a hammer and knock his brains out, so great was his agony. And we knew not what moment our enemies would be upon us again. And all this, not because we had broken any law—on the contrary, it was a part of our religion to keep the laws of the land. In the evening Brother Evans got a team and conveyed my husband to

his house, carried him in and placed him on a bed. I then had to attend him alone, without any doctor or any one to tell me what to do. Six days afterwards I, with my husband's assistance, extracted the bullet, it being buried in the thick part of the thigh, and flattened like a knife. During the first ten days, mobbers, with blackened faces, came every day, cursing and swearing like demons from the pit, and declaring that they would 'kill that d—d old Mormon preacher.'"

A few days after the massacre the mob returned to the mill and threatened the few remaining Saints with instant death if they did not leave the State forthwith. They remained around about a month, living on the grain which they robbed from the brethren and had ground in the mill. They also engaged in killing hogs, robbing bee stands and chicken houses, and lived "fat," as they themselves acknowledged, while the poor Saints, whom they had robbed, were nearly reduced to a point of starvation. As soon as the weather the following spring would permit, the last of the Saints, who were unable to get away before, left the scene of the awful tragedy, and journeyed to Illinois.

The following account of the massacre is copied from the History of Caldwell County, published in 1886 by the National Historical Company of St. Louis, Missouri, and, although it contains some errors, it is perhaps as good and fair an account as could be expected from any non-Mormon source:

"In the afternoon of October 30, 1838, the day the militia arrived at Far West, occurred what has since been generally known as the



"Haun's Mill Massacre." Following is perhaps the first complete and correct account of this affair ever published.

"At Jacob Haun's mill, on the north bank of Shoal Creek, in the eastern part of the county, in what is now Fairview Township, were, besides the mill, a blacksmith shop and half a dozen or more houses, and perhaps 20 (30) Mormon families. Some of these families were living in tents and covered wagons, having recently come into the county, or having lived elsewhere in the county had become alarmed at the aspect of affairs, and had come to the mill for safety. News that the militia of the State had been ordered to expel them had reached the Mormons, and following these tidings word was brought that a considerable number of men living in Livingston County, together with some from Daviess, had organized near Spring Hill, in Livingston County, and were preparing to attack them. A company of about thirty men, indifferently armed with shot guns and squirrel rifles, was organized, and David Evans was chosen captain.

\* \* \*

"Learning that the force organizing against them numbered some hundreds, some of the older men among the Mormons urged that no resistance should be made, but that all should retreat to Far West.\* It seems that the Prophet had advised this, but nevertheless had given them permission to remain if they thought they could protect themselves.

"Others opposed retreating and the abandonment of their property to the 'mob of Gentiles,' and when an old man named Myers reminded them how few they were, and how many the Gentiles numbered, they declared that the Lord would send his angels to help them when the day of battle should come. Some of the women, too, urged the men to stand firm, and offered to mould bullets and prepare patching for the rifles if necessary.

"North of Haun's Mill, a short distance, was a body of timber and brush, and north of this,

\*John D. Lee says that the morning after the fight on Crooked River, Haun himself came to Far West to consult with the Prophet concerning the removal of the Mormons on Lower Shoal Creek to Far West. The Prophet said, 'Move in, by all means, if you wish to save your lives.' Haun replied that if the settlers left their homes all of their property would be lost and the Gentiles would burn their houses and other buildings. Joseph Smith said, 'You had better lose your property than your lives, but there is no danger of losing either if you will do as you are commanded.' Haun thought he and his neighbors could protect and defend themselves, and Smith finally gave them permission to remain, saying they would consider him a tyrant if he forced them to leave and abandon their property and come to Far West.

towards where Breckenridge now stands, was a street of prairie for miles. For a day or two Captain Evans kept a picket post in the northern edge of the timber, but having entered into a truce with Captain Nehemiah Comstock, commanding one of the Livingston County companies, and no other enemy appearing, this post was withdrawn.

"This truce was effected by means of a messenger who rode between Comstock and Evans, and its terms were that the Gentiles were to let the Mormons alone as long as they were peaceable, and *vice versa*. The Mormons agreed also to disband their military organization if the Gentiles would disband theirs, and this it is claimed was agreed to. But the Mormons heard that over in Livingston, directly east of them, another company of Gentiles, under Captain William Mann, was menacing them; and so they did not disband, for while they confided in Comstock's company, they had no confidence in Mann's, which for some time had been operating at and near Whitney's mill, on Shoal Creek (where Dawn now is), stopping Mormons on their way to Caldwell from the East, turning them back in some instances, taking their arms from them in others, etc.

"The Gentile force in Livingston County numbered about two hundred men, and was under the command of Colonel Wm. O. Jennings, then the sheriff of that county. Three companies composed it, led by Captain Nehemiah Comstock, Thos. R. Bryan and William Mann. It took the field in earnest about the 25th of October, and for a few days prior to the 30th was encamped about three miles northeast of Breckenridge; at least Comstock's company was. Perhaps Mann's was employed in the southern portion of the county until the 29th.

"Learning that the Mormons at Haun's Mill had not disbanded, and yielding to the almost universal desire of his men, who were eager to seize upon any pretext for a fight, Colonel Jennnigs set out from his camp last mentioned, after noon of the 30th of October, intending to attack and capture Haun's Mill and encamp there that night. The route lay *via* where Mooresville now stands, or between Mooresville and Breckenridge, and on across the prairie, and the march was made swiftly and without interruption.

"Within two miles of the mill Colonel Jennings left his wagons and two Mormon prisoners, captured some days before, in charge of a squad of men, of whom James Trosper, now of Breckenridge, was one, and pressed rapidly

on. Entering the timber north of the town, Jennings' men passed through it unobserved right up to the borders of the hamlet. Captain Nehemiah Comstock's company had the advance.

"The Mormon leader, David Evans, had become apprehensive of an attack, and was about sending out scouts and pickets. It was arranged to use the blacksmith shop as a fort or block-house. This structure was of logs, with wide cracks between them, and had a large door. The greater portion of the Mormons were unsuspecting of imminent danger, and the women and children were scattered about. Nearly every house contained two or more families. There were two or three small houses on the south bank of the creek thus occupied. It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon of a warm and beautiful Indian summer day.

"Suddenly from out of the timber north of the mill the Livingston militia burst upon the hamlet. In a few seconds the air was filled with wild shouts and shots, and the fight was on. It can scarcely be called a fight. The Mormons were thrown into confusion, and many of them ran wildly and aimlessly about. The women and children cried and screamed in excitement and terror, and the great number, directed by the men, ran across the mill-dam to the south bank and sought shelter in the woods south of the creek. Perhaps half of the men, Evans among them, ran with their guns to the blacksmith shop and began to return the fire. Some were shot down in an effort to reach the shop, or as they were trying to escape.

"The fire of the Mormons was for the most part wild and ineffective; that of the militia was accurate and deadly. The cracks between the logs of the shop were so large that it was easy to shoot through them, and so thickly were the Mormons huddled together on the inside that nearly every bullet that entered the shop killed or wounded a man. Firing was kept up all the while on the fleeing fugitives, many of whom were shot down.†

"Seeing that he was placed at a decided disadvantage, Captain Evans gave orders to retreat, ordering every man to take care of himself. The door of the shop was thrown open, and all the able-bodied survivors ran out, en-

deavoring to reach the wood. Some were shot before they got to shelter. Captain Evans was somewhat excited, and, as he afterwards related, ran all the way to Mud Creek with his gun loaded, not having fired it during the fight. The militia fired at the fugitives until they were out of range, but did not pursue them, as the few who escaped scattered in almost every direction.

"After the engagement was over, and all the able-bodied male Mormons had been killed, wounded or driven away, some of the militiamen began to 'loot' the houses and stables at the mill. A great deal of property was taken, much of it consisting of household articles and personal effects, but just how much can not now be stated. The Mormons claim there was a general pillage, and that in two or three instances the bodies of the slain were robbed. Some of the militia or their friends say only two or three wagons were taken, one to haul off the three wounded, and sufficient bedding to make their ride comfortable; but on the other hand two of those who were in a position to know say that the Mormon hamlet was pretty thoroughly rifled. One man carried away an empty 10-gallon keg, which he carried before him on his saddle and beat as a drum. Another had a woman's bonnet, which he said was his sweetheart. Perhaps a dozen horses were taken.

"Colonel Jennings did not remain at Haun's Mill, in all, more than an hour, or an hour and a half. Twilight approaching, he set out on his return to his former camp, for one reason fearing a rally and return of the Mormons with a large re-enforcement, and doubtless desiring to reflect leisurely on his course of future operations.

"Reaching his camp near Woolsey's, northeast of Breckenridge, Colonel Jennings halted his battalion and prepared to pass the night. But a few hours later he imagined he heard cannon and a great tumult in the direction of Haun's Mill, betokening the presence of a large Mormon force, and rousing up his men he broke camp and, moving rapidly eastward, never halted until he had put the west fork of Grand River between him and his imaginary pursuers!

"From the records of the Mormon Church it seems that 17 men of the Mormons were either killed outright or mortally wounded. Their names, as kindly furnished for this history by Reverend F. D. Richards, assistant historian and custodian of the Church records at Salt Lake, are: \* \* \* (See page 676.)

"Esq. Thos. McBride was an old soldier of

†Some years after the fight Mr. Chas. R. Ross tore down the old blacksmith shop, and cut a number of trees in the grove to the west from which direction the militia advanced to the attack. He says that the logs of the shop contained many bullets, as did the trees which he felled. The most of the balls found in the latter were at a distance of 30 or 40 feet from the ground, showing how far above their enemies' heads the Mormons uniformly fired.

the Revolution. He was lying wounded and helpless, his gun by his side. A militia-man named Rogers† came up to him and demanded it. 'Take it,' said McBride. Rogers picked up the weapon, and finding that it was loaded, deliberately discharged it into the old man's breast. He then cut and hacked the old veteran's body with a rude sword, or 'corn-knife,' until it was frightfully mangled. Wm. Reynolds, a Livingston County man,\* killed the little boy Sadius Smith, 10 years of age. The lad had run into the blacksmith shop and crawled under the bellows for safety. Upon entering the shop the cruel militiaman discovered the cowering, trembling little fellow, and without even demanding his surrender fired upon and killed him, and afterwards boasted of the atrocious deed to Chas. R. Ross and others. He described, with fiendish glee, how the poor boy struggled in his dying agony, and justified his savage and inhuman conduct in killing a mere child by saying, 'Nits will make lice, and if he had lived he would have become a Mormon.'

"Charlie Merrick, another little Mormon boy, was mortally wounded by another militiaman. He, too, was hiding under the bellows. \* \* \*

"The Mormons wounded, according to the Mormon records, numbered 12, (15). \* \* \* (See page 776.)

"A young Mormon woman, Miss Mary Stedwell, was shot through the hand, as she was running to the woods. \* \* \*

"The militia, or Jennings' men, had but three men wounded, and none killed. John Renfrow, now living in Ray County, had a thumb shot off. Allen England, a Daviess County man, was severely wounded in the thigh, and the other wounded man was named Hart.

"*Dis irae!* What a woeful day this had been to Haun's Mill! What a pitiful scene was there when the militia rode away upon the conclusion of their bloody work! The wounded men had been given no attention, and the bodies of the slain were left to fester and putrify in the Indian summer temperature, warm and mellowing. The widows and orphans of the dead came timidly and warily forth from their hiding places as soon as the troops left, and as they recognized one a husband, another a father, another a son, another a brother among the bloody corpses, the wailings of grief and terror that went up were pitiful and agonizing.

†Either a brother of a man who kept a ferry across Grand River, near Gallatin, or else the ferryman himself.

\*Joseph Young states that it was a Carroll County man named Glaze, but this is a mistake. Reynolds was undoubtedly the man.

All that night they were alone with their dead. A return visit of Jennings' men to complete the work of 'extermination' had been threatened and was expected. Verily, the experience of the poor survivors of the Haun's Mill affair was terrible; no wonder that they long remembered it.

"The next morning the bodies had changed, and were changing fast. They must be buried. There was not enough men in the place to dig graves, and it could not be determined when relief would come. There was a large unfinished well at the place, and the bodies were gathered up, the women assisting, and borne, one at a time, all gory and ghastly, to this well and slid in from a large plank. All of the corpses were disposed of in this way; then some hay or straw was strewn over the ghastly pile and then a thin layer of dirt thrown on the hay.

"Soon after the burial was over, the same day, Comstock's company was sent back to give the dead a decent sepulchre. Seeing what had been done already, they rode away, glad to be relieved from the job. The next February Mr. Charles R. Ross moved into the house and occupied the property to which the well belonged. Soon after his arrival some warm days came, and an offensive smell arose from the well. Mr. Ross at once set to work and filled up the loathsome sepulchre, even making a good sized mound over it. In time this mound was leveled, and now it is almost impossible to fix the exact location of the pit.

"Whatever of merit there was in the attack on Haun's Mill, and whatever of glory attaches to the famous victory, must be given to Colonel Wm. O. Jennings mainly. He made the attack on his own responsibility, without orders from Governor Boggs, or any other superior authority, although the governor afterwards approved what was done. True, Jennings' subordinates must be given their share, in proportion to the part they bore, but Colonel Jennings stands among them all as a Saul among his fellows, the Ajax Telamon of the contest, the Hector of the fight! \* \* \*

"John D. Lee states that many of the wounded Mormons were thrown into the well, and that some who were taken out afterwards recovered; but this is wholly untrue, although Lee says that his information was obtained from David Lewis, Tarleton Lewis, Isaac Laney and William Laney; they were all Kentuckians, and were in the fight. Isaac Laney was shot seven times and had 13 ball holes in his person; five shots were in his chest. After being thus frightfully wounded he ran 300 yards to a cabin, where

a woman gave him shelter. She raised a loose plank or puncheon in the cabin floor and he crawled beneath the floor and then she replaced the plank. In two hours the militia had left, and Laney was taken out, anointed with oil and prayed over. He said the pain left him, and for two weeks he did not suffer at all. He then took cold and his wounded hip pained him, but another application of prayer relieved him. Lee says: 'I heard Laney declare this to be a fact. I saw him four weeks after the massacre and examined his person.'

"Mr. Charles R. Ross says a Mormon named Huntsman was one of the killed, but the Mormon records do not contain his name, and Mr. G. Huntsman, of Fillmore City, Utah, says that although three of the Huntsmans, his ancestors, were at the mill the day of the massacre, none of them were hurt.

"Two or three days after the Haun's Mill affair, Colonel Jennings started with his battalion to join the State forces at Far West. His route lay through the northern part of Caldwell County. He had not proceeded far when he met a messenger who informed him that the Mormons there had surrendered, and giving him orders to move to Daviess County and join the forces under General Wilson, operating against the Mormons at Diamon (Adam-ondi-Ahman). The battalion was present at the surrender at Diamon, and in a day or so Captain Comstock's company was ordered to Haun's Mill, where it remained in camp some weeks, watching the widows and orphans of those slain in the massacre, and taking care that no outbreak should occur.

"While in camp at the mill, according to the statements to the writer of two members of the company (Robert White and James Trosper), the militia lived off the country, and 'lived fat, too.' The Mormon cattle and hogs had been turned into the fields and were fat and fine, the mill furnished plenty of bread-stuffs, and there were other articles of provisions to be had for the taking. The company remained at the mill until peace was entirely restored."

When the Saints were expelled from Caldwell County, Jacob Haun sold his mill to the Fryer Brothers, who placed their brother-in-law, Charles R. Ross, in charge. This man conducted it from 1839 to 1845, when the mill was torn down. There is no longer any trace remaining of the old

"Mormontown," a name by which the Missourians distinguished the little Haun's Mill settlement of Saints.

Elders Edward Stevenson, Joseph S. Black and Andrew Jenson give the following account of a visit made by them to the old site a few months ago:

"Early in the morning of September 16, 1888, we set out on foot from the little village of Catawba, where we had stopped over night, and walked north toward Shoal Creek. Having traveled a mile and a half we turned aside to the house of Mr. James G. Mackey, who proved to be a good-hearted old Kentuckian, for as soon as we had asked him to direct us to the old Haun's Mill site, he took in the situation at once and kindly volunteered to accompany us to the spot. Says he: 'Gentlemen, I believe in equal rights, I have been oppressed and imposed upon myself, and I know how it is, and I never did approve of the way your people were treated in this country.' He took us through the woods and fields direct to the old mill-site, and where 'Mormontown,' as the Missourians called the now extinct town, was situated on the left bank or north side of Shoal Creek. This stream is the largest in Caldwell County, and is about three rods wide where the mill stood. At present there is but a very little water in it, but judging from the high water marks everywhere visible on its banks, and the narrow strips of low-lands on the north side, we should judge it capable of rising at least twenty feet during the rainy season. As a remnant of the old mill-dam there are still five large pieces of timber left in the middle of the creek. On the south bank the mill-dam originally rested upon a solid ledge of rock, which, of course, is still there. The mill stood on the opposite bank. We had no difficulty in crossing the creek dry-shod, and after doing so we began to search for the old well into which the bodies of our brethren were thrown after being cruelly murdered by the mob on the day of the massacre, October 30, 1838. By the assistance of a neighbor we soon found the place, which is designated by an old mill-stone, formerly belonging to Jacob Haun's mill. This was placed there last fall by a Mr. Fuller, of Adair County, Missouri, a son of Josiah Fuller, one of the brethren killed at the massacre. This Mr. Fuller came to hunt his father's resting place, being accompanied by a Mr. Charles R. Ross, of Cowgill, Caldwell County, who assisted in burying the bodies, or at least in filling up the well, some time after the massacre took

place. Mr. Ross knew where the place was, but in order to be sure he and Mr. Fuller dug down a few feet until they became satisfied that it was the right spot. They then moved the old mill-stone, which had been lying for more than forty years near the old mill-site, and placed it edgewise on the memorable grave. We made a thorough survey of the premises and found the well to be just ninety-four yards northwest of the old mill-dam, and in the shade of four young elm trees, overgrown with wild grapevines. We also took particular notice of a high bank of yellow clay on the south side of the creek, immediately below the mill-site. Hence, if the few remaining timbers of the old dam in course of time should entirely disappear, this landmark could easily determine the exact location.

"Mr. Mackey also showed us the spot where at the time of the massacre the old blacksmith shop stood, in which so many of our brethren were butchered in the most merciless manner, and the place where Mr. Rogers literally cut to pieces Thomas McBride, the old revolutionary soldier, with a corn-cutter. Our guides also pointed out the direction from which the mob came, where they first opened fire as they approached the little settlement from the north, and where the defenseless women and children fled up the opposite bank of the stream. 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth.'

"The grounds on the north side of Shoal Creek, where the settlement stood, is now owned by a Mr. John B. Lallen, who lives about a quarter of a mile northwest from the mill-site. The only building standing on or near the old town-site is a small frame house, once owned by the above named Charles R. Ross, of Cowgill.

"The region around Shoal Creek, where Haun's Mill stood, is more heavily timbered than it was fifty years ago, and a fine grove of locust trees now covers the site of old 'Mormontown.' A resident of Kingston, who yesterday pointed out to us a number of farms once owned by the Saints, said, that in going

through Caldwell County, he could always distinguish the old 'Mormon' homesteads from all others. We asked him to describe to us the difference between 'Mormon' farmers and others. 'Well,' said he, 'nearly every one of the Mormons planted locust trees around their buildings, which was something the Missourians never thought of doing, and these have now grown and spread, until there are locust groves on nearly every farm where the Mormons resided.'

"Nearly all who participated in the massacre are now dead, or have moved away, so that their whereabouts, if alive, are not known. Some of the murderers have died in disgrace and shame, haunted by their consciences until their last hours. Others have boasted of their dastardly deeds, until they have been smitten with sickness and misery, in the midst of which they would curse God and die.

"The notorious Colonel Wm. O. Jennings, who commanded the mob at the massacre, was assassinated in Chillicothe, Livingston County, Missouri, in the evening of January 30, 1862, by an unknown person, who shot him in the street with a revolver or musket as the colonel was going home after dark. He died the next day in great agony. The shooting occurred on Calhoun Street, a little northwest of the present county jail in Chillicothe. Nehemiah Comstock, another leader of the mob who committed the murders, expired years ago in Livingston County as a good-for-nothing drunkard. His mother was also a drunkard and died a pauper and in the midst of misery in a Kentucky poor-house."

Since the organization of the Church a large number of Saints have suffered martyrdom for the truth's sake, but on no other occasion has so many of the faithful at one time been called to lay down their lives as at the Haun's Mill massacre, on the 30th of October, 1838.

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'WHAT THOU SEEST, WRITE IN A BOOK"—REV. 1 11.

THE  
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1889.



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1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city government. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and each name is followed by the name of the office to which the person has been appointed.

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*"What thou seest, write in a book."* Rev. 1, 11.

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## CALDWELL COUNTY, MISSOURI.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Caldwell County, Missouri, the home of the Saints from the fall of 1836 until the spring of 1839, lies at a mean distance of 140 miles west from Hannibal and the Mississippi River, 40 miles east of St. Joseph and the Missouri River, and about 60 miles from the northern boundary of the State of Missouri, and comprises a part of the southeast portion of what is considered Northwest Missouri. Its area is 18 miles north and south, by 24 miles east and west, and comprises 432 square miles, or 276,480 acres.

The face of the county presents to the eye a most beautiful landscape, composed of about one-third timber and two-thirds prairie. The timber lies chiefly along the many streams which are well distributed through the county, while back from the low hills, which gradually slope upwards from the water-courses, are spread the graceful, billowy prairies, rich and rolling, with plenty of drainage and abundant fertility.

The streams—of which Shoal Creek, a tributary of Grand River, is the principal, flowing as it does, including its head branches, quite

through the centre of the county from west to east—add greatly to the natural value of the county. Steer, Bushby and Goose Creeks, in the western part of the county, may be considered the forming waters of Shoal Creek, and its other principal branches are Log, Long, Crab Apple and Mud Creeks on the south, and Mill, Tom, Cottonwood, Otter, Turkey and Panther Creeks on the north. Numerous branches and other small streams and springs afford an ample supply of water for stock, and, by digging, the very best of living limestone water, clear, cold and pure, can be obtained in all parts of the county at depths varying from 15 to 40 feet, or at an average depth of 20 feet.

The timber supply is ample for all purposes. Old settlers say there is more timber in the county now than when it was first settled. No farm in the county is more than four miles from plenty of good timber. Oak, elm, walnut, hickory, ash, sycamore, hard and soft maple, linn or linden, coffee bean, hackberry, cottonwood, box elder and other varieties of trees abound in the bottoms, and on the elevated lands bor-

dering the streams, furnishing a full supply of lumber and timber for building, and fuel for domestic purposes.

No other county in this portion of Missouri is more fortunately situated. The soil is highly fertile. There is a great abundance of building stone, unsurpassed in quality—of the kind technically known as incrinital limestone—which is easy accessible, and can be quarried without difficulty. There are also two or more quarries of sandstone. Good brick clay can be obtained in all parts of the county.

The coal deposit underlies a large part of the surface of the county, at a distance of about 300 feet from the surface, and is mined extensively near Hamilton. It has also been found near Kingston, Breckenridge, Polo and Far West, showing that its existence is general throughout the county. This coal is of the very best quality, burns to a fine white ash, without clinkers or cinders of any sort, and the Hamilton mine now in operation can not supply the demand though worked to its fullest capacity.

The soil of Caldwell County is remarkable alike for its high fertility, and the versatility of its productive qualities. On the prairies it is a deep, black vegetable mould, from 15 to 40 inches in depth, with an open, porous subsoil which quickly absorbs moisture, and in most places is underlaid by limestone deposit, producing a warm, quick soil, which wears under successive crops for years without manuring or without any perceptible diminution of its productive qualities. Thirty and forty successive crops of corn have been raised on farms in this county,

and by subsoiling or deep cultivation the last crop has been made to yield more than the first or second.

The grasses, both native and domestic, are remarkable for their rank and heavy growth. This county, as well as other parts of northwest Missouri, is the natural home of the blue grass and supplants the native prairie grass as it passes away. The timothy meadows are unsurpassed and yield from one and a half to two and a half tons per acre, being of a thrifty growth on the highest prairies as well as in the bottoms. Red and white clover both make a rich and strong growth and are largely grown. Corn, the staple grain production, oats, rye, millet and Hungarian are certain crops. Corn yields from 35 to 85 bushels per acre, oats 25 to 60, rye 15 to 30, millet and Hungarian 12 to 40, the last two, as grass, producing three to five tons per acre. An excellent quality of winter wheat is raised, when properly cultivated, and is almost a certain crop, yielding from 12 to 30 bushels per acre. Fruit growing in Caldwell County, as in other parts of northwest Missouri, is a success. Fine orchards of the apple, peach and cherry can be seen in full bearing in all parts of the county. The pear and plum do well, while but few portions of the United States, if any, are better adapted to grape culture. The smaller fruits, such as strawberry, blackberry, raspberry, gooseberry and currant of the finest quality seldom fail, and only require cultivation to insure their production.

As a stock growing county none is better adapted to this pleasant and profitable business than Caldwell County. Its closeness to markets, mild winters, ample supply of good

water, nutritious grasses for hay and grazing purposes, and its certain grain crops, make this county the stock-grower's paradise. Some of the largest flocks and herds of blooded sheep and cattle in the State can be seen in Caldwell County. It has also been noted as a prominent sheep-raising and wool growing county.

The population in Caldwell County, in 1838, when the Saints occupied it, must have been about 8,000, but in 1840, a year after the Saints had been expelled, it was only 1,458. The population in 1850 was 2,316; in 1860, 5,034; in 1870, 11,390, and in 1880, 13,646, of whom 413 were negroes. The county is divided into 12 townships, the population of which in 1880 were as follows: Breckenridge Township, 1,704; Davis, 932; Fairview, 890; Gomer, 881; Grant, 1,044; Hamilton, 2,004; Kidder, 1,119; Kingston, 1,509; Lincoln, 896; Mirabile, 900; New York, 988, and Rockford, 779. The population of its principal towns and villages at present is about as follows: Hamilton, 1,500; Breckenridge, 1,000; Kingston, the county seat, 500; Kidder, 300; Mirabile, 150; Polo, 100; Nettleton, 100; Proctorville, 75, and Catawba, 50. At present the wealth of the county is valued at about ten million dollars. The taxes are very low compared with other parts of Missouri.

The Hannibal & St. Joseph Railway passes through the northern and a branch of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway through the southern part of the county. The latter has recently been built.

#### HISTORY.

Ray County, Missouri, of which Caldwell County originally formed a part, was organized Nov. 16, 1820.

For many years afterwards the territory now comprised within the county of Caldwell was unsettled. A few Indians, roving and migratory, from time to time made their camp along Shoal Creek and the other streams of the county, and "bee hunters" and explorers passed through on their way to the honey trees of what is now Daviess and Livingston Counties. Up to about 1830 the prairies of Caldwell and Clinton abounded in droves of fine, fat elk, and the hunters of the settlements along the Missouri, in Ray and Clay, often came up to chase them. Elk hunting was rare sport. The animals were usually chased into the timber, where some men were in ambush, and where the long branching antlers of the bucks so impeded their flight through brush and thicket, that it was an easy matter to come upon them and shoot them down.

Hunters and explorers, therefore, visited the present area of Caldwell prior to 1830, and the locality was well known to the settlements in the lower portion of Ray, about Richmond, Bluffton, and on Crooked River. But the locality was not favorably known. Everybody said there was too much prairie, for at that time there was a general belief that prairie soil would be unproductive, and when reduced to cultivation, would be too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer.

At last, however, in the winter of 1830-31, a Ray County settler by the name of Jesse Mann determined to make his home on upper Shoal Creek, where there was plenty of timber, water and game for him. He came up from Ray County in the spring of 1831, and built the first house and became the first settler in

what is now Caldwell County. He located on a quarter section half a mile northeast of the present public square of Kingston. When Jesse Mann first came to Shoal Creek, there was not a white settler between him and British America, so far as is now known, but some months later a few families located on Grand River, near the centre of what is now Daviess County. In the early summer of 1831 Jesse Mann induced two other Ray County settlers (John Raglan and Ben. Lowell) to join him in settling the Shoal Creek country, and in July, 1831, Jesse M. Mann settled on Log Creek, half a mile southeast of Kingston. The two Manns and John Raglan were probably the only families living in the county at the beginning of 1832, as Ben. Lowell had returned to Ray County. In 1832-1835 a number of adventurous settlers began to push into the new country, among whom was Jacob Haun, who built a mill on Shoal Creek, in the eastern part of the county. (See *Haun's Mill Massacre*.) But a number of these early settlers became discouraged, and sought homes in other parts of the country, so that in the fall of 1836, when the Saints first settled Far West, there were only seven men in that part of Ray County which now is included in Caldwell, and these were bee hunters, who, having exhausted the honey of that region, were about to desert the place.

At the time the Saints were requested to leave their homes in Clay County, the whole northern part of Missouri was very thinly settled, and but few counties organized. As it was desirable on the part of the Saints to obtain a location, where they would be the principal settlers

and occupants of the lands, where they would be free from the injustice and violence of mobs, and where they might quietly gather together the brethren and teach them to observe the principles of truth in the Gospel of Christ, that they might be prepared in all things for the redemption of Zion, upper Missouri, with its boundless prairies, wooded streams, and sparse population, seemed admirably adapted for the home of the Saints until Zion should be redeemed. W. W. Phelps and others had traveled through it, and had described it to the Church some time before. It was recommended to the attention of the Saints by their influential friends in Clay County, and so the month of September, 1836, found a number of the Saints settling on Shoal Creek. They soon petitioned for an enactment organizing a new county, which was granted. The new county was organized on the 26th of December 1836, and was named Caldwell, with the county seat at Far West.

The History of Caldwell County, by the National Historical Company, says in reference to the organization of the county and its early history:

"In December, 1836, just prior to the organization of Caldwell, its territory was included in the municipal townships of Shoal Creek and Grand River, in Ray County. Grand River Township, among other territory, in what is now Livingston and Daviess Counties, embraced what are now the municipal townships of Davis, Fairview and Breckenridge, or the east six miles (range 26) of Caldwell County.

"When the Mormon leaders had determined upon the occupation of this portion of Missouri, certain public men of the State thought they had discovered an easy and satisfactory solution of the Mormon problem. The Mormons had already selected Far West as their principal town, and were clustering about it in considerable numbers, and at various points on lower Shoal Creek.

They seemed well enough pleased with the county, and were coming in by bands and companies every week.

"Let us fix up a county expressly for the Mormons," exclaimed certain of the politicians and public men. "Let us send all the Mormons in the State to that county and induce all Gentiles therein to sell out and leave." The proposition suited every one. The Gentiles said, "If the Mormons are willing to go into that prairie country and settle, let them have it and welcome." The Mormons said, "If we may be allowed to remain peaceably and enjoy our religion, we will go into any country that may be set apart for us, no matter how wild and unbroken it may be, and we will make it to blossom as the rose. If we obtain political control of a county, we will honestly administer it and be loyal in all things to the State government over us."

"Arrangements were soon made. Every Gentile in the proposed new county that could be induced to sell his possessions at a reasonable price was bought out, and his place taken by a Mormon. The authorities of the Church agreed that no Mormons should settle in any other county without the previous consent of the settlers already there. . . .

"Hon. Alex. W. Doniphan, then a representative elect from Clay County, had been the leader, if not the proposer of the scheme, and to him was assigned the work of preparing and introducing into the legislature the act organizing the new counties and of pressing the bill to a passage. Fearing that a separate bill to organize the 'Mormon County' might be defeated, General Doniphan incorporated that proposition in the bill to organize the other county, and early in the month of December, introduced the measure, which soon passed without much opposition. Following is a copy of the important provisions of the act organizing Caldwell and Daviess Counties:

*"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows:* 1. All that portion of territory included in the following limits is hereby declared to be erected into a separate and distinct county, to be called the county of Caldwell, to wit: Beginning at a point where the township line dividing townships 54 and 55 intersects the range line dividing ranges 25 and 26; thence north along said range line to the division line between townships 57 and 58; thence west along said line to the division line between ranges 29 and 30; thence south along said line to the division line between townships 54 and 55; thence east along said line to the point of beginning.

"2. All that portion of territory included in the following limits is hereby declared to be erected into a separate and distinct coun-

ty, to be called the county of Daviess, in honor of Col. Joseph H. Daviess, who fell at the battle of Tippecanoe, to wit: Beginning at the northeast corner of the county of Caldwell, as fixed by this act; thence north 24 miles; thence west 24 miles; thence south to the northwest corner of Caldwell County; thence east along the north boundary line of said county to the place of beginning.

"3. Joseph Baxter, of the county of Clay, Cornelius Gilliam, of the county of Clinton, and Wm. W. Mangee, of the county of Ray, are hereby appointed commissioners to select a seat of justice for each of said counties; and the said commissioners . . . shall meet on the first Monday in April next, at the house of Francis McGuire, in Caldwell County, for the purpose of selecting and locating the permanent seat of justice of said county; . . . the said commissioners shall, as soon as convenient, proceed to Daviess County, for the purpose of selecting and locating a seat of justice for said county. . . .

"This act to be in force from after its passage.

"Approved December 26, 1836.

"As stated to the writer by Gen. Doniphan himself, in the summer of 1836, the origin of the names of the two counties were as follows: Gen. Doniphan's father, Joseph Doniphan, was a soldier of the Revolution, and one of the pioneers that accompanied Daniel Boone to Kentucky. In the latter State he belonged to a company of Indian scouts and fighters, commanded by Capt. Matthew (?) Caldwell. Of this Capt. Caldwell, Gen. Doniphan often heard his father speak as a brave and gallant soldier, and a skillful Indian fighter. Col. Joseph H. Daviess, who was killed under Gen. Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe, Indiana, in 1811, was also an acquaintance and friend of Mr. Doniphan. When Gen. Doniphan drew up the bill for the organization of the two new counties, he named one of them for Col. Daviess, and the other Caldwell, in honor of his father's old captain. Caldwell County, Kentucky, was also named for Capt. Caldwell." . . .

"It was during the summer of 1836, that the Mormons began their settlement of the county in earnest. It was then a portion of Ray, but the people of the northern portion of that county, as well as the Mormons, were informed that a new county was to be organized expressly for the occupation and general benefit of the latter. Indeed, an arrangement of that character had been made by the leaders of the Mormon Church and certain prominent Gentiles. An entire county was to be set apart as a sort of reservation for the Saints. To be sure Gentiles were not to be forbidden to enter it, but it was believed that under the circumstances few, if any, would desire to do so. The

Mormons were to have undisturbed possession of the new county; they were to hold the county offices, send a representative to the Legislature, and in return for these privileges they were not to settle in any other county save by express consent and permission, previously obtained, of two-thirds of the non-Mormon residents of the township in said county wherein they desired to make location.

"Everybody thought this a complete and satisfactory solution of the Mormon problem, which then, as often since, demanded attention and settlement. The Missourians were satisfied, because they had a poor opinion of the prairie soil of the proposed new county, which they declared was fit only for Mormons and Indians, and doubted whether it could ever be made really valuable. \* \* \* The Mormons were satisfied, because they wished for peace and security and desired above all to enjoy their religion undisturbed and undismayed.

"Very soon in the summer and fall of 1836 the Mormons left Ray and Clay Counties, and pushed up into the new Canaan, which had been reported upon by Phelps and Whitmer, and which when visited was found to be equal to the representations made of it. A few Gentile settlers were found, but nearly all of them were bought out—all who would sell. Nothing could have been fairer or more equitable than the acquisition of the territory afterward called Caldwell County by the Mormons.

"The leading authorities and shining lights of the Mormon Church came up with the emigration to the new country. There were W. W. Phelps, Bishop Edward Partridge, Sidney Rigdon, David Whitmer, Elias Higbee, John Whitmer, Oliver Cowdery and others. In time came Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde, Thos. B. Marsh, George M. Hinkle and others.

"In December, 1836, the county of Caldwell was organized, a measure of much importance to the Mormons. The county seat was located at Far West, and courts held in the school house. Justices of the peace were appointed in the different townships and all the political machinery of the county was controlled by the Mormons. The militia of the county, all or nearly all Mormons, organized and mustered, and a regiment was formed under the laws of the State, of which either 'General' George M. Hinkle or Lyman Wight was colonel.

"Settlements were made up and down Shoal Creek, and thickly along the southern tier of townships of the county. Mills were

built, shops were opened, stores established, and the foundations for a thrifty and successful community were securely laid. Emigrants came in from Ohio and other States, but chiefly from the Mormon colony at Kirtland, Ohio, while the Saints in Ray and Clay and elsewhere in Missouri joined their brethren in Caldwell as soon as they could do so.

"By the summer of 1838, the population of the county was about 5,000, of whom it is safe to say, 4,900 were Mormons. All of what were considered valuable lands for settlement were taken in one form or other—either 'squatted' upon or entered at the land office in regular form. The most desirable locations in Caldwell having been taken, the Mormon settlement extended into other counties. In the spring of 1838 quite a detachment went up into Daviess, and by written permission of the few Gentile settlers there made locations in that county. Four miles above Gallatin, on the east bluffs of Grand River, they laid out a town which they called Adam-ondi-Ahman. \* \* \*

Some of the Mormons located at Gallatin and elsewhere throughout the county. Over in Clinton County there were perhaps 50 Mormon families in 1838 (?). Down in Carroll County, at De Witt, on the Missouri, in the spring of 1838, Gen. Geo. M. Hinkle and John Murdock, as trustees for the Mormons, purchased the town site, laid it off into lots, and soon a thriving village of one hundred houses was built. De Witt was designed to be a steamboat landing and a point from which goods and immigrants could be forwarded to Caldwell County.

"It is claimed that all the Mormon settlements outside of this county were made with the prior consent of the inhabitants then living where the settlements were made; the consent was obtained, in nearly every instance, by the payment of money, either for the lands of the pioneer Gentiles or for some articles of personal property they owned. Money was scarce at that day, and although the pioneers did not approve Mormon doctrines, they did approve of Mormon gold and silver, and they were willing to tolerate the one if they could obtain the other. But afterward certain of the Gentiles claimed that the Mormon occupation had been by stealth and fraud. \* \* \*

"By far the majority of the Mormon settlers in this quarter were poor. Many of them were able to enter and improve but 40 acres of land, and nearly all their houses were cabins. Like other pioneers they had come to the country to better their condition; to worship as they pleased, and to be

with their brethren, were of course considerations. Every head of family was guaranteed a home, and if he was unable to buy one it was given him from the lands held by the trustees of the Church. Among so many, however, there could but be those of some wealth, as well as craftsmen of various kinds, mechanics and artisans. There were also many persons of education and accomplishments. School teachers were plenty and schools were numerous.

"Among the many preachers and 'elders' were some eloquent and accomplished speakers."

The above extracts, although from a non-Mormon source, must be considered a fair statement of the early doings of the Saints in Caldwell County, and contain several items not found in the general history of the Church.

The first settlement of the Saints in the vicinity of Far West was made in September, 1836. By July, 1837, about one hundred houses had been erected. (See *Far West*.) On Monday, July 3, 1837, the weather being clear and beautiful, more than fifteen hundred Saints assembled in Far West, on the site previously chosen for the erection of a Temple, and at half past 8 o'clock in the morning, after prayer, singing and an address, they proceeded to break the ground for such a building. An excavation, 110 feet long and 80 feet wide, was nearly finished on that day. The spirit of God was poured out in a great measure upon the assembled Saints, who rejoiced exceedingly. On the following day a large meeting was held in the open prairie (no meeting house having as yet been erected at Far West), and several Missourians were baptized. On that day, also, the school section of land was sold at auction, and although entirely a prairie it sold, on a year's credit, for from \$3.50 to \$10.20 per acre, making their school

fund \$5,070. Other lands near the town sold for \$10 an acre at that time.

In September, 1837, the Church at Kirtland, Ohio, appointed Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon to seek out new places for the gathering of the Saints, and lay off other Stakes of Zion. On this mission Joseph and Sidney arrived at Far West in the latter part of October. On the 6th of November a council of the Priesthood was called, at which it was decided that there was sufficient room in Far West and vicinity for the gathering of the Saints from abroad. The council also voted to petition the trustees of the town corporation to alter the streets of Far West, so as to make each block contain four acres of ground, and each block to be divided into four lots. It was decided, also, that the building of the Lord's House at Far West should be postponed until further revelation was received concerning it.

At a general conference held in Far West, Nov. 7, 1837, the several quorums of the Priesthood were set in order. David Whitmer was sustained as President of the Church in Missouri, and John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps were chosen as assistant Presidents. The following named brethren were sustained as members of the High Council: John Murdock, Solomon Hancock, Elias Higbee, Calvin Bebee, John M. Hinkle, Thos. Grover, Simeon Carter, Newel Knight, George M. Hinkle, Levi Jackman, Elisha H. Groves and Lyman Wight. It was also voted that Edward Partridge should continue to act as Bishop, and Isaac Morley and Titus Billings were chosen as his Counselors. John Corrill was



appointed keeper of the Lord's storehouse. The congregation voted unanimously not to support stores and shops, selling spirituous liquors, tea, coffee, or tobacco. On the same occasion, Sidney Rigdon, in the closing prayer, dedicated the land for the gathering of the Saints, and their inheritances.

At a general meeting held in Far West, Nov. 10, 1837, it was voted to enlarge the town of Far West, so that it would contain four sections—two square miles. On that occasion twenty-three Elders volunteered to go out to preach the Gospel. About this time the Prophet Joseph left Missouri to return to Ohio, having succeeded in setting things in order generally, and been the means of adjusting a number of difficulties which had existed between some of the brethren in Missouri.

Not long after the Prophet's departure a spirit of speculation, especially in lands, began to manifest itself among the Saints in Missouri, and a number of the Elders in high positions, prominently among whom were John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps, were seduced by this spirit, which proved ruinous to their faith, destroyed their influence, and led them into serious transgressions. On the 5th of February, 1838, the whole Church in Missouri, under the leadership of Thomas B. Marsh, Lyman Wight and David W. Patten, met as a committee of the whole and preferred serious charges of wickedness against the three Presidents (David Whitmer, John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps) and refused to sustain them in their offices. When the vote was put a large majority voted against the Presidency, which consequently was rejected. A few days

later (Feb. 10th) Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten were chosen to act as temporary Presidents of the Church in Missouri until Presidents Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon should arrive from Kirtland. The former Presidency, however, refused to acknowledge the action taken against them, and continued to sign documents as Presidents of the Church. This was one of the causes which led to the final excommunication of these men from the Church. John Whitmer and W. W. Phelps were excommunicated by the High Council at Far West March 10, 1838, Oliver Cowdery on April 12th and David Whitmer on April 13th following. About the same time Luke S. Johnson, Lyman E. Johnson and John F. Boynton, three of the Twelve Apostles, were cut off, and on May 11th following, a similar fate befell Wm. E. McLellin, another of the Twelve.

In the meantime the Prophet Joseph, who was forced to flee from Kirtland to save his life (see page 435) arrived in Missouri. Accompanied by Brigham Young, Daniel S. Miles and Levi Richards, he reached Far West March 14, 1838. Sidney Rigdon arrived on the 4th of April following.

April 6, 1838, the eighth anniversary of the Church was celebrated by the holding of a general conference at Far West, over which the Prophet Joseph presided. On that occasion Thomas B. Marsh, Brigham Young and David W. Patten were sustained as Presidents of the Church in Missouri; Ebenezer Robinson was called to act as Church clerk and recorder for Far West and also as clerk of the High Council. George W. Robinson was sustained

as General Church Recorder and clerk to the First Presidency.

July 4, 1838, was a memorable day in the history of Far West. The Saints had long been vexed by their enemies. They had seen their homes destroyed, their helpless women and children driven into the wilderness by cruel mobs, when the exiles could be traced by the blood left in their tracks. They had been robbed of their possessions and maltreated in their persons until they were driven almost to desperation. They took advantage therefore of Independence day to declare their intentions no more to quietly submit to the outrages perpetuated against them. Joseph Smith was president of the day; and his brother Hyrum vice-president; Sidney Rigdon, orator; and Reynolds Cahoon, chief marshal. They marched in procession through the town, and at last formed a circle around the Temple excavation in the public square; and there, with appropriate ceremonies they laid the corner stones of the House of the Lord at Far West, followed by speeches, music, prayers, reading the Declaration of Independence, etc. Sidney Rigdon, orator of the day, stirred with indignation in contemplating the sufferings the Saints had endured, perhaps allowed his eloquence to carry him beyond the limits of calm wisdom, and many of the words spoken by him on that occasion, though corrected by the Prophet Joseph, were made use of by the enemies of the Church, to the injury of the Saints.

The Church printing office in Kirtland having been destroyed by fire, another press, type and necessary printing material was purchased and a printing office established in Far

West, where the third number of the *Elders' Journal*, a monthly paper previously published in Kirtland, was issued in July, 1838. Joseph Smith was editor and Thos. B. Marsh printer and publisher.

In the meantime Far West grew rapidly and it could already boast of nearly 3,000 inhabitants, while smaller settlements were founded and flourished in various parts of Caldwell County. Adam-ondi-Ahman, in Daviess County, about 25 miles northeast, and De Witt, about 50 miles southeast of Far West, in Carroll County, were also being built up by the arrival of Saints from Ohio, Canada and other places. Altogether the Saints increased steadily by immigration and baptisms until they numbered about 12,000 souls in Caldwell and surrounding counties.

The rapid increase of the Saints in upper Missouri soon began to alarm the other settlers, who were composed of the same elements as that formerly constituting the mob in Jackson County. In fact, some of the old Jackson County mobbers had removed to Daviess County and they were eagerly watching for the first opportunity that might present itself to renew their operations against the Saints and once more drive them from their homes.

Aug. 6, 1838, at an election held in Gallatin, Daviess County, the Missourians attempted to prevent the brethren who lived in that neighborhood from voting, which resulted in a serious fight, at which the Missourians were worsted. (See page 592.) Conflicting reports of this fight reaching Far West, Joseph Smith and a number of other brethren rode up from that town to inquire into the cause of the difficu-

ties, and on their way they also visited Adam Black, a justice of the peace, in Daviess County, who gave them a written document expressive of his pretended peaceable intentions. The next day (Aug. 9th) a peace meeting was held in Adamondi-Ahman, at which both the "Mormons" and Missourians entered into a solemn agreement to preserve each other's rights and stand in each other's defense. (See pages 441 and 46.)

Joseph's friendly visit to Daviess County, however, were taken advantage of by his enemies, who falsely accused him and his friends of threatening Justice Black's life, etc. Consequently a charge was trumped up against him, and on the morning of Aug. 13, 1838, the sheriff of Daviess County and Judge Morin called on Joseph at Far West and informed him that they had a writ for his arrest. Joseph expressed his willingness to be tried, but as the people of Daviess County were very much exasperated at him, he wished to be tried in his own county, and the laws gave him that right. At this the sheriff refused to serve the warrant, and he said he would see Judge King about it. Joseph agreed to remain at home until his return; which he did. On his return the sheriff informed Joseph that he was out of his jurisdiction.

From this circumstance, however, the report went out that Joseph and Lyman Wight had resisted the officer and defied the law, and immediately after mobs began to gather from eleven counties of Upper Missouri into Daviess County, for the purpose, as they said, of helping to take Joseph and Lyman Wight. The excitement soon brought Governor

Boggs to the front—the man who, when the Saints were whipped, plundered, murdered and finally wounded and bleeding, were driven from Jackson County, stood by and lent the influence of his official position to the unlawful and ungodly acts of the cruel mob. He was then the lieutenant-governor, now he was the governor of the State. Hiding his real intentions under the pretence of fearing Indian disturbances, Governor Boggs, on Aug. 30, 1838, sent an order to Gen. David R. Atchison, 3rd division of the Missouri militia, ordering him to raise within the limits of his division 400 mounted men, armed and equipped as infantry or riflemen, to be held in readiness to quell disturbances arising either from the excitement concerning the Mormon troubles or Indian outbreaks.

In order to show his willingness to honor the law, Joseph, under the counsel of Gen. Atchison, under whom and Gen. Doniphan, Joseph and Sidney Rigdon were studying law, volunteered to be tried for going armed into Daviess County before the circuit judge, Austin A. King. The judge was notified of Joseph's action, and the place selected for trial was at the house of a Brother Littlefield, about fifteen miles north of Far West, where the little village of Winstown is now located. Sept. 6th was fixed as the day of trial, but as the plaintiff, Wm. P. Peniston, failed to put in an appearance, the trial was postponed until the next day (Sept. 7th), to take place at the house of a Mr. Raglin, one of the chief mobocrats. The result of the trial was that Joseph Smith and Lyman Wight were bound over in a \$500 bond to appear at the next session of the district court;

though Judge King afterwards said, nothing worthy of bonds had been proven against them.

The leaders of the mob had sent out representatives into the surrounding counties, asking the people to join them in driving the "Mormons" from the State. They were usually successful in getting assistance, but when the people of Chariton County were appealed to, they determined to proceed carefully, and very wisely sent two delegates to Caldwell and Daviess Counties, to make inquiries as to the cause of the excitement. These men were at Joseph's trial before Judge King, and at its close accompanied him and his party to Far West, where the information they received convinced them that there was no occasion for the people of Chariton County to join with the surrounding counties in an effort to drive the Saints from their homes. Chariton County is due east of Caldwell, with Carroll and Livingston Counties intervening.

The whole country was in a state of intense excitement, and so many wild rumors were afloat, that it was difficult to determine just what the situation was. The brethren, however, were very active in moving from point to point, wherever there was a threatened attack upon the Saints. Hearing on Sept. 9th that a wagon load of arms and ammunition was *en route* from Richmond, Ray County, to the mob, infesting the vicinity about Adam-ondi-Ahman, Captain Wm. Allred took a company of ten mounted men and started to intercept them. They found the wagon broken down, and the boxes of guns concealed near the road-side in the tall grass; but no one was in sight. Shortly afterwards they saw

moving over the prairie, from the direction of the mobber's camp, two horsemen and behind them a third man driving a team. These parties came up to the broken-down wagon and were arrested by Captain Allred. by virtue of a writ he held for them issued by the civil authorities of Caldwell County. The prisoners and the guns were taken to Far West, and after an examination before Albert Petty, justice of the peace, on the 10th they were held to bail for their appearance at the next term of the circuit court. The names of these parties were J. B. Comer, held as principal, and Wm. L. McHoney and Allen Miller, as in the employ of Comer, who was guilty of furnishing a mob with arms for an illegal purpose. Judge King was informed of the arrest of these men and the arms, and his advice was asked as to what disposal should be made of the prisoners. He replied that the prisoners must be turned loose and treated kindly. He had no advice to give about the guns, and was at a loss to know how to account for them being in the possession of Comer, as they belonged to the government, and had been in the custody of Captain Pollard, living in the vicinity of Richmond. The guns were distributed among the brethren to be used in self-defense. On the 12th the prisoners were delivered up to Gen. A. W. Doniphan; and 42 stands of the firearms were also collected and delivered to him.

The mob took a number of the brethren prisoners, and sent word to Far West and other settlements that they were torturing them in the most inhuman manner, by this means seeking to provoke the Saints to some act of cruelty upon those of their

enemies that might fall into their power, that thus the mob might have an excuse for butchering the Saints, or driving them from the State.

The governor heard and all parts of the State were flooded with the vilest falsehoods about the "Mormon" atrocities and cruelties which never occurred until a bitter prejudice was manufactured against them, and people generally believed the "Mormons" were capable of all the crimes known to hardened, sinful wretches; and that they were unfit to live.

In the meantime the militia that Governor Boggs had ordered to be got in readiness, was mustered into service. Under the direction of General Doniphan six companies of fifty men each were collected and armed from the militia of Clay County, and at once marched into the vicinity of Adam-ondi-Ahman. Here Doniphan found the citizens of Daviess and surrounding counties to the number of two or three hundred men under arms, and commanded by Dr. Austin, from Carroll County. They claimed to have collected solely for the purpose of defending the people of Daviess County against the "Mormons." Doniphan read to them the order of his superior officer, General Atchison, to disperse. But this they refused to do.

"I had an interview," said Doniphan, "with Dr. Austin, and his professions were all pacific. But they (Austin's men) still continued under arms, marching and counter-marching."

The general also visited the encampment of the brethren under the command of Colonel Lyman Wight. Doniphan's report says: "We held

a conference with him, and he professed entire willingness to disband, and surrender up to me every one of the Mormons accused of crime; and required in return that the hostile forces collected by the other citizens of the county should also disband."

As they refused to obey the order to disband, the safety of the brethren and their families required that they should continue under arms; and General Doniphan took up a position between the two opposing forces, at a point  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of Adam-ondi-Ahman, hoping that if the parties were kept apart, in a few days they would disband without coercion.

On the 15th General Atchison arrived with a body of militia from Ray County. He at once ordered the citizens from the surrounding counties to repair to their respective homes, a movement they began to make with many signs of reluctance. But about one hundred of them did obey the order. Atchison reported to Governor Boggs under date of Sept. 17th that he had received assurance from the "Mormons" that all those accused of a violation of the laws would be in for trial the very day on which his report was dated; "and," says the report, "when that is done, the troops under my command will be no longer required in this county, if the citizens of other counties will retire to their respective homes."

A day or two after this report, Atchison succeeded in disbanding the mob forces; and the brethren, against whom charges were trumped up, appeared before a court of inquiry and entered into bonds to appear at the next session of the circuit court. This much having been accomplished,

Atchison thought it no longer needful to keep his whole force of militia in the field; hence he dismissed all his forces except two companies, which were left in the vicinity, under the command of Brigadier-General H. G. Parks. In reporting these latter movements, to the governor, Sept. 20th, Atchison says in conclusion:

"The Mormons of Daviess County, as I stated in a former report, were encamped in a town called Adam-ondi-Ahman, and they are headed by Lyman Wight, a bold, brave, skilful, and I may add, a desperate man; they appear to be acting on the defensive, and I must further add, gave up the offenders with a good deal of promptness. The arms taken by the Mormons and the prisoners were also given up upon demand with cheerfulness."

The forces then which had been called out by order of General Atchison were disbanded, except the two companies that were left under the command of General Parks. Parks and these men remained in the vicinity of Adam-ondi-Ahman, watching both "Mormons" and Gentiles, assisting in serving civil process, and reporting occasionally to his superior officers. In a report which Parks made to Governor Boggs, on the 25th of September, occurs the following:

"Whatever may have been the disposition of the people called Mormons, before our arrival here, since we have made our appearance, they have shown no disposition to resist the law or of hostile intentions. There has been so much prejudice, and exaggeration concerned in this matter, that I found things entirely different from what I was prepared to expect. When we arrived here, we found a large body of men from the counties adjoining, armed and in the field, for the purpose, as I learned, of assisting the people of this county against the Mormons, without being called out by the proper authorities."

In the meantime, a committee of old citizens had agreed to meet with

a committee appointed by the Saints in Daviess County for the purpose of making arrangements for either buying or selling the property of the Saints, or of selling theirs to the brethren. Speaking of this committee in a postscript to the above report, Parks says:

"I received information that if the committee do not agree, the determination of the Daviess County men is to drive the Mormons with powder and lead."

Two days later than the date of Parks' report, General Atchison wrote to the Governor, saying:

"The force under General Parks is deemed sufficient to execute the laws and keep the peace in Daviess County. Things are not so bad in that county as represented by rumor, and in fact from affidavits. I have no doubt your Excellency has been deceived by the exaggerated statements of designing or half crazy men. I have found there is no cause of alarm on account of the Mormons; they are not to be feared; they are very much alarmed."

These statements, accompanied by the former statements of Atchison and Doniphan, which said the "Mormons" were only acting on the defensive, and had surrendered the arms they had taken from the mob, together with the prisoners, with promptness and cheerfulness, prove that the Saints were only acting on the defensive and that their collecting and arming was merely in self-defense, and not with any desire to outrage the laws or injure the Missourians.

Dr. Austin, of Carroll County, who had commanded the mob forces about Adam-ondi Ahman, being compelled to disband his forces, at least part of them, he esteemed his force insufficient to drive out the brethren from Adam-ondi-Ahman; so he conceived the idea of striking a blow at De Witt, Carroll County, from which place the Saints, after having en-

dured great suffering, were finally driven, Oct. 11, 1838. (See pages 603-608.)

No sooner had the Saints departed from De Witt than the Presbyterian preacher, Woods, called the mob that had infested that settlement together, and in a speech of frenzied hate he suggested that they proceed at once to Daviess County and assist their friends in driving the Mormons from their homes in that county, as they had already done in Carroll County. He assured them the civil authorities would not interfere to defend the "Mormons," and they could get possession of their property just as well as not. He reminded them that the land sales would soon come off, and if they could but get rid of the "Mormons" they could secure all the lands they would want. To appreciate the force of this part of the preacher's appeal to the mob, the reader must remember that the whole country was wild with land speculations, and that some of the Saints were badly tinctured with it. The speech had the desired effect, and forthwith the entire body with their cannon started for Daviess County.

While these events were transpiring in Carroll County, Cornelius Gillium, who it will be remembered called upon Zion's Camp at Fishing River several years before, had been engaged in raising a mob in Platte and Clinton Counties to accomplish the same object that Parson Woods and his mob had in view. General Doniphan learned of these movements, both on the part of Gillium and Woods, and sent word to Joseph Smith that a body of 800 men were moving upon the settlement of his people in Daviess County. He gave

orders for a company of militia to be raised at Far West and marched at once into Daviess County, to defend those who were threatened until he could raise the militia in Clay and adjoining counties to put down the insurrection. Accordingly, a company of one hundred militiamen were gotten in readiness to march into Daviess County on the 15th of October. The command was given to Colonel Hinkle and started for Adam-ondi-Ahman.

After General Parks had left the vicinity of De Witt with his mutinous militia, he returned to Adam-ondi-Ahman, where he had left Colonel Thompson in command, and resumed control of affairs in that section. The mob about Adam-ondi-Ahman hearing of the fate of De Witt, and learning of the approach of that mob and the efforts of Gillium in the same direction, became bolder, and at once began to threaten the Saints and burn some of their houses and stacks of hay and grain. The house of Don Carlos Smith was burned down, after being plundered, and his wife with two helpless babes were driven out in the night. She made her way to Adam-ondi-Ahman, carrying her children and having to wade Grand River where the stream was waist deep.

The next day General Parks passed the ruins of this house, belonging to Don Carlos Smith, who was then on a mission in Tennessee, and it seemed to arouse within him a just indignation. He at once went to the house of Lyman Wight and gave him orders to call out his companies of militiamen—Wight holding a colonel's commission in the 59th regiment of the Missouri militia, commanded by General Parks—and

gave him full authority to put down mobs, wherever he should find them assembled. He said he wished it distinctly understood that Colonel Wight had full authority from him to suppress all mob violence. The company of militia that Colonel Wight raised was divided into two companies; one company, consisting of about sixty men, was placed under the command of Captain David W. Patten, and the other of about the same number was commanded by Wight in person.

Captain Patten was ordered to go to Gallatin and disperse the mobs that were reported to be in that vicinity, while Wight and his company started for Millport, a little town about seven miles southeast of Adamondi-Ahman.

When Patten's Company came in sight of Gallatin, he found a body of the mob, about one hundred strong, who were amusing themselves by mocking, and in various ways tantalizing a number of the Saints whom they had captured. Seeing the approach of Patten's men, and knowing the determination of the leader, the mob broke and ran in the greatest confusion, leaving their prisoners behind them.

On his march to Millport, Colonel Wight found the whole country deserted by the mobs which had infested it, and their houses in flames or in smouldering ruins. The mob having learned that General Parks had ordered out Wight's companies of militia, had been seized with sudden fear and swore vengeance not only upon the "Mormons" but upon Generals Parks and Doniphan as well. To accomplish this purpose, they had loaded up their most valuable personal effects and setting fire

to their log huts, they sent runners throughout the State with the lying report that the "Mormons" were burning the houses, destroying property, and murdering the old settlers.

These false rumors spread by the mob, were strengthened in the public ear by such men as Adam Black, Judge King, of Richmond, and other prominent men who were continually writing inflammatory communications to the governor. The citizens of Ray County called a public meeting and appealed to the governor to protect the people of Upper Missouri from the "Mormons," whom they termed a "fearful body of thieves and robbers." It seemed the very prince of lies and all his hosts had suddenly broken loose, and sought to overwhelm the Saints with a flood of falsehood.

It was at this particular crisis that Thomas B. Marsh, the President of the Twelve Apostles, and Orson Hyde, one of the members of the same quorum, fled to Richmond and there testified to the most wicked falsehoods, calculated to bring destruction upon their former brethren. Thomas B. Marsh made an affidavit before Henry Jacobs, a justice of the peace, at Richmond, of which the following is an extract.

"They (the Mormons) have among them a company consisting of all that are considered true Mormons, called Danites, who have taken an oath to support the heads of the Church in all things, whether right or wrong. I have heard the Prophet say that he would yet tread down his enemies, and walk over their dead bodies; that, if he was not let alone, he would be a second Mohammed to this generation, and that he would make it one gore of blood from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean."

To this Marsh swore, and Hyde corroborated, saying that he knew part of it to be true, and he believed the other. Sometime after this,



when the clouds of hatred that at this time threatened the Saints with destruction had drifted away, and these men had time to reflect upon the terrible wickedness of their action, Orson Hyde, blinded with tears, came back to the people he sought to destroy, and humbly begged to be restored to his position. And having manifested a spirit of repentance, he was received back into his place, and for many years labored faithfully for the advancement of God's Kingdom. (See pages 36-38.) Thomas B. Marsh, after leading a vagabond life for years, with the brand of Judas on his brow, and the gnawing of the worm that never dies at his heart, when the Saints had weathered the storms of persecution, not only in Missouri but also in Illinois as well, and their lives had fallen in the pleasant places of the mountain valleys of Utah, he too—a mere wreck of his former self, weak, and driveling and childish, broken down in health, as also in intellect—came humbly bending to the people upon whom he had sought to bring ruin, and begged—humbly begged the privilege of ending his days in their midst. He arose in a congregation where thousands were congregated, referred to his wrecked condition, and told them it was the effect of apostasy, and warned all against walking in the path which he had trod to his infinite sorrow. His life furnishes a sad page in the history of the Latter-day Saints. (See pages 17-19.)

Since the Danites are spoken of in the statement made by Marsh and Hyde, and as many false statements have been made repeatedly, accusing the Church of having such an association, as described by Marsh

and Hyde, we here give a brief account of that organization as recorded in the history of Joseph Smith:

"While the evil spirits were raging up and down in the State to raise mobs against the 'Mormons,' Satan himself was no less busy in striving to stir up mischief in the camp of the Saints; and among the most conspicuous of his willing devotees was one Doctor Sampson Avard, who had been in the Church but a short time, and who, although he had generally behaved with a tolerable degree of external decorum, was secretly aspiring to be the greatest of the great, and become the leader of the people. This was his pride and his folly, but as he had no hopes of accomplishing it by gaining the hearts of the people in open strife, he watched his opportunity with the brethren, at a time when mobs oppressed, robbed, whipped, burned, plundered and slew, till forbearance seemed no longer a virtue, and nothing but the grace of God without measure could support men under such trials, to form a secret combination by which he might rise a mighty conqueror, at the expense of the overthrow of the Church; and this he tried to accomplish by his smooth, flattering and winning speeches, which he frequently made to his associates, while his room was well guarded by some of his pupils, ready to give him the wink on the approach of any one who would not approve of his measures.

"In this situation, he stated that he had the sanction of the heads of the Church for what he was about to do; and by his smiles and flattery, persuaded them to believe it, and proceeded to administer to the few under his control, an oath, binding them to everlasting secrecy to everything which should be communicated to them by himself. Thus Avard initiated members into his band, firmly binding them, by all that was sacred, in the protecting of each other in all things that were lawful; and was careful to picture out a great glory that was then hovering over the Church, and would soon burst upon the Saints as a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, and would soon unveil the slumbering mysteries of heaven, which would gladden the hearts and arouse the stupid spirits of the Saints of the latter-day, and fill their hearts with that love which is unspeakable and full of glory, and arm them with power, that the gates of hell could not prevail against them; and would often affirm to his company, that the principal men of the Church had put

him forward as a spokesman and a leader of this band, which he named *Danites*.

"Thus he duped many, which gave him the opportunity of figuring largely. He held his meetings daily, and carried on his work of craft in great haste, to prevent a mature reflection upon the matter, and had them bound under the penalties of death to keep the secrets and certain signs—which they had to know each other by, by day and night.

"After those performances, he held meetings to organize his men into companies of tens and fifties, appointing a captain over each company. After this organization, he went on to teach them their duty in compliance with the orders of their captains; he then called his captains together and taught them in a secluded place, as follows:

"My brethren, as you have been chosen to be our leading men, our captains, to rule over this last kingdom of Jesus Christ, who have been organized after the ancient order, I have called upon you here to-day to teach you, and instruct you, in the things that pertain to your duty, and to show you what your privileges are, and what they soon will be. Know ye not, brethren, that it soon will be your privileges to take your respective companies and go out on a scout on the borders of the settlements, and take to yourselves spoils of the goods of the ungodly Gentiles? for it is written, the riches of the Gentiles shall be consecrated to my people, the house of Israel; and thus waste away the Gentiles by robbing and plundering them of their property; and in this way we will build up the kingdom of God, and roll forth the little stone that Daniel saw cut out of the mountain without hands, until it shall fill the whole earth. For this is the very way that God destines to build up His kingdom in the last days. If any of us should be recognized, who can harm us? for we will stand by each other and defend one another in all things. If our enemies swear against us, we can swear also. (The captains were confounded at this, but Avard continued.) Why do you startle at this, brethren? As the Lord liveth, I would swear a lie to clear any of you; and if this would not do, I would put them or him under the sand as Moses did the Egyptian; and in this way we will consecrate much unto the Lord, and build up His kingdom; and who can stand against us? And if any of us transgress, we will deal with him amongst ourselves. And if any one of this Danite society reveals any of these things, I will put him where the dogs cannot bite him."

b

"At this lecture, all of the officers revolted, and said it would not do, they should not go into any such measures, and it would not do to name any such things; 'such proceedings would be in open violation to the laws of our country, and would be robbing our fellow-citizens of their rights, and are not according to the language and doctrine of Christ, or the Church of Latter-day Saints.'

"This modern Sampson replied, and said there were no laws that were executed in justice, and he cared not for them, this being a different dispensation, a dispensation of the fulness of times; 'in this dispensation I learn from the Scriptures that the kingdom of God was to put down all other kingdoms, and He Himself was to reign, and His laws alone were the only laws that would exist.'

"Avard's teachings were still manfully rejected by all. Avard then said that they had better drop the subject; although he had received his authority from Sidney Rigdon the evening before. The meeting then broke up; the eyes of those present were then opened, his craft was no longer in the dark, and but very little confidence was placed in him, even by the warmest of the members of his Danite scheme.

"When a knowledge of Avard's rascality came to the Presidency of the Church, he was cut off from the Church, and every means proper used to destroy his influence, at which he was highly incensed, and went about whispering his evil insinuations, but finding every effort unavailing, he again turned conspirator, and sought to make friends with the mob.

"And here let it be distinctly understood, that these companies of tens and fifties got up by Avard, were altogether separate and distinct from those companies of tens and fifties organized by the brethren for self-defence, in case of an attack from the mob, and more particularly that in this time of alarm no family or person might be neglected, therefore, one company would be engaged in drawing wood, another in cutting it, another in gathering corn, another in grinding, another in butchering, another in distributing meat, etc., so that all should be employed in turn, and no one lack the necessities of life. Therefore, let no one hereafter, by mistake or design, confound this organization of the Church for good and righteous purposes, with the organization of the Danites, of the apostate Avard, which died almost before it had an existence."

Captain Bogart who, it will be remembered, held a command in the militia under General Parks, both in the operations about Adam-on-di-Ahman and before De Witt, and who on each occasion manifested a determination to mutiny, and join the mob, was one of the bitterest enemies the Saints had and the most active of the mob. On the 24th of October, 1838, he, with about forty of his followers, called at the house of a brother Thoret Parsons who lived on the east branch of Log Creek southeast of Far West. He warned Parsons to leave by 10 o'clock the next day, and remarked that he expected to give Far West hell before noon the next day; provided he was successful in joining his forces with these of Niel Gillium's, who would camp that night six miles west of Far West, and that he himself should camp that night on Crooked River. A messenger was dispatched at once with this information to Far West, and Parsons followed the mob to watch their movements.

The day on which this occurred Joseph Holbrook and a brother Judith were watching the movements of a small detachment of Bogart's men, and saw eight of them enter the house of a brother by the name of Pinkham, where they took three prisoners and four horses, together with some arms and food; and warned the old gentleman Pinkham to leave the State at once, or they "would have his d—d old scalp." This detachment then started to join Bogart's main company, and Holbrook and Judith started for Far West. They arrived there near midnight and reported what they had seen in the vicinity of the mob's encampment. The blast of the trumpet

and the roll of the drum soon brought together a large crowd of men to the public square. The men had been assembled by order of Judge Higbee, and he requested Lieutenant-Colonel Hinkle to raise a company to disperse the mob and rescue the prisoners. Volunteers were called for, and in a few minutes 75 men had answered the call and were placed under the command of David W. Patten, who held a captain's commission in the State militia. The company marched about eighteen miles to a point on Crooked River in the northern part of Ray County, where they came upon Bogart's camp and put the mobbers to flight. (See pages 54-56.) In the fight David W. Patten, Gideon Carter and Patrick O'Bannion were killed and a number wounded. The loss of the mob, according to the history of Caldwell County, was Moses Rowland, killed; and Thos. H. Loyd, Edwin Odell, James Lochard, Martin Dunnaway, Samuel Tarwater and Wyatt Crawen, wounded. Tarwater received a terrible gash in the skull, through which his brain was plainly visible, one terrible blow across the face severed the jaw-bone and destroyed all the upper teeth, and there was an ugly gash made in his neck. He kept his bed for six months afterwards, and his wound considerably affected his speech and his memory. He is yet alive and resides near Orrick, Ray County. Since 1840, he has drawn a pension from the State of Missouri of \$100 per year for the wounds and disability he received in the Crooked River fight. He is said to be the only man who receives a pension from the State of Missouri.

When the mobbers scattered before the impetuous charge of Pat-

ten's men, each fellow pretended to believe that he was the only survivor left to tell the tale of their destruction.

This battle on Crooked River, though perfectly justifiable on the part of the Saints, was made the excuse for raising armies against them for their destruction. The following inflammatory and untruthful message was sent from Carrollton to the governor as a report of the fight:

"SIR:—We were informed last night by an express from Ray County, that Captain Bogart and all his company, amounting to between fifty and sixty men, were massacred at Buncombe, twelve miles north of Richmond, except three. This statement you may rely on as being true, and last night they expected Richmond to be laid in ashes this morning. We could distinctly hear cannon, and we knew the Mormons had one in their possession. Richmond is about twenty-five miles west of this place, on a straight line. We know not the hour or minute we shall be laid in ashes—our country is ruined—for God's sake give us assistance as soon as possible. Yours, etc.

SASHIEL WOODS.  
JOSEPH DICKSON."

Woods will be remembered as the Presbyterian preacher who, after the fall of De Witt, called the mob together and urged them to hasten to the assistance of their friends in Daviess County, to drive the "Mormons" away from Adam-ondi-Ahman, that they might gain possession of their lands. These men say they distinctly heard cannon and they knew the "Mormons" had one. Yet these men were 87 miles from where the engagement on Crooked River occurred, and no cannon was used—and the one in possession of the Saints was only a six pounder. "These mobbers," said Joseph, "must have had very acute ears; \* \* \* so much for the lies of a priest of this world."

One of Bogart's men fled to Rich-

mond and reported that ten of his comrades had been killed and the rest taken prisoners after many of them had been wounded; and said it was the intention of the Mormon "banditti" that night to sack and burn Richmond. Upon the reception of this lying report, C. R. Morehead was dispatched from Richmond to Lexington, a town located on the south bank of the Missouri River on the high bluffs overlooking the river, and only about eight miles south of Richmond. He begged the people of that town to come to the assistance of Richmond, and they responded by sending one hundred well armed, and according to E. M. Ryland, "daring men, the most effective our county can boast of." An express was sent from Lexington to Messrs. Amos Reese and Wiley C. Williams of Jackson County, but then *en route* for the city of Jefferson, ordering them to hurry on to that city, imparting correct (?) information to the public as they went along; and to send one of their party into Cooper, Howard and Boone Counties, in order that volunteers might be getting ready to flock to the scene of trouble as soon as possible. The letter which was dated Oct. 25, 1838, said:

"They (the volunteers before alluded to) must make haste and put a stop to the devastation which is menaced by these infuriated fanatics, and they must go prepared, and with a full determination to exterminate or expel them from the State *en masse*."

On the strength of this message Governor Boggs afterwards issued his celebrated exterminating order. Wiley C. Williams and Amos Reese had previously started for Jefferson City as special messengers to the governor to secure the banishment of the Saints from the State of Missouri.

These untruthful reports of the trouble on Crooked River were favorable to their cause, and an express was sent after them to add this falsehood to those with which they were already laden, and to wish them "God speed" in their murderous affairs. We need not say the brethren had not so much as thought of going to Richmond or acting otherwise than on the defensive.

In the meantime the messengers from those parties who had burned their own homes and destroyed their own property had reached Jefferson City, and poured into the willing ears of the executive the villainous falsehoods that the "Mormons" with an armed force had expelled the old settlers from Daviess County, pilaged and burned their dwellings, driven off their stock, and destroyed their crops. They also said that Millport and Gallatin, the county seat, were in ashes, and that all the records of the county were destroyed. Upon the reception of their falsehoods and an application from these people to be restored to their homes and protected in them, Governor Boggs set himself vigorously at work calling out militia forces to accomplish this object. We can not help pausing a moment right here to notice the difference in the action of the State authorities in two cases that would have been just alike, provided the report of those parties who fled from Daviess County, by the light of their burning homes, had been true. In 1838 our readers will remember the Saints were driven by brute force, and under circumstances the most distressing, from their possessions in Jackson County. And not only was their property destroyed, but quite a number of them

were killed, while the number that were exiled amounted to twelve hundred. The State authorities had the fullest of evidence of these outrages—in fact, the very man who at the time of the Daviess County troubles was governor of the State, was on the ground, and knew of all the circumstances of cruelty and outrage. But when those things came before the State authorities, it took more than two whole years of correspondence to come to an understanding of what could and would be done, and then the decision was that the exiles would do well to move still further on; in fact, get entirely away from the section of the country where they had made their homes, as the prejudices of the people were set against them, and that the popular sentiment in this country was *vox dei*. But now, when a mere rumor comes that the "Mormons" have been guilty of inflicting upon the Missourians the outrages which aforetime had been perpetuated against them, there is no halting on the part of the authorities, but on the contrary the most vigorous efforts put forth to punish the reputed offenders, and reinstate the supposed exiles.

Governor Boggs then began his efforts to restore these reputed exiles to their homes. He sent an order to General John B. Clark, of the first division of Missouri militia, directing him to raise two thousand men from the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th and 12th divisions of the militia, to be mounted and armed as the law directs, provided with rations for 15 days, and to rendezvous at Fayette, in Howard County, about eighty miles southeast of Far West, by the 8th of November.

This order was dated Oct. 26, 1838.

The next day, however, Amos Reese and Wiley C. Williams arrived in Jefferson City with their false report of the battle on Crooked River, and Governor Boggs changed his orders to General Clark the same day. This letter is Boggs' exterminating order dated Oct. 27, 1838. He said to General Clark:

"Since the order of the morning to you, \* \* \* I have received by Amos Reese, Esq., and Wiley C. Williams, one of my aids, information of the most appalling character, which changes the whole face of things and places the Mormons in the attitude of open and avowed defiance of the laws, and of having made open war upon the people of this State. Your orders are therefore, to hasten your operations and endeavor to reach Richmond, in Ray County, with all possible speed. The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the State, if necessary, for the public good. Their outrages are beyond description. If you can increase your force, you are authorized to do so, to any extent you may think necessary."

The governor also ordered Major General Wallock, of Marion County, to raise 500 men, and join General Doniphan, of Clay County, who had been directed to raise a like number of men, and together they were to proceed to Daviess County to cut off the retreat of the "Mormons" to the north. General Parks had been ordered to raise four hundred men and join Clark at Richmond, and thus the campaign was planned. The troops were not to reinstate the supposed exiles of Daviess County in their homes and protect them, but they were to operate directly against the "Mormons"—in fact, make war upon them—exterminate them or drive them from the State.

Up to this time Major-General Atchison had apparently exercised his influence counseling moderation in dealing with the "Mormons." He was

a resident of Clay County when the "Mormons" were driven into that county from Jackson. He, with General Doniphan and Amos Reese, had acted as counsel for the exiles, and had seen the doors of the temple of justice closed in their faces by mob violence, and all redress denied them. He was acquainted with the circumstances which led to their removal from Clay County to the unsettled prairies of what afterwards became Caldwell County. He knew how deep and unreasonable the prejudices were against the Saints, and no doubt also knew how utterly unjustifiable the present movement against them was. But whether he was blinded by the false reports about Millport, Gallatin and Crooked River, or whether his courage faltered, and he became afraid longer to defend a people against whom every man's hand was raised, we find him joining with that arch scoundrel S. D. Lucas in the following communication to Governor Boggs:

"SIR:—From late outrages committed by the Mormons, civil war is inevitable. They have set the laws of the country at defiance and are in open rebellion. We have about two thousand men under arms to keep them in check. The presence of the commander-in-chief is deemed absolutely necessary, and we most respectfully urge that your excellency be at the seat of war as soon as possible.

Your most obedient, etc.

DAVID R. ATCHISON, M. G. 3rd Div.

SAMUEL D. LUCAS, M. G. 4th Div."

General Atchison, however, was afterwards "dismounted," to use a word of General Doniphan's in relating the incident, and sent back to Liberty, in Clay County, by special order of Governor Boggs, on the ground that he was inclined to be too merciful to the "Mormons." So that he was not active in the operations

about Far West. But how he could consent to join with Lucas in sending such an untruthful and infamous report to the governor about the situation in Upper Missouri, is difficult to determine. The Saints had not set the laws at defiance, nor were they in open rebellion. But when all the officers of the law refused to hear their complaints, and both civil and military authority delivered them into the hands of merciless mobs to be plundered and outraged at their brutal pleasure, and all petitions for protection at the hands of the governor had been answered with, "It is a quarrel between the Mormons and the mob, and they must fight it out," nothing was left for the Saints to do but to arm themselves and stand in the defence of their homes and families? Don't for one moment suppose that in making this statement we admit the Saints had defied the laws of the country, for it was not so. The movement on Gallatin by Captain Patten and that on Millport by Colonel Wight was ordered by General Parks who called upon Colonel Wight to take command of his company of men, when the militia under Parks' command mutinied, and disperse all mobs wherever he found them. Gallatin was not burned by the Saints; nor were the records of the county court, if they were destroyed at all, destroyed by the Saints. What houses were burned in Millport had most likely been set on fire by the mob. The expedition to Crooked River was ordered by Judge Higbee, the first judge in Caldwell County and the highest civil authority in Far West, and was undertaken for the purpose of dispersing a mob which had threatened "to give Far West hell before

noon the next day." So that in their operations the acts of the Saints had been strictly within the law, and only in self-defence.

The mob forces were gathering from all quarters to destroy Far West. Niel Gilliam was in the west urging the citizens to drive the "Mormons" from the State. Lucas and Wilson, who were active leaders of the mob which expelled the Saints from Jackson County, were collecting those same mob forces; while General Clark was in the south raising companies of men to carry out the exterminating order of Governor Boggs.

In addition to these preparations for the destruction of the Saints, in the counties immediately surrounding Caldwell, there was a general uprising of the old settlers under no particular leadership, but roaming through the scattered settlements of the Saints in small bands, murdering, stealing stock, house burning, whipping the men and driving the terror-stricken women and children from their homes. In fact, the whole country surrounding Far West was infested with a merciless banditti, which daily were guilty of the most atrocious deeds of cruelty. Those of the Saints living in a scattered condition over the prairie, who were fortunate enough to escape with their lives, came running into Far West at all times of day and night, white with fear. The Prophet Joseph had counseled his people to settle in villages, and have their farms on the outskirts thereof, after the pattern, as far as circumstances would permit, of the plan given by revelation for building up the city of Zion. (See page 634.) He had urged, in addition to the improved opportuni-

ties this plan would give them for educating their children, etc., that they would be in a better condition to defend themselves against their enemies. But the Saints, at least many of them, would not hearken to this advice, but now that the enemy was upon them, when it was too late for them to profit by it, they could see the wisdom of it.

It was one of these marauding bands, under the leadership of Wm. O. Jennings and Nehemiah Comstock, which was guilty of that fiendish massacre at Haun's Mill, on the 30th of October, 1838, on which occasion 19 of the brethren were murdered. (See pages 671-686.)

In the meantime the mob forces, called "the governor's troops," had gathered about Far West to the number of 2,200, armed and equipped for war. The main body of these forces had marched from Richmond under the command of Major-General Samuel D. Lucas, starting on the 29th of October. The following day he was joined by the forces of General Doniphan at the ford of Log Creek, not far from Far West. Here they received the exterminating order of Governor Boggs. This order made no provisions for the protection of the innocent; the "Mormons" were either to be exterminated or driven from the State, regardless of their guilt or innocence.

On the morning of the 30th, the citizens of Far West had been informed of the approach of large bodies of armed men from the south, and had sent out a company of 150 of their number to learn the character of these forces, whether they were friendly or otherwise. They were soon convinced that their intentions were hostile, but found

some difficulty in returning to Far West without being captured by the mob forces. As they approached Far West in the evening, they were discovered by General Doniphan, who received permission from General Lucas to try and capture them; but having a superior knowledge of the ground, they escaped. Seeing this body of men approach, what militia there was in Far West was drawn up in line just south of the city to oppose the advance of the formidable enemy. Both parties sent out a flag of truce, which met between the two forces. The man sent out on the part of the Saints was Elder Charles C. Rich. When he approached the camp of the besiegers, Bogart, the Methodist preacher, fired upon him. In answer to the inquiry of the citizens of Far West as to who the mob forces were and what were their intentions, the reply was, "We want three persons out of the city before we massacre the rest." Adam Lightner, John Cleminson and wife were those three persons, but when the messenger offered them the chance for life, they responded, "If the people must be destroyed, we will die with them."

Hostilities, however, were postponed until the next day, and the mob began the work of encampment along the borders of Goose Creek. During the night the Saints constructed, as best they could, some rude fortifications south of the city, and were reinforced in the night by Lyman Wight and a small body of men from Adam-ondi-Ahman.

The mob forces were strengthened during the night by the arrival from the west of Niel Gillium's forces, who were dressed and painted like Indians, and doubtless more savage



than the savages whose dress, paint and horrid yells they aped.

These men hailed from the Platte Purchase west of Clay County. "Gillium himself," says the history of Caldwell County, "wore a full Indian costume, had his war paint on and called himself the 'Delaware chief' and his men the 'Delaware amar-u-jans.' They would whoop and yell and otherwise conduct themselves as savages. When Capt. Bogart's company, which was in the fight at Crooked River, came up, the men were regarded as heroes, although *en route* they had burned every Mormon cabin they came upon, and had wantonly shot down much live stock and destroyed other property. The outlying Mormon settlements had by this time nearly all been abandoned, the occupants fleeing to Far West for safety. The militia foraged upon the county, and much property was taken, and much destroyed without cause. \* \* \* Some militia over in the edge of Clinton drove a dozen sheep into a vacated dwelling-house and burned the whole up together. Gillium's 'Indians' had been stationed at Hunter's Mills a few days previous and committed many excesses." The mob forces under Comstock with their hands dripping with the blood of their Haun's Mill victims, also joined Lucas during the night, thirsting for more innocent blood.

That was a terrible night of suspense at Far West. The people had learned of the massacre at Haun's Mill; they knew the murderous intentions of the mob forces encamped within two miles of their homes, and outnumbering their forces by more than four to one, and clothed with a seeming authority by the highest

officer in the State to resist which, however outrageous or barbarous it was, would give further excuse for their extermination.

It was with heavy hearts and sinking hopes that the Saints watched the first approach of the grey dawn in the eastern sky that ushered in the 31st of October. About 8 o'clock a flag of truce was sent out; Joseph and other Church writers say by the mob forces. Lucas, in his report to Governor Boggs, says:

"I received a message from Colonel Hinkle, the commander of the Mormon forces, [Caldwell militia] requesting an interview with me on an eminence near Far West, which he would designate by hoisting a white flag. I sent him word I would meet him at 2 o'clock p. m., being so much engaged in receiving and encamping fresh troops, who were hourly coming in, that I could not attend before."

"It may be," writes B. H. Roberts, "judging from the subsequent treacherous conduct of Colonel Hinkle, that he sent a secret messenger to Lucas requesting an interview, and that the white flag sent out by the mob forces, of which our Church historians speak, and which was met by Hinkle in person with a few others, was sent to give General Lucas' answer to Hinkle's earlier request for an interview. At any rate the truce flag was sent out and met by some of the brethren, among whom was Hinkle; and if anything special was learned, or accommodations arranged, or understanding arrived at by the conference held with the enemies' flag of truce, our writers have failed to mention it. The reasonable conclusion is, therefore, that that flag of truce merely brought to Colonel Hinkle the information that Lucas could not meet him until 2 o'clock; and that Hinkle did meet him at that time; and upon his own

responsibility, without consulting with the citizens of Far West or their leaders, entered into, and bound the people to the following terms of capitulation:

"1st. To give up all their [the Church] leaders to be tried and punished.

"2nd. To make an appropriation of their property, all who have taken up arms, to the payment of their debts, and indemnify for damage done by them.

"3rd. That the balance should leave the State, and be protected out by the militia, but to remain until further orders were received from the commander-in-chief.

"4th. To give up their arms of every description, to be receipted for."

"According to Lucas' statement, Hinkle, while he readily accepted these terms of capitulation, desired to postpone the matter until the following morning; to which Lucas replied that if that was done he would demand that Joseph Smith, jun., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Parley P. Pratt and George W. Robinson be surrendered to his custody as hostages for his faithful compliance with the foregoing terms; and if after reflection and consultation the people decided to reject the terms offered them, these hostages were to be returned at the point where they were delivered into his possession."

Hinkle returned from the secret consultation with Lucas, and about 4 o'clock in the afternoon told Joseph Smith and the other men Lucas demanded as hostages, that the leaders of the governor's troops desired a consultation with them outside the city limits. Accordingly these men, in company with Hinkle, walked out of Far West in the direction of the enemy's encampment. When midway between the mob's encampment and Far West, the little band of brethren were met by the mob forces, Lucas occupied a central place, fol-

lowed by fifty artillery men, with a four-pounder; while the remainder of the forces, amounting to over two thousand, came up on the right and left of Lucas. As soon as Lucas came up, Lyman Wight shook hands with him and said:

"We understand, general, you wish to confer with us a few moments, will not to-morrow morning do as well?"

Here Colonel Hinkle said:

"General Lucas, these are the prisoners I agreed to deliver to you."

Lucas brandished his sword and told the brethren from Far West that they were his prisoners, and that they would march into his camp without further delay.

"At this moment," says Lyman Wight, "I believe there were five hundred guns cocked and twenty caps bursted, and more hideous yells were never heard, even if the description of the yells of the d—d in hell is true as given by the modern sects of the day." Especially horrible and threatening were the yells and threats of Niel Gillium's company, costumed and painted as Indians.

The prisoners had been basely betrayed by Hinkle, as he had never consulted with them or any of the leaders of the people in relation to the terms of surrender offered by Lucas; and by misrepresentation he had induced them to place themselves into the hands of their implacable enemies.

On reaching the enemy's camp, ninety men were called out to guard the prisoners. Thirty were on this duty at a time; two hours on and four hours off. The prisoners lay in the open air with nothing as a covering, and they were drench'd

with rain before morning. All night long they were mocked and taunted by the guard, who demanded signs, saying, "Come, Mr. Smith, show us an angel, give us one of your revelations, show us a miracle;" mingling these requests with the vilest oaths. Sidney Rigdon had an attack of apopleptic fits, which afforded much merriment to the brutal guard.

The morning following, which was the 1st of November, 1838, Hyrum Smith and Amasa M. Lyman were brought into the mob's camp.

According to Hinkle's agreement the militia in Far West was marched out of the city and grounded their arms, which were taken possession of by Lucas, although they were not State arms, but were the private property of the men who carried them.

"We were brought up at the point of the bayonet," writes Heber C. Kimball, "and compelled to sign a deed of trust, transferring all our property to defray the expenses of this war made on us by the State of Missouri. This was complied with, because we could not help ourselves. When we walked up to sign the deeds of trust to pay these assassins for murdering our brethren and sisters, and their children, ravishing some of our sisters to death, robbing us of our lands and possessions and all we had on earth, and other similar 'services,' they expected to see us cast down and sorrowful; but I testify as an eye witness that the brethren rejoiced and praised the Lord, for His sake taking joyfully the despoiling of their goods. Judges and magistrates, Methodist, Presbyterian, Campbellite and other sectarian priests stood by and saw all this going on, exulting over us, and it

seemed to make them more angry that we bore our misfortunes so cheerfully. Judge Cameron said, with an oath, 'See them laugh and kick up their heels. They are whipped, but not conquered.'"

"About 630 guns," says the history of Caldwell County, "consisting of hunting rifles, shot-guns and a few muskets, and some rude swords, home-made, and a few pistols, were given up and hauled off by the State authorities, but it can not be stated here what disposition was made of them. No compensation was ever allowed the Mormons for their property, which was taken or destroyed, and of course no return was made for their arms. Some of the Mormon officers had good swords. These officers all bore commissions, signed by Governor Boggs, in the 53rd regiment of Missouri militia, of which George M. Hinkle was colonel; Lyman Wight, lieutenant-colonel; and Jefferson Hunt, major. The regiment was regularly made up, according to the State law, from Caldwell County. Some of the other officers were Amasa Lyman and Seymour Brunson, who were captains; George P. Dykes was a lieutenant; Jacob Gates was an ensign. The Mormons under arms were all militiamen, regularly enrolled and mustered."

On the 6th General Clark paraded the remaining brethren at Far West and addressed them as follows:

"Gentlemen, you whose names are not attached to this list of names, will now have the privilege of going to your fields and providing corn, wood, etc., for your families. Those who are now taken will go from this to prison, be tried and receive the due merit of their crimes. But you (except such as charges may hereafter be preferred against) are now at liberty, as soon as the troops are removed that now guard the

place, which I shall cause to be done immediately. It now devolves upon you to fulfil the treaty that you have entered into, the leading items of which I shall now lay before you.

"The first requires that your leading men be given up to be tried according to law; this you have already complied with.

"The second is, that you deliver up your arms; this has been attended to.

"The third stipulation is, that you sign over your properties to defray the expenses of the war; this you have also done.

"Another article yet remains for you to comply with, and that is, that you leave the State forthwith; and whatever may be your feelings concerning this, or whatever your innocence, it is nothing to me; General Lucas, who is equal in authority with me, has made this treaty with you—I approve of it—I should have done the same, had I been here—I am therefore determined to see it fulfilled. The character of this State has suffered almost beyond redemption, from the character, conduct and influence that you have exerted, and we deem it an act of justice to restore her character to its former standing among the States, by every proper means.

"The orders of the governor to me were, that you should be exterminated, and not allowed to remain in the State, and had your leaders not been given up, and the terms of the treaty complied with, before this, you and your families would have been destroyed and your houses in ashes.

"There is a discretionary power vested in my hands, which I shall exercise in your favor for a season; for this lenity you are indebted to my clemency. I do not say that you shall go now, but you must not think of staying here another season, or of putting in crops, for the moment you do this the citizens will be upon you. If I am called here again, in case of a non-compliance of a treaty made, do not think that I shall act any more as I have done—you need not expect any mercy, but extermination, for I am determined the governor's order shall be executed. As for your leaders, do not once think—do not imagine for a moment—do not let it enter your mind, that they will be delivered, or that you will see their faces again, for their fate is fixed—THEIR DIE IS CAST—THEIR DOOM IS SEALED.

"I am sorry, gentlemen, to see so great a number of apparently intelligent men found in the situation that you are; and oh! that I could invoke that *Great Spirit*, THE UNKNOWN GOD, to rest upon you, and make you sufficiently intelligent to break that

chain of superstition, and liberate you from those fetters of fanaticism, with which you are bound—that you no longer worship a man.

"I would advise you to scatter abroad, and never again organize yourselves with Bishops, Presidents, etc., lest you excite the jealousies of the people, and subject yourselves to the same calamities that have now come upon you.

"You have always been the aggressors—you have brought upon yourselves these difficulties by being disaffected and not being subject to rule—and my advice is, that you become as other citizens, lest by a recurrence of these events you bring upon yourselves irretrievable ruin."

"I was present" writes Heber C. Kimball, "when that speech was delivered, and I can truly say he (Clark) is a liar and the truth is not in him," for not one of us had made any such agreement with Lucas, or any other person; what we did was by compulsion in every sense of the word, and as for General Clark and his 'unknown God,' they had nothing to do with our deliverance, but it was our Father in heaven, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, in whom we trust, who liveth and dwelleth in the heavens, and the day will come when our God will hold him in derision with all his coadjutors."

After listening to Gen. Clark's harrangue—this mixture of hypocrisy and conceit, affected pity and heartless cruelty, pretended patriotism and willful treason—the 56 brethren who had been arrested, for what, they knew not (neither did Clark appear able to inform them), were sent to Richmond where they were to be tried; and the remainder were dismissed to provide food and fuel for their families, and make preparations for leaving the State.

Governor Boggs appeared anxious about having his exterminating orders carried into effect, and occa-

sionally stirred up Clark's "pure mind" to a lively remembrance of what he expected him to do, by sending him messages from time to time. Here is a specimen received directly after Clark had sent the 56 prisoners to Richmond:

"It will be necessary that you hold a military court of inquiry in Davless County, and arrest the Mormons, who have been guilty of the late outrages committed towards the inhabitants of said county. My instructions to you are to settle this whole matter completely, if possible before you disband your forces; if the Mormons are disposed voluntarily to leave the State, of course it would be advisable in you to promote that object in any way deemed proper. The ringleaders ought by no means to be permitted to escape the punishment they merit."

As if inspired to new zeal by the receipt of this message, Clark ordered General Wilson, who, in the meantime, had returned from Jackson County, to go to Adam-ondi-Ahman and take charge of all the prisoners at that place, and ascertain those who had committed crimes, put them under close guard, and when he moved to take them to Keytesville, the county seat of Chariton County, and between 70 and 80 miles from Adam-ondi-Ahman. A number of the brethren were taken prisoners at the latter place, and were examined before Judge Adam Black, one of the ringleaders of the mob, and one of the main hands in bringing about the whole trouble. But even he was obliged to acquit the brethren brought before him, as they were innocent of the charges made against them. At the close of their examination, General Wilson ordered all the Saints to leave Adam-ondi-Ahman within ten days, with permission to move into Caldwell County, and remain until spring, when they were to leave the State.

A committee of twelve men were granted the privilege of moving about freely between Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman, with permission to move the corn and household goods from Adam-ondi-Ahman to Far West. The stock, or the most of it, was taken possession of by the mob-militia. The committee of twelve were to wear white badges on their hats in order that they might be easily recognized by the forces that would be detailed to watch the movements of the Saints.

By this arrangement the Saints at Adam-ondi-Ahman were driven from their comfortable homes to camp out through a long, dreary and severe winter in their wagons and tents, by reason of which exposure many perished, among whom were delicate women and children. (See pages 45-48.)

From the 13th to 28th of November, 1838, a mock trial, with the notorious Austin A. King on the bench, was held at Richmond, Ray County. On that occasion Joseph and fellow-prisoners were examined as to a number of false charges which had been made against them, and the whole farce ended with their incarceration in jail to await further trial. (See pages 449-452.) The 56 other brethren who had been taken prisoners in Far West and sent by General Clark to Richmond, and also 40 others that had been brought down by Bogart under the impression that they were to be witnesses in behalf of their brethren were either released or admitted to bail. Those admitted to bail, together with those who went on their bonds, were subsequently driven from the State so that the bail was forfeited.

It was during these trying times

that Brigham Young, afterwards the President of the Church, began to exhibit those executive qualities of mind which so eminently fitted him as a great leader. By the apostasy of Thomas B. Marsh, the presidency of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles devolved upon him, thence the leadership of the Church during the absence of the First Presidency. Dec. 13, 1838, he called together those members of the High Council of the Far West Stake of Zion that still remained in Far West and enquired of them as to their faith in the Latter-day work, first telling them that his own faith was unshaken. All the members present expressed their undying faith in the Gospel, and their confidence in Joseph Smith as a Prophet of God. The Council was then re-organized; the vacancies caused by absence or apostasy were filled up, and the Council was prepared to do business. On the 19th Elder John Taylor and John E. Page were chosen and ordained members of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, under the hands of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball.

Elder Young's activity and zeal in the matter of caring for the poor was unbounded. A public meeting was called, not only of the Saints but also of the citizens of Caldwell County, and the poverty and distress of many of the Saints presented to them. At that meeting, which was held in Far West, Jan. 26, 1839, several gentlemen, not members of the Church, expressed themselves that they thought that an appeal should be made to the citizens of Upper Missouri, claiming their assistance towards furnishing means to remove the poor from Caldwell County. If

such an appeal was ever made it is not generally known.

A committee of seven was then appointed to ascertain the number of families who were actually destitute of means for their removal, and report at the next meeting.

On the 29th another meeting was held of a similar character, at which the committee appointed reported, and Pres. Young offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

*"Resolved.* That we this day enter into a covenant to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of our abilities, in removing from this State, and that we will never desert the poor who are worthy, till they shall be out of the reach of the general exterminating order of General Clark, acting for and in the name of the State."

The following brethren were then appointed to act as a committee to superintend the removal of the Saints from the State of Missouri, to wit: William Huntington, Charles Bird, Alanson Ripley, Theodore Turley, Daniel Shearer, Shadrach Roundy and Jonathan H. Hale. The following document, or covenant, was also drawn up and signed by the faithful brethren:

"Far West, Missouri, Jan. 29, 1839.

"We, whose names are here-under written, do each for ourselves individually hereby covenant to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of our abilities, in removing from this State, in compliance with the authority of the State; and we do hereby acknowledge ourselves firmly bound to the extent of all our available property, to be disposed of by a committee who shall be appointed for that purpose, for providing means for the removing of the poor and destitute, who shall be considered worthy, from this country, till there shall not be one left who desires to remove from the State: with this proviso, that no individual shall be deprived of the right of the disposal of his own property for the above purpose, or of having the control of it, or so much of it as shall be necessary for the removing of his own family, and be entitled to the overplus, after the work is effected; and furthermore, said committee shall give receipts for all

property, and an account of the expenditure of the same.

"John Smith, James McMillan, William Huntington, Chandler Holbrook, Charles Bird, Alexander Wright, Alanson Ripley, William Taylor, Theodore Turley, John Taylor, Daniel Shearer, Reuben P. Hartwell, Shadrach Roundy, John Lowry, Jonathan H. Hale, Welcome Chapman, Elias Smith, Solomon Hancock, Brigham Young, Arza Adams, James Burnham, Henry Jacobs, Leicester Gaylord, James Carroll, Samuel Williams, David Lyons, John Miller, John Taylor, Aaron M. York, Don Carlos Smith, George A. Smith, William J. Stuart, Daniel Howe, Isaac B. Chapman, James Bradin, Roswell Stephens, Jonathan Beckelshimer, Reuben Hedlock, David Jones, David Holman, Wm. M. Fossett, Joel Goddard, Charles N. Baldwin, Phineas R. Bird, Jesse N. Reed, Duncan McArthur, Benjamin Johnson, Allen Talley, Jonathan Hampton, James Hampton, Anson Call, Sherman A. Gilbert, Peter Dopp, James S. Holman, Samuel Rolph, Andrew Lytle, Abel Lamb, Aaron Johnson, Daniel McArthur, Heber C. Kimball, William Gregory, George W. Harris, Zenos Curtis, George W. Davidson, John Reed, Harvey Strong, William R. Orton, Elizabeth Mackley, Samuel D. Tyler, Sarah Mackley, John H. Goff, Andrew Moore, Thomas Butterfield, Harvey Downey, Dwight Hardin, John Maba, Norvil M. Head, Lucy Wheeler, Stephen V. Foot, John Turpin, Jacob G. Bigler, William Earl, Eli Bagley, Zenos H. Gurley, William Milam, Joseph W. Coolidge, Lorenzo Clark, Anthony Head, William Allred, S. A. P. Kelsey, Wm. Van Ausdall, Moses Evord, Nathan K. Knight, Ophelia Harris, John Thorp, Zuba McDonald, Andrew Rose, Mary Goff, John S. Martin, Harvey J. Moore, Albert Sloan, Francis Chase, John D. Lee, Stephen Markham, Eliphas Marsh, John Outhouse, Joseph Wright, Wm. F. Leavens, John Badger, Daniel Tyler, Levi Richards, Noah Rogers, Erastus Bingham, Stephen N. St. John, Elisha Everett, Francis Lee, John Lytle, Eli Lee, Levi Jackman, Benjamin Covey, Thomas Guyman, Michael Barkdull, Nahum Curtis, Miles Randall, Lyman Curtis, Horace Evans, Phillip Ballard, David Dort, William Gould, Levi Hancock, Reuben Middleton, Edwin Whiting, William Harper, William Barton, Seba Joes, Elisha Smith, Charles Butler, James Gallaher, Richard Walton, Robert Jackson, Isaac Kerron, Lemuel Merrick, Joseph Rose, James Dunn, David Foot, Orin Hartshorn, L. S. Nickerson, Nathan Hawke, Moses Daley, Pierce Hawley, David Sessions, Thomas

F. Fisher, Peregrine Sessions, James Lell-head, Alford P. Childs, Alfred Lee, Ja Daley, Stephen Jones, Noah T. Guyman, Eleazar Harris, David Winters, Elijah B. Gaylord, John Pack, Thomas Grover, Sylvanus Hicks, Alexander Badlam, Horatio N. Kent, Phebe Kellog, Joseph W. Pierce, Albert Miner, Thomas Gates, Wm. Woodland, Squire Bozarth, Martin C. Allred, Nathan Lewis, Jedediah Owen, Philander Averv, Orrin P. Rockwell, Benjamin F. Bird, Nathan B. Baldwin, Charles Squire, Truman Brace, Jacob Curtis, Sarah Wixom, Rachel Medfo, Lewis Zobriski, Lyman Stevens, Henry Zobriski, Roswell Evans, Morris Harris, Leonard Clark, Absalom Tidwell, Nehemiah Harmon, Alvin Winegar, Daniel Cathcart, Samuel Winegar, Gershom Stokes, John E. Page, Rachel Page, Levi Gifford, Barnet Cole, Edmund Durfee, Wm. Thompson, Josiah Butterfield, Nathan Cheney, John Killion, James Sherry, John Patten, David Frampton, John Wilkins, Elizabeth Pettigrew, Abram Allen, Charles Thompson, Wm. Felshaw."

President Young secured eighty names to this covenant the first day he presented it to the Saints and three hundred the next. Hence the 214 names given above is only a partial list of the signers, but they are all that are recorded in Church history. Joseph, the Prophet, not willing to be behind the other brethren in the good work, from his gloomy dungeon at Liberty, sent the brethren \$100 to assist in removing the Saints. In the evening of Jan. 29th the committee met in the house of Theodore Turley and organized for business, by appointing Wm. Huntington chairman, Daniel Shearer treasurer, and Alanson Ripley clerk. The latter declining to act, Elias Smith was appointed in his stead.

At an adjourned meeting of the committee, held three days later, (Feb. 1, 1838) four other brethren—Elias Smith, Erastus Bingham, Stephen Markham and James Newberry—were added to the committee.

At this meeting Charles Bird was appointed to go down towards the Mississippi River, and make deposits of corn for the use of the Saints as they should come along. He was also to make contracts for ferriage and arrange whatever else might be necessary for their comfort and security. Thus all things were prepared for the exodus of the Saints from the State of Missouri.

No sooner had these arrangements been perfected than Elder Young, whose wisdom and activity had doubtless given offense to the enemies of the Church, had to flee from Far West to escape the vengeance of the mob. He left Far West, Feb. 14, 1838, and went to Illinois. In his labors, Elder Young had been materially assisted by the support and counsels of Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor and the members of the various committees that had been appointed, to whom was now left the execution of the plans that had been laid for the removal of the Church.

When the Saints commenced removing from Far West, they shipped as many families and as much goods as possible at Richmond, to go down the Missouri River and up the Mississippi to Quincy, Ill. This mission was in charge of Elder Levi Richards and Reuben Hedlock who were appointed by the committee. The exodus throughout was managed with consummate wisdom, and in view of all the difficulties in the way, with less suffering than could have been expected. The distance to the point of the Mississippi River where most of the exiles crossed over to Illinois was over two hundred miles in an easterly direction. The weather was cold and the roads

generally muddy and bad. Scores of Saints died from exposure and fatigue on that memorable journey. The move was not undertaken in a solid body, and seldom in regularly organized companies, but in small squads—two, three and from that to a dozen teams and upwards traveled together. A number of families also undertook the journey alone. Not a single family who wished to go was left behind, as the committee appointed to superintend the removal paid particular attention to all the poor, and furnished them with the necessary teams and provisions to perform the journey.

While the Saints were making preparations to move away as fast as possible the mob was continually annoying them in every possible manner, and threatening the lives of the members of the committee and others. Thus frequently armed bands of mobbers came into Far West and abused men, women and children, stole horses, drove off cattle, and plundered houses of everything that pleased them. Especially did their hatred seem to be directed toward Elder Heber C. Kimball, who in consequence was obliged to secrete himself in the corn fields and other places during the day, but came into town at night counseling the committee and the brethren. Because of the persecutions, the committee, on the 14th of April, 1839, moved 36 families into Tenney's Grove, about twenty five miles from Far West, and a few men were appointed to chop wood for them, while Elder Turley was to furnish them with meal and meat, until they could be removed to Quincy. The corn was ground at the committee's horse mill at Far West.



On the morning of the 18th Elder Kimball went into the committee room and told the members of the committee who were present to wind up their affairs and be off, or their lives would be taken. Later in the day a number of mobbers met Elder Kimball on the public square in Far West and asked him if he was a d—d "Mormon." He replied, "I am a 'Mormon.'" "Well," said they, "G—d d—n you, we'll blow your brains out, you G—d d—d Mormon," and they tried to ride over him with their horses. This took place in the presence of Elias Smith, Theodore Turley and others of the committee. Almost immediately afterward twelve men went to Elder Turley's house with loaded rifles intending to shoot him. They broke seventeen clocks into matchwood, broke tables, chairs and looking-glasses, smashed in the windows, etc., while Bogart, the county judge, looked on and laughed. One mobber by the name of Whitaker threw iron pots at Turley, one of which hit him on the shoulder, at which Whitaker jumped and laughed like a mad man. The mob shot down cows while the girls were milking them, and threatened to send the committee "to hell jumping," and "put daylight through them." The brethren gathered up what they could and left Far West in one hour. The mob stayed until they left, and then plundered \$1,000 worth of property which had been left by the more well-to-do Saints to help the poor to remove. One mobber rode up and finding no convenient place to fasten his horse, shot a cow that was standing near, and while the poor animal was yet struggling in death, he cut a strip of her hide from her nose to the tip of her tail,

which he tied round a stump and fastened his halter to it.

During the commotion of the day, a number of the records, accounts, history, etc., belonging to the committee were destroyed or lost, on account of which the history of the Church only contains a few definite dates of the doings of the committee.

On the 20th of April, 1839, the last of the Saints left Far West. Thus a whole community variously estimated from twelve to fifteen thousand souls, had left, or were about to leave the State of Missouri, where they had experienced so much sorrow, and found a temporary shelter in the State of Illinois, chiefly in Quincy and vicinity (see *Quincy*), and a few in the territory of Iowa on the north.

The history of Caldwell County (pages 142 and 143) has the following concerning the exodus of the Saints from Missouri:

"In the midst of an inclement winter, in December, 1838, and in January, 1839, many of the Mormon men, women and children, the sick and the aged, as well as the young and strong, were turned out of their homes in this (Caldwell) county and Daviess, into the prairies and forests, without food, or sufficient protection from the weather. In some instances in Daviess, their houses were burnt before their eyes and they turned out into the deep snow. Only a few cabins in the southwestern part of Caldwell were burned at this time.

"Numerous families set out at once for Illinois, making the entire distance, in mid-winter, on foot. A large majority, however, remained until spring as under the terms of the treaty they were allowed to remain in the county until that time. All through the winter and early spring those who remained prepared to leave. They offered their lands for sale at very small figures. In fact many bartered their farms for teams and wagons to get away on. Some traded for any sort of property. Charles R. Ross, of Black Oak, bought 40 acres of good land, north of Breckenridge, for a blind mare and a clock. Some tracts of good land north of Shoul

Creek, in Kidder Township, brought only 50 cents an acre. Many of the Mormons had not yet secured the patents to their lands, and though they had regularly entered them, they could not sell them; the Gentiles would not buy unless they could receive the government's deeds, as well as the grantor's. These kinds of lands were abandoned altogether, in most instances, and afterward settled upon by Gentiles who secured titles by keeping the taxes paid. \* \* \*

"What authority Gen. Lucas had to make such a 'treaty' and to impose such conditions is not clear. It would seem that he regarded the Mormons as composing a foreign nation, or at least as forming an army with belligerent rights, and with proper treaty-contracting powers. The truth was they were and had not ceased to be citizens of Missouri, amenable to and under the jurisdiction of its laws. If they had committed any crime they ought to have been punished, just the same as other criminals. There was no authority for taking their arms from them except that they were proved to be militia in a state of insubordination. There was no sort of authority for requiring them to pay the expenses of the war. There was no sort of authority for requiring them to leave the State. It was monstrously illegal and unjust to attempt to punish them for offenses for which they had not been tried and of which they had not been convicted. It would be a reasonable conclusion that in making his so-called 'treaty' Gen. Lucas was guilty of illegal extortion, unwarranted assumption of power, usurpation of authority, and flagrant violation of the natural rights of man."

It must not be supposed that all the people of Missouri sanctioned the outrages committed against the Church. There was here and there an honorable man who protested against the conduct of the mob and the authorities; and occasionally some newspaper would deplore the action of the people against the Saints.

Among the men who were moved with sympathy by their suffering was Michael Arthur. Under date of Nov. 29, 1838, he wrote to the representatives in the State legislature from Clay County, relating the vile atrocities that were heaped upon the

heads of the defenseless Saints after they had surrendered their arms to General Clark. He represented that the "Mormons" were willing to leave the State, in fact that they were making every effort that their limited means would permit them to make to get away, and suggested that a company of reliable men under the command of George M. Pryer be authorized to patrol on the line between Daviess and Caldwell Counties, with authority to arrest any one they found disturbing the peace, that the "Mormons" might be protected while they were making preparations to leave the State. And if it was impracticable to organize this company of men, then he suggested that the arms taken from the "Mormons" be returned to them, that they might defend themselves from the barbarous attacks of their enemies.

Nor were the Saints wanting in attention to the instructions of the Lord in the matter of petitioning for a redress of their grievances. For as soon as the legislature was convened they sent a statement of all the wrongs heaped upon them during their sojourn in the State of Missouri, from the time they first settled in Jackson County to the treaty forced upon them at Far West by Generals Lucas and Clark, and the outrages that had been committed against them since the surrender of their arms.

After the story of their wrongs, they asked: first, that the legislature pass a law rescinding the exterminating order of Governor Boggs; second, they asked an expression of the legislature, disapproving the conduct of those who compelled them to sign a deed of trust at the point of the musket; and of any man in con-

sequence of that deed of trust taking their property, and appropriating it to the payment of damages sustained, in consequence of trespasses committed by others; third, that they receive payment for the 685 arms that were taken from them, which were worth twelve or fifteen thousand dollars; fourth, that an appropriation be made to reimburse them for their loss of lands from which they had been driven in Jackson County. The petition, which was dated Dec. 10, 1838, closes in these words:

"In laying our case before your honorable body, we say that we are willing, and ever have been, to conform to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and of this State. We ask in common with others the protection of the laws. We ask for the privileges guaranteed to all free citizens of the United States and of this State, to be extended to us, and that we may be permitted to settle and live where we please, and worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience without molestation. And while we ask for ourselves this privilege we are willing all others should enjoy the same."

Elder David H. Redfield was appointed to present this petition to the legislature; and on that mission he arrived at Jefferson City Dec. 16, 1838. The following day he had an interview with Governor Boggs, in which the governor manifested much interest, and on being informed that the Missourians were committing depredations against the Saints, promised to write to Judge King and Colonel Price, ordering them to put down every hostile appearance.

In the course of this conversation Boggs admitted that the "stipulations entered into by the 'Mormons' to leave the State, and signing the deeds of trust, were unconstitutional and not valid." "We want the legislature to pass a law to that effect,

showing that the stipulations and deeds of trust are not valid and are unconstitutional," said Redfield, and went on to say if they did not, the character of the State was forever lost.

Previous to the arrival of Redfield, the governor's exterminating order, General Clark's reports, and the report of the *ex parte* investigation at Richmond, and a lot of other papers had been forwarded to the legislature and referred to a special joint committee. That committee reported Dec. 18th, two days after Redfield's arrival at Jefferson City. And to show in what bad repute these documents were held by this committee, we need only say that it refused to allow them to be published with the sanction of the legislature, because the evidence adduced at Richmond in a great degree was *ex parte* [from one side only] and not of a character to be desired for the basis of a fair and candid investigation. Their report concluded with three resolutions; one to the effect that it was inexpedient at that time to prosecute further the inquiry into the cause of the late disturbances; another to the effect that it was inexpedient to publish any of the documents accompanying the governor's message in relation to those disturbances; the last favored the appointment of a joint committee from the House and Senate to investigate the troubles and the conduct of the military operation to suppress them. These resolutions were subsequently referred to a joint select committee, with instructions to report a bill in conformity thereto.

The day after the committee reported in relation to that part of the governor's message relating to the

"Mormon" troubles, and on the documents accompanying it, the petition from the Saints was read, amid profound stillness of the house, and at its conclusion an angry debate followed, in which quite a number of the members testified to the correctness of the statements made in the petition and to the cruelties practiced upon the Saints, but they were in the minority.

On the 16th of January, 1889, Mr. Turner, the chairman of the select joint committee before alluded to, in conformity with the resolution passed, reported "A bill to provide for the investigation of the late disturbances in the State of Missouri." The bill consisted of 23 sections. It provided for a joint committee composed of two members of the Senate and three members of the House, which was to meet at Richmond on the first Monday in May and thereafter at such time and places as it saw proper. The committee was to select its own officers, issue subpoenas and other processes, administer oaths, keep a record, etc.

This bill was introduced Jan. 16th and on Feb. 4th was called up for its first reading, but on motion of Mr. Wright was laid on the table until the 4th of July. He knew that by that time, since the governor's exterminating order was still in force, the "Mormons," in obedience to that cruel edict, would all have left the State, and then there would be no need of an investigation. That was the fate of the bill. It was never afterwards brought up.

The legislature in its magnanimity appropriated \$2,000 to relieve the sufferings of the people in Daviess and Caldwell Counties, the "Mormons" were to be included. And

now came an opportunity for the Missourians of Daviess County to display their generosity. Having filled their homes with the household effects of the Saints; their yards with the stock they had stolen; their smoke houses with "Mormon" beef and pork, they concluded that they could get along without their portion of the appropriation and allowed the \$2,000 to be distributed among the "Mormons" of Caldwell County. Judge Cameron and a Mr. McHenry superintended the distribution of this appropriation. The hogs owned by the brethren who had lived in Daviess County were driven down into Caldwell, shot down and without further bleeding were roughly dressed and divided out among the Saints at a high price. This and the sweepings of some old stores soon exhausted the legislative appropriation, and amounted to little or nothing in the way of relief to the Saints.

Subsequently this same legislature, while the petition of the Saints for a redress of their wrongs was lying before them, appropriated \$200,000 to defray the expenses incurred in driving the "Mormons" from the State; and dispossessing them of their property. By that act the legislature became a party to the damning deeds of the mob forces, urged on in their cruelties by the executive of the State; for that legislature had sealed with its approval all that had been done, by paying the wretches who had executed the plan that had been devised for the expulsion of the Saints.

#### FAR WEST.

Far West, the Missouri headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1836-1839, and the county seat of Caldwell

County, Missouri, from 1836-1843, was pleasantly situated on rising ground in the western part of the county. The Temple site, which was on the public square in the centre of the town, is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Shoal Creek and the same distance north of Goose Creek, or 3 miles northwest of the junction of these two streams. It is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles in a straight line northwest of where Kingston, the present county seat, now stands,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles northeast of the little town of Mirabile,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles northeast of Polo, on the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Ry., 9 miles southwest of Hamilton and about the same distance southeast of Cameron (Clinton Co.), both on the St. Joseph & Hannibal Ry. It is 4 miles east of the boundary line between Caldwell and Clinton Counties, 8 miles south of the Daviess County southern boundary line, and 10 miles north of the boundary line between Ray and Caldwell Counties. It is also 30 miles in a straight line northwest of Richmond, Ray Co., 35 miles northeast of Liberty, Clay County, 45 miles northeast of Independence, Jackson Co., 40 miles southeast of St. Joseph, on the Missouri River, and 150 miles southwest of Quincy, Ill., on the Mississippi River. The municipal name of the township in which Far West was located is Mirabile.

The original town site of Far West was a mile square, and the numbers of the land comprising the original plat were the southwest quarter of Section 11, southeast quarter of Section 10, northeast quarter of Section 15 and northwest quarter of Section 14, all in Township 56, Range 29. Subsequently the town was extended so as to contain all of Sections 11, 10, 15 and 14, making the city plat

just two miles square. (See page 692.)

The site of Far West was selected by W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer, constituting an exploring committee sent out by the Saints in Clay County to find a new location where they could live in peace. The committee came out in the summer of 1836, rode for several days through the territory now embraced in Caldwell, Clinton and Daviess Counties, and finally made choice of the prairie between Shoal Creek and Goose Creek, where Far West subsequently was built. The town site was entered Aug. 8, 1836; the north half was entered in the name of W. W. Phelps and the south half in the name of John Whitmer, but these two brethren merely held the land in trust for the Church. In the following month (September, 1838) the Saints commenced to pour in from Clay County, and soon a village of respectable proportions sprang up where the wild prairie grass waved tall and luxuriant. In the centre of the town a large public square was laid off approached by four main roads running east and west, north and south, each 132 feet wide. All the other streets were  $82\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and they, as well as the four principal avenues, crossed each other at right angles, forming blocks 396 feet square (containing four acres) divided into four lots each.

"Nearly all the first houses in Far West," says the History of Caldwell County, "were log cabins. In a few months, however, some frames were built, a portion of the lumber being brought from lower Ray, and a portion being whip-sawed. Perhaps the first house was built by one Ormsby; this was in the summer of 1836. It

is said that John Whitmer's house was built Jan. 19, 1837. In the fall of 1836, a large and comfortable school house was built, and here courts were held after the location of the county seat until its removal to Kingston. The Mormons very early gave attention to educational matters. There were many teachers among them and school houses were among their first buildings. The school house in Far West was used as a church, as a town hall and as a court-house, as well as for a school house. It first stood in the southwest quarter of town, but upon the establishment of the county seat it was removed to the centre of the square."

In the summer of 1837 some non-members of the Church expressed a desire to establish saloons in the growing town, and endeavored to induce some of the brethren to sell intoxicants on commission for them, but the High Council at a meeting held Jan. 11, 1837, resolved not to sustain any persons as members of the Church who would become retailers of spirituous liquors. Consequently the liquor business was dropped. At this time there were about one hundred buildings in Far West, eight of which were stores.

April 26, 1838, in a revelation given through the Prophet Joseph in Far West, the Lord said:

"Let the city, Far West, be a holy and consecrated land unto me, and it shall be called most holy, for the ground upon which thou standest is holy; therefore I command you to build an house unto me, for the gathering together of my Saints, that they may worship me; and let there be a beginning of this work, and a foundation, and a preparatory work, this following summer; and let the beginning be made on the 4th day of July next, and from that time forth let my people labor diligently to build an house unto my name, and in one year from this

day let them recommence laying the foundation of my house. Thus let them from that time forth labor diligently until it shall be finished, from the corner stone thereof unto the top thereof, until there shall not any thing remain that is not finished. \*

\* \* \* And again, verily I say unto you, it is my will that the city of Far West should be built up speedily by the gathering of my Saints, and also that other places should be appointed for Stakes in the regions round about, as they shall be manifest unto my servant Joseph, from time to time."

During that year (1838) a number of other revelations were given through Joseph the Prophet, in Far West, concerning the building up of that place, the order of the Church, etc. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 114, 117, 118, 119 and 120.)

"In the summer of 1838," says the history of Caldwell County, "there were 150 houses in Far West. There were 4 dry goods stores, 8 family groceries, half a dozen blacksmith shops and 2 hotels. The latter were kept by John Whitmer and Warmesley. A printing press and material were in the place. \* \* \*

"In the summer of 1837, preparations were begun for the building of a Temple in the centre of the town. The excavation for the cellar under the prospective structure, 120 by 80 feet in area, and 5 feet in depth, was made in about half a day, more than 500 men being employed in the work, with no other implements for loosening the dirt than mattocks and spades, and with no other means of removing it than hand-barrows. The corner stones of the Temple were laid soon after, but the exact date has been controverted. Some accounts fix it on July 4, 1837, on the celebration of Independence Day, but Switzler and others deny this. The Mormon records at Salt Lake show and conclusively prove that they were laid July 4, 1838.

"But little else was done, however, than to lay the corner stones and dig the foundation. A few loads of stone were hauled up and yet lie scattered about the excavation, which is still plain to be seen. Storm clouds arose on the horizon, and the leaders, by the advice of the 'Prophet,' forbore to expend any more labor and means upon the Temple until the signs were more promising, and it should be reasonably certain that they should hold it and worship in it permanently.

"Upon the departure of the Mormons, in 1839, many of the houses in Far West were either torn down or hauled away into the country and used for farm and dwelling houses. The town, however, continued to be the county seat until 1848. The first house in Kingston after the town was laid off was removed from Far West by Walter A. Doak. Upon the removal of the county seat the town gradually sank into insignificance and dwindled away. The post office, which was established in the fall of 1836, was continued for many years. The cemetery west of the town, gradually fell into disuse and decay, and now (1886) is a corn field.

"At this writing, the one mile square which formerly composed the town site of Far West is cut up into fine fertile farms. The excavation for the Temple is still to be seen at almost its original depth. A few of the stones, intended originally for the Temple's foundation, lie scattered about and are occasionally chipped by relic hunters. Jacob Whitmer, a son of John Whitmer—who, with W. W. Phelps, located the old town—owns the northeast quarter of the town and the Temple site. The house in which Joseph Smith

once lived, which stood 200 yards southwest of the Temple foundation, was recently torn down and the logs used in building a stable(?). It was a small story-and-a-half building, of logs, with a large stone chimney."

The last important event connecting Far West with the history of the Church, is the secret conference held on the Temple site early in the morning of April 26, 1889, in fulfillment of a revelation about which the mobbers had said that if all the other revelations of Joseph Smith were fulfilled that one should not be, as it had place and date to it. (See page 467.)

Elder L. O. Littlefield, who visited Far West a short time after the Saints had left it, in the spring of 1839, describes the deserted town as follows:

"That town site—Far West—and as far as the eye could extend over the rolling prairie, towards the four points of the compass—was not marked by a single habitation for the abode of man, when our people halted their wagons and pitched their tents there in 1836. But, within the short period of their residence, the scene had been transformed, as if by the hand of magic, and small towns, settlements and farm-houses, with their accompanying improvements, heightened the broad and dappled beauty of the undulating landscape, exhibiting evidences of the industry and skill of the hunted and ever toiling "Mormon" people. A short time previous, I had looked over this romantic region with pride, hope and inspiring joy; but now with emotions of sadness, despondence and grief. Wherever I turned, loneliness and desolation were unbroken by any feature calculated to awaken cheerfulness or mollify the tendency to despondence. My people were not there! They had left their homes empty and desolate—all save a few, and they were struggling to prepare for the dreary journey. The houses, nearly all, were in the midst of stillness—save the sweet melody of birds, which fell upon my ear like a requiem dirge. No ax-men were in the enclosures or groves; no curling smoke arose from the chimneys, indicative of bright firesides and tempting repasts; the voices of bleating lambs and lowing herds sent forth no echoes upon the

ambient air; no, not even the barking of the faithful watch-dog broke the monotonous silence. At that time, what was missed more than all else, were the voices of the loved ones which had saluted me in the past. Their cheerful music was hushed and the melody of their Sabbath orisons no more sent up anthems of praise into the ears of the God of Sabbath. Alas, where were they all? The forms of those early associates, those trustworthy young men, and the rosy cheeked bebies of happy girls—once so vivacious and merry-hearted—indeed, where were they? Once we mingled there, in life's halcyon prime; but now I walked alone, and the happy past lived but in memory. The aged, also, with gray heads and bent forms; the mother, with the suckling babe, and the father with his group of plodding boys—all, all, had left, and at that hour were on the weary march, exiled and cast out from the homes their hands had built, and from the streets they had surveyed and converted into thoroughfares for enterprise and traffic. In the midst of those scenes, endeared by so many tender memories, I felt as a stranger, and almost as an intruder; for why should I be there, and they, the owners, ejected and driven away? That hour, though peculiar, was full of interest, as the past and future were contemplated."

Elder B. H. Roberts, who visited the old Far West site in 1885, gives the following description of it in his article on the Missouri Persecutions, published in the *Contributor*:

"The town site of Far West is the highest swell in that high rolling prairie country, visible from a long distance. Standing last summer on what used to be the public square of Far West, I obtained an excellent view of all the surrounding country. Vast fields of waving corn and meadow land were stretched out on all sides, as far as the eye could see. Several towns and villages, with their white church-spires gleaming in the sun-light, were in plain view, though from five to ten miles distant. Away to the east is Kingston, the present county seat of Caldwell; further to the northeast is Breckenridge, Hamilton and Kidder; to the northwest is Cameron; southeast is the quaint village of Polo and nearly due south the little town of Mirabile. All these places are within easy vision from the site of Far West, and increase the grandeur of the scene. The situation chosen for Far West, is the finest location for a city in the county, but notwithstanding all the advantages of the

location, Far West has been abandoned. In the fall of 1838, it was a thriving town of some three thousand inhabitants, but to-day nothing remains except the house of the Prophet Joseph, now owned by D. F. Kerr, and one portion of the Whitmer Hotel, now used as a stable. This is all that remains of the buildings at Far West, erected by the hands of the Saints. A few farm houses have since been built in the vicinity, and a quarter of a mile from the public square stands a neat, white church, owned by the Methodists, I was informed. Nothing but an excavation, 110 feet by 80, enclosed in an old field, with a large rough, unhewn stone in each corner, now marks the spot that was once the pretentious public square of Far West. This excavation was made July 3, 1837, and was intended for a basement to the Temple the Saints expected to erect there. \* \* \* Standing on this consecrated ground, and the few viewing relics that are left, as if to remind us that the Saints once lived here, one naturally falls into a gloomy reverie. It is true we are not surrounded by the fallen columns of ruined Temples; or the ruins of splendid palaces, or massive walls, such as one would meet with at Babylon, Jerusalem, Rome, or Athens; it is not the ruins of an antique or celebrated civilization that inspires our gloomy reverie over Far West. There we sit in the midst of the ruined prospects and blighted hopes of the Saints, instead of in the midst of broken columns, ponderous arches and crumbling walls. The chief interest about Far West is that it was the theatre where was enacted those scenes, which forever shall be a blot upon the fair fame of the State of Missouri and the United States."

Crosby Jackson, in his history of Caldwell County, says:

"If that strange people who built Nauvoo and Salt Lake, who uncomplainingly toiled across the American desert, and made the wilderness of Utah to bloom like a garden, had been permitted to remain and perfect the work which they had begun here, how different would have been the history of Far West! Instead of being a farm with scarcely sufficient ruins to mark the spot where it once stood, there would have been a rich, populous city, along the streets of which would be pouring the wealth of the world; and instead of an old dilapidated farm house, there would have been magnificent Temples to which the devout Saints from the further corners of the world would have made their yearly pilgrimage."



## DAVIESS COUNTY, MISSOURI.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Daviess County, Missouri, the temporary home of quite a number of Saints in 1838, lies immediately north of Caldwell County, and the topographical features of the two counties are nearly alike. Daviess is 24 miles square and comprises 576 square miles or 368,640 acres of land, of which 359,817 acres are subject to taxation and cultivation. About two-fifths of the area consists of timber land and three-fifths of prairie. Its timber lands are rich in every variety of growth and its prairies are beautifully rolling and with a drainage almost perfect. The wild grasses grow luxuriantly, and wild fruits are numerous and grow in reckless profusion. The wild grape and plum are found in abundance, but all this is giving way to cultivated orchards, meadows of timothy and blue grass pasturage. One great feature of the uniting of timber and prairie is that it is so diversified in its range over the county, that there is not a farm which cannot have its supply of woodland, as well as prairie. The Grand River, one of the principal rivers of Missouri, runs diagonally from the northwest to the southeast corner of the county, and has almost its entire length, beautifully sloping banks; the bottom lands have no superior in richness and productive qualities. There are many rich valleys lying along the banks of the different streams irregular in form, but rich in all that makes a farm valuable and home life comfortable. It is this topographical feature of the county, with its undulating surface, its perfection of drainage and its al-

titude high above malarial influences, which gives to Daviess County her greatest charm. A life-giving and invigorating atmosphere makes life enjoyable and home pleasant there.

The soil is very fertile; the chief products of the county is Indian corn, oats, wheat, potatoes, fruits, butter, wool, pork and live stock. Its manufacturing consists of flour and lumber mills, wool-carding establishments, etc.

The southwestern branch of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Ry., passes through the county from southwest to northeast, and the Wabash line passes through from northwest to southeast, following the general direction of Grand River. These two trunk lines, owned and operated by rival corporations, give active competition for the carrying traffic of the county.

In 1840 Daviess County had 2,736 inhabitants; in 1850, 5,298; in 1860, 9,606 and in 1870, 14,410. In 1880 the county had 19,145 inhabitants, distributed in the various townships as follows:

Benton Township.....	1,875
Colfax Township.....	1,167
Grand River Township.....	1,652
Harrison Township.....	756
Jackson Township.....	1,506
Jamesport Township.....	1,369
Jefferson Township.....	1,372
Liberty Township.....	968
Lincoln Township.....	846
Marion Township.....	1,520
Monroe Township.....	869
Salem Township.....	962
Sheridan Township.....	967
Union Township.....	2,332
Washington Township.....	945

The five principal towns of Daviess County are: Gallatin, the county seat, with a population in 1880 of 1,141; Jamesport with 608; Jameson wit

405; Pattonsburg with 399, and Winston with 304 inhabitants.

#### HISTORY.

Up to 1830 that part of Missouri which now comprises Daviess County was the undisturbed home of the Indians—a home with which they were loth to part, and which for years afterwards they continued to visit and occupy as hunting ground. "It was a migratory field for the restless buffalo; the elk and the bear roamed its wooded hills; the deer and the wild turkey made it their home; the valleys and the uplands were filled with smaller game; fish sported in the cool, pellucid waters of the rivers and creeks; and in shady nooks and near bubbling springs the aborigines built their wigwams. It was a paradise for the hunter, and the red man was the lord of all."

In the spring of 1880 the first white settlers trod the soil of what is now Daviess County. Hunters and trappers had plied their vocations through this Grand River country as early as 1826, but no log cabin reared its front until the spring of the year above mentioned. It was a grand country for game and wild honey, and venturesome spirits passed to and fro ere the Indians had ceased to be jealous of the encroachments of the whites. The first man who raised his cabin within Daviess County was John Splawn, and with him was his son, Mayberry Splawn. The cabin was erected near the spot where the Rock Island depot now stands, but was soon after removed to what was known as Splawn's Ridge, about three miles east of Gallatin, and near what afterward became the town of Millport, and just south of the site of that old but now plowed up town. They came

in January, 1830. Who built the second cabin has not been determined, but it probably was raised soon after the above date. The third cabin in Daviess County was put up by John Tarwater, who settled on Section 84, in Township 59 of Range 27, just above the mouth of Honey Creek. Stephen Roberts settled the same month. These men were the first settlers in the county and came in January and February, 1830, followed by Daniel Devaul and others in April of the same year.

Quite a number of other settlers came in 1831. Among them were Josiah and Jesse Morin, who settled what afterwards became Millport and were merchants there. That year also, Robert P. Peniston, sen., a Kentuckian, settled in Daviess County, and built the first house in Millport. His only grown up son, Wm. P. Peniston (who afterwards became so notorious for his persecutions of the Saints), and a negro by the name of Jake, put up the house. Robert P. Peniston also built the first mill in the county. In 1834 Adam Black, who subsequently took an active part in bringing trouble upon the Saints, settled in Jamesport Township, together with several others.

During the Black Hawk war of 1831-1833, most of the settlers abandoned their homes in Daviess County and went southward, but nearly all returned after peace was restored. New settlers also came in, and a town began to make an appearance around the site of what afterwards became Peniston's Mill and later Millport.

The life of the settlers of 1830 to December, 1836, when Daviess County was organized as an independent

municipal corporation, was a season of many privations and hardships. Up to that time Daviess was a part of Ray County, and under its civil jurisdiction the pioneer pre-empted and staked his claim, but the county was not surveyed until the winter of 1836-1837, and was not open to entry until 1838.

The history of Daviess County, published in 1882 by Birdsall and Dean (a Kansas City firm), in commenting upon early life in that part of the country, says:

"The pioneer erected his cabin upon his claim and the neighbors came from miles around to help him. They gave him the right hand of fellowship and a warm welcome, and the new settler felt at home at once. The latch-string hung on the outside, and what the cabin had was at the command of the traveler or neighbor. Corn was their principal article of food, and the wild game furnished the meat for the family. A cow was generally secured, and the pioneer then was happy as well as rich. Store goods were not often seen. Dressed deer skins served for the men's clothing, and moccasins for their feet. The pioneer's wife did the making, and spun and wove the home-made cotton for herself and daughters. Eight yards were sufficient, and a dress would last for a year or two. Sometimes a piece of gingham found its way west, but few had the wealth to purchase such costly material. An extra quality and color of homespun was the general Sunday meeting dress of the women of that day, and when the men wanted to put on style, they purchased an article of cloth called Kentucky jeans. But the dress of deer skin and a coon skin cap was all the rage in those early days for solid wear. The cabin, with either a puncheon or earthen floor, and chairs and table, was the regulation style. The fireplace took up nearly one end of the cabin, and the chimney was made of sticks and the best Daviess County mud. Now and then a cup of coffee, sweetened with honey, the product of a lucky find in the shape of a bee-tree; a juicy venison steak, or a piece of turkey, and corn-bread made of cracked or mashed corn, composed the steady weekday and Sunday diet of the old pioneer.

"The first few years, before Millport had either a habitation or a name, it was a pretty serious affair to 'go to store.' The store was

situated down on the river, at either Richmond, Liberty, Platte City or St. Joseph, and the customers came from the northern wilds of Ray County. The old pioneer loaded his ox-wagon, and with a little honey, a few venison hams, deer, mink and coon skins, and 'such kind of truck,' started in the fall for one of these far distant towns to lay in his winter supply. To go and return, the distance was from 160 to 180 miles to travel, and part of the way the roads were not all a traveler could wish for. There were 'slow' places found and here and there a hole without a bottom, but when they couldn't go around them they took their chances and went through some way. The purchases consisted of a little coffee and tea, perhaps a calico dress, some flour for company, and a jug to meet the spirit of any joyful occasion that might arise, or for a medicinal dose to benefit a deranged system. The historian will mention right here that the latter article was not used in those days for intoxicating purposes. The old pioneer was the advance-guard of civilization, but he left it to a later, and by some called a more cultured era, to introduce whisky as a beverage, and to furnish to this higher type of civilization the 'common drunkard.'

"A few years later these trips paid a little something beside expenses. Merchants made their wholesale purchases at the same towns, and the settlers hauled these goods back at the rate of sixty cents per one hundred pounds. Thus loading both ways and paying them something for the trip.

"Settlers flowed in and the year 1834 found many new-comers. Those who came in 1831 felt as though they were living in a populous country. Miles between cabins had been greatly reduced, and 'raising-bees' were becoming common and were greatly enjoyed. A new-comer cut the logs for his cabin, hauled them to the ground ready to put up, and then the neighbors came from miles around, and the way that cabin went up in a square shape, capped with weight-poles, was a 'caution to slow coaches.' And they sang at their work:

"Our cabins are made of logs of wood,  
 "The floors are made of puncheon,  
 "The roof is held by weight-poles,  
 "And then we 'hang off' for luncheon.

"This was followed by a 'swig from the little brown jug' kept especially for the occasion, and then with a hearty shake of the hand and a 'wish you well' the neighbors left the new-comer to put on the finishing touches to his cabin himself. And this was a 'raising-bee' in the olden times."

By an act passed by the Missouri

legislature and approved Dec. 26, 1836, Daviess County was first created; Caldwell County was organized at the same time. (See page 689.) The first election in Daviess County was held at the house of Elijah Frost, April 29, 1837. The first circuit court in the county was held in the log house of Elisha B. Creekmore, one mile from where the court-house of Gallatin now stands. Court opened in July, 1837, Judge Austin A. King presiding, and Thomas C. Burch acting as prosecuting attorney. Daviess County was then a part of the Fifth Judicial Circuit.

In 1837 the Saints, who were fast filling up Caldwell County on the south, began to extend their settlements into Daviess County, but it was not until the summer of 1838 that they located there in large numbers. The history of Daviess County, in speaking about those "Mormon" settlers, says: "It is but just to say that they (the Mormons) were an industrious, agricultural people, or at least that portion of them who located in the country round about the 'Stakes,' as these settlements (Far West, Adam-ondi-Ahman and De Witt) were called by them."

James M. Hunt, in his "History of the Mormon War," says:

"Early in 1837 Daviess County began to have an influx of Mormon immigrants. Their settlements were mainly south of Grand River. They had one settlement on Lick Fork, near the Weldon Settlement. Here a Mormon by the name of Bosley, and a widow by the name of Ives, besides others whose names are not remembered, settled. This part of the country, which is now Harrison Township, up to this time was being settled principally by Kentuckians. \* \* \* Further up the river and in what is now Monroe Township, the Mormons formed another settlement—this was on Marrowbone and Honey Creeks, close to

where Uncle Hardin Stone then lived. Here Perry Dufley, Roswell Stevens, Henry Belt, the Daleys, and John D. Lee, settled, and others also came in, whose names are not remembered.

It would be well to state here that at this time all the lands in Daviess County, excepting Colfax Township, were subject to pre-emption, not having as yet been brought into market. Colfax Township had been surveyed at the same time Ray and Caldwell Counties were, and was therefore in market. Here another settlement of Mormons was made, composed principally of a better class who were able to purchase their lands and improve them.

"Elijah Groves, a Mormon preacher, entered the land and settled the place on which Benny Rowell died. Levi Taylor entered and settled the lands on which old Uncle John Castor died, and John Freeman settled a part of the same lands. A man by the name of Swartwout entered land now owned by Robert Castor; James Bingham entered lands now owned by Squire Kelso and Gurney Brothers. The old man Woodland settled the lands on which Madison J. Benson now lives. John L. Butler settled on the ridge north of John Castor's. Charles McGee entered and settled the lands now owned by E. Kuhns and M. W. Young. \* \* \* There were other Mormon families in this settlement.

"Another settlement (Adam-ondi-Ahman) was made on Grand River just below the mouth of South Big Creek. \* \* \* Lyman Wight and other Mormon notables settled here. \* \* \* Other Mormon families were scattered here and there over the county, but these were the only settlements. Excepting the settlement in Colfax Township, the Mormons were generally of the poorer class, in many instances not having a team with which to cultivate their lands, while on the other hand the Missourians, the then settlers of Daviess County, were generally men who were in good circumstances, the most of them having large herds of horses running on the prairies, and so kindly disposed were they toward the Mormons that they permitted them to go to their herds and select any animal they chose, with which to cultivate their fields, furnishing them with provisions to be returned only when they (the Mormons) had succeeded in raising enough for themselves."

The first power of attorney recorded in Daviess County was one bearing date of Oct. 3, 1838, and ex-

executed by Levi Taylor and Ann Taylor, his wife, both Latter-day Saints. It authorized Abram O. Smoot (now President of the Utah Stake of Zion) "to obtain possession of a certain lot of negro men and women," the property of parties named.

The first deed recorded in Daviess County was one executed by Francis C. Case and Mary Case (witnessed by W. W. Phelps and W. Waterman Phelps), conveying "the southwest quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 13, Township 58, Range 29, containing 40 acres more or less; and also the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of Section 13, Township 58 of Range 49, containing 40 acres," to Elisha H. Groves, a member of the Church, for a consideration of \$2,060. This deed is dated Jan. 13, 1838.

The first marriage certificate recorded in Daviess County was filed by a Latter-day Saint and reads as follows:

"I, Elisha H. Groves, a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, hereby certify that I solemnized the bonds of matrimony between Enoch Riggs and Ann Littlefield, both of the county of Daviess and State of Missouri, on the 27th day of May, 1838. As given under my hand this 21st day of August, 1838. ELISHA H. GROVES.

"R. WILSON, Recorder."

As the history of the persecutions of the Saints in and their final expulsion from Daviess County is given in connection with the history of Caldwell County and in the article on *Adam-ondi-Ahman* (page 45-48), we will here only make a few extracts from the above mentioned history of Daviess County, in which the author says:

"The first outbreak (of difficulties between the Saints and the Missourians) was at an election in August, 1838. (See page 598.) The Mormons were in favor of John A. Williams for sheriff and William P. Pen-

iston was indorsed by the Missourians. The latter, it must be admitted, began the row. A man by the name of Richard Weldon first commenced to abuse a Mormon preacher and finally knocked him down. The blow was uncalled for, but it seems there were a few rough characters in favor of a fight and they got it. The Mormons rushed for a pile of stakes, and grabbing these they made a vigorous onslaught. There was one man stabbed with a knife and some twenty or twenty-five others pretty badly hurt, but none were killed. The Mormons at Far West heard that a large number of their people had been killed, and they came over two hundred strong to look into the matter. This trouble laid the foundation for the succeeding troubles, and the people refused to live quietly with the Mormons around. Adam Black, who lived in what was then Grand River Township, now Jamesport, and who was a justice of the peace, made a statement under oath, before John Wright and Elijah Foley, fellow justices, that Joseph Smith and others to the number of 154, exacted from him about Aug. 8, 1838, a written promise to support the Constitution of the United States and of this State, and not to support a mob, nor attach himself to any mob, nor to molest the Mormons. To answer this charge, Smith, Wight and others were arrested and recognized to appear for trial. Other disturbances followed and a deputation of citizens from this county (Daviess) called for assistance. Major-General David R. Atchison, at the head of a portion of the 3rd division of militia numbering about one thousand men, came to the scene of troubles, and found the Mormons and citizens in battle array and dispersed both parties, and reported to the governor that no further depredation was to be feared from the Mormons.

"At this time disturbances also occurred in Caldwell and Carroll Counties. The citizens determined to drive the Mormons out of the State; the Mormons refused to go. Representatives from Daviess County informed General Atchison, on Sept. 10th, that they held a Mormon prisoner in custody, and that the Mormons held John Comer, William McHoney and Allen Miller, prisoners, as hostages. Certain citizens and Mormons of Carroll County petitioned the governor from De Witt, stating the committal of lawless acts against them, among which was an order to leave the country, giving them until Oct. 1st, and they asked interference and relief. This petition was dated Sept. 22, 1838.

"The appearance of the soldiers, ordered

by the governor to look after the trouble in Daviess County, was always met by the Mormons with every appearance of peaceful intentions on their part. They were the ones that were in trouble, not the Gentiles. All the reports to the governor, from Generals Parks, Atchison and Doniphan was to the effect that the Mormons were peaceable and had no hostile intentions.

"Hostile feeling, however, culminated rapidly. The citizens, in the absence of the military, gathered their forces together over in Carroll County and on the night of Oct. 1, 1838, invested De Witt, the Mormons asking for protection and acting on the defense. They reported, also, that a portion of their assailants were on the march to Daviess County with one piece of artillery, and General Atchison wrote that nothing 'but the strongest measures within the power of the executive will put down this spirit of mobocracy.' This was in the month of October.

"The Mormons resisted, and in their turn plundered the store of Jacob Stollings in Gallatin, removed the goods and burned the store and other buildings in Gallatin and Millport. Many brutal acts were committed on both sides. \* \* \* The citizens were now in dead earnest, and the Mormons equally so. It was war and the destruction of property on both sides, and Governor Boggs issued orders to General John B. Clark, placing him in command of the forces necessary, with instructions that he was in receipt of information of the most appalling nature, 'which entirely changed the face of things, the Mormons being in armed defiance of the laws, that they must be treated as enemies, and be exterminated or driven from the State if necessary for the public peace—their outrages are beyond all description.' (See page 705.)

"In obedience to this order General Clark, associated with General Lucas, proceeded to the seat of war, and, without much resistance, disbanded the armed forces of the Mormons, received their arms and took Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Hyrum Smith and fifty other leading Mormons prisoners, to be tried on various charges—high treason against the State, murder, burglary, arson, robbery and larceny. These men were examined before Austin A. King, then judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit of which Daviess County was a part, at the session of the court in November, 1838, at Richmond, Ray County. At this examination some were discharged for lack of evidence, but Joseph Smith, (Sidney Rigdon,) Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Alexander McRae

and Caleb Baldwin were held for trial and committed to the Clay County jail. It was for guarding these men that Daviess County had to pay the jailers \$480. Not, however, until the justice of the claim had been decided by the court in session in Caldwell County. The property taken by the Mormons was returned by them, and the war was at an end.

"The Mormons began leaving at once, and continued until all were gone except a few who gave up their associates rather than their property and who had friends among the citizens. Many sold out for what they could get, others left being unable to sell at all. Their leaders were prisoners, their means of defense as well as offense were taken from them, and the order of the governor caused some twelve thousand of them to be driven from the State. The official statement of the number killed and wounded on both sides in this Mormon war was officially stated as 'forty Mormons killed and several wounded, and one citizen killed and fifteen badly wounded.' Messrs. Smith, Rigdon, Wight and other comrades in jail at Liberty took a change of venue to Boone County, and the Daviess County officers started with the prisoners to their destination in Boone County. Some of the prisoners having no horses, William Bowman, the first sheriff of Daviess County, furnished the prisoners three, and they left in the charge of William Morgan, the sheriff of the county. The sheriff alone returned on horseback, the guard, who accompanied him, returning on foot or 'riding and tying' by turns. The sheriff reported that the prisoners had all escaped in the night taking the horses with them, and that a search made for them proved unavailing. The people of Gallatin were greatly exercised and they disgraced themselves by very ruffianly conduct. They rode the sheriff on a rail, and Bowman was dragged over the square by the hair of his head. The men guilty of these dastardly acts accused the sheriff, Morgan, and ex-sheriff, Bowman, of complicity in the escape of the Mormon leaders; that Bowman furnished the horses and that Morgan allowed them to escape, and both got well paid for their treachery. The truth of history compels us to state that the charges were never sustained by any evidence adduced by the persons who committed this flagrant act of mob law. The prisoners arrived safely on the Illinois shore and there they are left to again found a city (Nauvoo, Illinois), and to be once more driven from the land of their adoption. Joseph and Hyrum Smith were afterwards killed by an

Illinois m<sup>o</sup>b, June 27, 1844, and two years later the Mormons were expelled from that State, and, under the leadership of Brigham Young, made their home on the banks of the Great Salt Lake, and Utah became their Eden, and is still their home."

With the exception of the statement in regard to the house-burning in Gallatin and Millport by the "Mormons," the above extracts are in the main correct.

#### GALLATIN.

Gallatin, the county seat of Daviess County, "is situated upon a portion of the highest ground in the county, and surrounded on all sides by a range of highlands, thickly studded with timber on three sides, while on the south and southwest is seen a beautiful landscape of high and rolling prairie, dotted here and there with residences, orchards and shady groves. It lies west and southwest of the Grand River, about one mile from the latter point, and is laid out upon a succession of hills, with intervening ravines, and covers about three-fourths of a section of land." It is 4½ miles south of the Iowa State line, 455 miles from Chicago, 252 miles from St. Louis and 72 miles from Kansas City. It is also 60 miles northeast of Liberty, Clay Co., about 50 miles north of Richmond, Ray Co., and the same distance northeast of St. Joseph.

Gallatin was first settled in 1837. On Sept. 18th of that year the town-site was laid off and its metes and bounds given. In December following the site was surveyed into blocks and lots. The first sale of town lots took place Jan. 8, 1838; one of the first houses built was the store of Jacob S. Stollings, and during the year (1838) about half a dozen cabins were built altogether. These were all, with but one exception,

burned during the "Mormon" difficulties in October, 1838. The first election in Gallatin took place Aug. 6, 1838. It was on that occasion that the difficulties commenced between the Missourians and the Saints in Daviess County. (See page 592.)

Another event which brings Gallatin into some degree of prominence in Church history is the mock trial held over Joseph Smith and his fellow-prisoners in April, 1838, when they had succeeded in getting a change of venue from Clay to Daviess County. (See page 459.) In relation to this trial the history of Hancock County says:

"The circuit court met in April, 1839, and at this time came up the Mormon difficulty. On the second day of the session the grand jury brought in the following indictments, and prompt action was taken in their cases. It was this taking a change of venue by all the defendants to Boone County, which resulted finally in their escape from William Morgan, then sheriff, and his guard, who took charge of the prisoners to convey them to the Boone County jail. (See page 460.) And it was that escape which so incensed the people of Gallatin against the sheriff when he reported their escape, that caused the said sheriff to be rode on a rail, and William Bowman, the first sheriff, who had furnished the Mormons horses, to be dragged around the public square by the hair of his head and otherwise maltreated. The following were the persons indicted, all being Mormons, and what crime the indictments charged them with. The grand jury returned into court and presented the following indictments:

"The State of Missouri vs. Joseph Smith, jun., et al., indictment for riot.

"The State of Missouri vs. Caleb Baldwin et al., indictment for arson.

"The State of Missouri vs. Caleb Baldwin et al., indictment for burglary.

"The State of Missouri vs. Joseph Smith, jun., Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin et al., indictment for treason.

"The State of Missouri vs. Joseph Smith, jun., Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin and Alexander McRae, indictment for treason.

"The judge of this court having been counsel in this cause; and the parties herein

not consenting to a trial thereof in this court; but the said defendants, Joseph Smith, jun., Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin and Alexander McRae, objecting thereto, for the reason that the judge of this court has been of counsel in this cause: It is ordered by the court here that said cause, as to the said Joseph Smith, jun., Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin and Alexander McRae, be removed to the circuit court of the county of Boone, in the Second Judicial Circuit, in this State. It is further ordered by the court here that the sheriff of the county of Daviess do, and he is commanded, to remove the bodies of the said Joseph Smith, jun., Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Caleb Baldwin and Alexander McRae to the jail of the county of Boone aforesaid, and there deliver them to the keeper of said jail, together with the warrant or process by which they are imprisoned or held."

Gallatin was incorporated as a city in 1857, but its growth was slow until 1870, when the first railway was built through Daviess County. Its population in 1860 was but 448, and in 1870 about 600. During the last few years Gallatin has more than doubled in population, and nearly all the fine substantial brick buildings, which now adorn the city, have been erected during the last 15 years.

#### ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN.

The site selected May 19, 1838, by the Prophet Joseph and a number of other brethren for the building of a city, to be called Adam-ondi-Ahman, consisted of four sections of land—two miles square, lying on both sides of Grand River—namely Sections 25 and 36, in Range 28, and Sections 30 and 31, in Range 27, all in Township 60. Shortly afterwards the town site was surveyed. (See pages 45-48 and 438.) The remains of the ancient altar mentioned in the history of Joseph Smith (see page 438) are yet to be found on the top of the hill, about two hundred yards east of the old Lyman Wight residence in the southwest quarter of

Section 30. It is about 5 miles northwest of Gallatin, on the north side of Grand River. The notorious Adam Black, who acted so treacherously to the Prophet Joseph and his brethren in 1838, was the original settler on the northeast corner of Section 30. He settled there in 1834, but sold out his claim to Vinson Knight before the difficulties (See page 441.) The history of Daviess County says: "Di-Amon (Adam-ondi-Adman) was laid off by the Mormons in acre lots and extended two miles square. It had a few permanent buildings, of which but one remains, and is now occupied by Sarah McDonald, widow of the late Major McDonald; this house was originally built for Lyman Wight. At the time the Mormons surrendered there were many temporary buildings, generally covered with rawhide. After the Mormons were driven from Di-Amon, Dr. John Cravens established a new town within the limits of the old one and called it Cravensville. This place for a long time disputed with Gallatin for the county seat; and when there were only 280 taxpayers in the county, 93 petitioned for the removal of the seat of justice to Cravensville, but the petition was rejected by the county court. This town at one time had ten or twelve dwelling-houses, a number of stores and about sixty inhabitants."

#### MILLPORT,

A town mentioned in Church history as the headquarters of the mob who drove the Saints from their homes in Daviess County in 1838-39, was located on what is now known as the Stephen Smith farm, at a point three miles due east of Gallatin, across Grand River, and between that stream and Big Muddy Creek,



on Section 23, Township 59 of Range 27. The municipal name of the township is Union. The distance between Millport and Adam-on-di-Ahman, both on the east side of Grand River, was about seven miles.

Millport was first settled in 1831; it was the first town in Daviess County, and up to 1837 the only one. Among its first settlers was Robert P. Peniston, who built a horse mill there, and laid it off as a town in 1836. It took its name from Peniston's mill, the only place where the pioneers of Daviess County could obtain meal or flour nearer than Richmond, or Liberty, Clay County.

"Going to Liberty, after meal," says the history of Daviess County, "or to pour the corn in a hole burned into a log and pound it, was rather up-hill work, so that the enterprise of Robert P. Peniston in putting up a corn-mill was viewed with delight. When that mill was finished it changed the whole aspect of the country. The cars of this day were not hailed with more joy or looked upon as advancing the interests of the people more than that corn-mill. Not only that, but the town of Millport came into life when that mill was completed. Josiah Morrin and his brother opened the first general store. John A. Williams is reported to have opened the first grocery store. Lomax & Jacobs kept a general store; so also did Worthington & Co. \* \* \* Milford Donaho, an expert rifle shot and mechanic, had his blacksmith shop there, the first in the county, and this was the way Millport, the first town within

the limits of Daviess County, started. It became noted for miles around. The old settlers who lived nearly as far east as the line of Sullivan County came to this mill to grind their corn and do their trading, and Millport flourished."

The first post office in Daviess County was opened at Millport in the fall of 1835, but after the location of the county seat at Gallatin, the office was moved to that town.

In 1835-37 Millport was the centre of a large trade, and contained, when at the height of its glory, ten dwelling-houses, three stores, a grocery, blacksmith shop, horse-mill, post office, etc. It was at the time of its existence the largest settlement of Daviess County, but in the summer of 1837 it received its death-blow by Gallatin being selected as the county seat, and it never revived after being burned during the "Mormon" difficulties in the fall of 1838. "And now," says the history of Daviess County, "where once the metropolis of Daviess County stood, nothing is left to tell the tale. Waving fields of grain have grown and are growing where, in the early days, it was fondly hoped a town would be built that would extend its borders and its influence and become, as it then was, the centre of trade for a vast circle of country. Trade came to Millport from the distance of 40 miles, but within a circle of from 15 to 30 it was the headquarters. The population was south and west of the river, and that is why Millport that was, is not now, but is gone forever."

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*"What thou seest, write in a book."* REV. 1, 11.

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## QUINCY, ADAMS COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

The city of Quincy, favorably known in the history of the Church, as the place where a large number of Saints met with a friendly reception, and were released from want, and perhaps starvation, in the cold winter of 1838-39, is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi River, 134 miles by rail northwest of St. Louis, Mo., and 262 miles southwest of Chicago, Ill. It is the centre of eight railroads, has some fine parks and public and private buildings, together with numerous manufactories, and several academies and churches. It now has a population of about 30,000, and is the third city of the State of Illinois in size. It is most picturesquely situated about 125 feet above the river of which it commands a fine view. A splendid bridge recently built across the river connects Quincy with West Quincy on the Missouri side.

Most of the Saints who fled from Missouri in the winter of 1838-39, under the cruel exterminating order of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs, made their way as best they could into the State of Illinois, and a majority of them crossed the Mississippi River at Quincy, then a small city of a few

thousand inhabitants. The distance from Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri, from where most of the exiles came, was about 150 miles in a straight line, but the way the roads ran it was nearly 200 miles. When it is remembered that the roads were bad and heavy and the weather extremely cold, it is no wonder that a number of the exiles succumbed to their hardships and sufferings and found an untimely grave, before they could travel that distance and reach the land that would give them temporary shelter. It is not known how many of the Saints lost their lives during the Missouri persecutions. Some Church writers state the number to be three hundred, including those who were killed outright, and who died on the journey fleeing from their persecutors, and those who afterwards died in consequence of their sufferings and exposure at the time of the exodus. This is probably correct.

The Saints who were stripped of nearly all their earthly possessions, were necessarily in a deplorable and wanting condition, when they, bleeding and broken-hearted, arrived at Quincy, and they soon excited the sympathy of the citizens of that town

and its vicinity. A kindly reception was given the homeless outcasts—a reception very similar to the one given to many of the same people by the inhabitants of Clay County, Missouri, when a cruel persecution had driven about twelve hundred of them from their homes in Jackson County five years before.

The Democratic Association of Quincy took the lead in extending relief to the "Mormon" exiles. On Feb. 28, 1839, a meeting was held by this association for the purpose of inquiring into the situation of the Saints. About all that was done at this meeting was to pass a resolution to the effect that the people called Latter-day Saints were in a situation requiring the aid of the people of Quincy. A committee of eight was appointed to call a general meeting of both citizens and "Mormons," and to receive a statement from the "Mormons" of their condition, with a view to relieving their necessities. The committee was instructed to get the Congregational church in which to hold the next meeting, but the directors having in charge that building would not allow it to be used for that purpose. Failing to secure the church, the second meeting was held in the court-house.

At this meeting, held Wednesday evening Feb. 27th, the special committee appointed at the first meeting reported their labors. They had received statements from Sidney Rigdon and others in relation to the expulsion of the "Mormons" from Missouri, and suggested a series of resolutions setting forth that the exiled strangers were entitled to the sympathy and aid of the people of Quincy; that a numerous committee composed of individuals from every

part of the town be appointed to allay the prejudices of the misguided citizens of Quincy, and explain that it was not the design of the "Mormons" to lower the wages of the laboring classes, but to secure something to save them from starvation; that a standing committee be appointed to relieve, so far as in their power, the wants of the destitute and houseless, and to use their utmost endeavors to procure employment for those who were able and willing to labor. The report closed by saying:

"We recommend to all the citizens of Quincy that in all their intercourse with the strangers, they use and observe a becoming decorum and delicacy, and be particularly careful not to indulge in any conversation or expression calculated to wound their feelings, or in any way to reflect upon those who, by every law of humanity, are entitled to our sympathy and commiseration."

This good work begun by the Democratic Association was continued by them, and substantial assistance was given to the suffering Saints, through their exertion, in behalf of the afflicted. At a subsequent meeting of the association, held Feb. 28th, the following resolutions were adopted:

"That we regard the right of conscience as natural and inalienable, and the most sacredly guaranteed by the Constitution of our free government.

"That we regard the acts of all mobs in violation of law, and those who compose them, individually responsible, both to the laws of God and man, for every depredation committed upon the property, rights or life of any citizen.

"That the inhabitants upon the western frontier of the State of Missouri, in their late persecution of the people denominated Mormons, have violated the sacred rights of conscience and every law of justice and humanity.

"That the governor of Missouri in refusing protection to this class of people, when pressed upon by a heartless mob, and turning upon them a band of unprincipled militia, with orders encouraging their extermination,

nation, has brought a lasting disgrace upon the State over which he presides."

Thus with expressions of sympathy and material aid did the people of Quincy assist the Saints, and bid them hope for better days. Nor was this kindly feeling confined to the people of Quincy and vicinity alone, but it extended throughout the State. And especially among the leading men thereof, including Governor Thos. Carlin, Stephen A. Douglass, Dr. Galland and others.

In the meantime the Saints continued to cross the river from Missouri. The family of Joseph the Prophet arrived at Quincy in care of Stephen Markham, Feb. 15, 1839. Shortly afterwards Brigham Young and other leading men of the Church (whose lives were sought by the Missourians) fled from their persecutors and joined those who had preceded them at Quincy, where their presence was much needed to administer council and comfort to their fellow-sufferers.

At a special conference of the Church held in Quincy, March 17, 1839, Brigham Young, who presided over the conference, explained to the assembled Saints the circumstances of the Church at the time and the situation of the scattered members. He advised the Saints to settle, if possible, in companies, or in such a way that they could be organized into branches, so that they might be "fed by the shepherds; for without, the sheep would be scattered." After transacting various other business, Elder George W. Harris spoke about those who had left the Church during the time of perils, persecutions and dangers, and were now acting against the interests of the Saints. After a full expression of the conference, it was

unanimously voted that the following persons be excommunicated from the Church: Geo. M. Hinkle, Sampson Avard, John Correll, Reed Peck, Wm. W. Phelps, Frederick G. Williams, Thomas B. Marsh, Burr Riggs and several others.

April 22, 1839, the Prophet Joseph arrived among the Saints in Quincy, having at last escaped from his enemies in Missouri, after a cruel imprisonment of over five months in that State. (See page 460.) Steps were immediately taken to secure a new location unto which the Saints might gather. (See page 464 and *Nauvoo*.)

Among the members of the Church who flocked into Quincy there were a few bad characters who were altogether unworthy of the association of Saints, and who preyed upon the hospitality of the people of Quincy to such an extent that the Church authorized Apostle John Taylor to write the following letter, which was published in the *Quincy Argus* about the 1st of May, 1839:

"In consequence of so great an influx of strangers, arriving in this place daily, owing to their late expulsion from the State of Missouri, there must of necessity be, and we wish to state to the citizens of Quincy, and the vicinity, through the medium of your columns, that there are many individuals among the numbers who have already arrived, as well as among those who are now on their way here, who never did belong to our Church, and others who once did, but who, for various reasons, have been expelled from our fellowship. Amongst these are some who have contracted habits, which are at variance with principles of moral rectitude (such as swearing, dram-drinking, etc.), which immoralities the Church of Latter-day Saints is liable to be charged with, owing to our amalgamation under our late existing circumstances. And as we as a people do not wish to lay under any such imputation, we would also state, that such individuals do not hold a name or a place amongst us; that we altogether discounte-

nance everything of the kind; that every person once belonging to our community, contracting or persisting in such immoral habits, have hitherto been expelled from our society; and that such as we may hereafter be informed of, we will hold no communication with, but will withdraw our fellowship from them.

"We wish further to state, that we feel laid under peculiar obligations to the citizens of this place for the patriotic feelings which have been manifested, and for the hand of liberality and friendship which was extended to us, in our late difficulties; and should feel sorry to see that philanthropy and benevolence abused by wicked and designing people, who, under pretense of poverty and distress, should try to work up the feelings of the charitable and humane, get into their debt without any prospect or intention of paying, and finally, perhaps, we as a people be charged with dishonesty.

"We say that we altogether disapprove of such practices, and we warn the citizens of Quincy against such individuals who may pretend to belong to our community."

This letter bears evidence of the honesty of the Church, and shows its disposition to treat the people of Illinois, who had so nobly and kindly received its members in the days of their distress, with candor.

"About this time too," writes Elder B. H. Roberts in his article "The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo" published in the *Contributor*, "the good feelings entertained towards the Saints by the people of Quincy and vicinity was not a little endangered through the unwise course of Lyman Wight. He began the publication of a series of letters in the Quincy *Whig*, in which he laid the responsibility of the outrages perpetrated against the Saints in Missouri upon the Democratic party, implicating not only the Democrats of Missouri, but indirectly the National Democratic Party. This gave much dissatisfaction to members of that party in the vicinity of Quincy, who had been very active in assisting the Saints; and a number of the leading

men approached prominent brethren, who still remained in Quincy, and desired to know if the Church sustained the assertions of Lyman Wight. Under date of May 13, 1839, Elder R. B. Thompson wrote a letter to President Joseph Smith on the subject, in which he protested against the course taken by Wight, because of the influence it was having on many of those who had so nobly befriended the Saints in the day of their distress. Besides it was altogether unjust, for no particular political party in Missouri was responsible for the black cruelty practiced towards the Saints. Those who were in the mobs which robbed them of their homes, burned their houses, ran off their stock, and who whipped, murdered and finally drove the people from the State of Missouri, were made up of individuals of every shade of political faith, and of every religion, and many of no religion whatever. It was unfair then, under these circumstances, that the responsibility should be laid at the charge of any one party or sect of religion. So that Wight's course was not only doing much mischief, but was also unjust.

"To counteract the evil effect of Lyman Wight's communications to the *Whig*, Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith, the First Presidency of the Church, published a letter in the *Whig*, dated May 17, 1839, from which we make the following extract:

"We have not at any time thought there was any political party, as such, chargeable with the Missouri barbarities, neither any religious society, as such. They were committed by a mob, composed of all parties, regardless of difference of opinion, either political or religious.

"The determined stand in this State, and by the people of Quincy in particular, made

against the lawless outrages of the Missouri mobbers by all parties in politics and religion, have entitled them equally to our thanks and our profoundest regards, and such, gentlemen, we hope they will always receive from us. \* \* \* We wish to say to the public, through your paper, that we disclaim any intention of making a political question of our difficulties with Missouri, believing that we are not justified in so doing'

"Lyman Wight was a bold, independent spirited man; inclined to be self-willed and refractory. No one could control him; and even counsel or advice was usually disregarded—except it was from Joseph Smith. A few years subsequent to the time of which we are now writing, Lyman Wight himself said: 'Joseph Smith is the only man who ever did control me; he is the only man who ever shall' But to Joseph's words Lyman Wight gave respectful attention, and bent his own strong will to comply with the wishes of the Prophet. He himself was a master spirit, and could apparently bring himself to acknowledge but one to whom he was willing to yield his own judgment, and his own will, and that one was Joseph Smith. And it is said by those acquainted with him, that in the Prophet's hands his spirit was as pliable as that of a child. \* \* \*

"In reply to the letter of R. B. Thompson, the First Presidency writing under date of May 25th admitted, that the course of Wight was unfair, and said the Church was not willing to make of their troubles a political question; but they also said that they considered it to be 'the indefeasible right of every free man to hold his own opinion in politics and religion;' and therefore would have it understood that, as an individual, Lyman Wight had the

right to entertain and express whatever opinion he pleased in regard to their troubles in Missouri; only intimating that care should be taken not to set forth individual views as the views of the Church. In writing to Lyman Wight on the subject, under date of May 27, 1839, Joseph did not upbraid him, nor peremptorily order him to discontinue the publication of his letters, or retract them, but he informed him that the matter had been considered in a council of the Church, and that the result was that his course was disapproved. But Joseph took occasion to express his confidence in Wight's good intentions, and said:

"'Knowing your integrity of principle, and steadfastness in the cause of Christ, I feel not to exercise even the privilege of counsel on the subject, save only to request that you will endeavor to bear in mind the importance of the subject, and how easy it might be to get a misunderstanding with the brethren concerning it; and though last, but not least, that whilst you continue to go on upon your own credit, you will steer clear of making the Church appear as either supporting or opposing you in your politics, lest such a course may have a tendency to bring about persecution on the Church, where a little wisdom and caution may avoid it.

"'I do not know that there is any occasion for my thus cautioning you in this thing, but having done so, I hope it will be well taken, and that all things shall eventually be found to work together for the good of the Saints. \* \* \*

"'With every possible feeling of love and friendship for an old fellow-prisoner and brother in the Lord, I remain, Sir, your sincere friend.'

"Throughout this whole affair it will be observed that Joseph starts out with the idea that every individual is absolutely free and independent as to entertaining views and in giving expression to them, both in politics and religion, so long as he makes no one else responsible for

them. That in correcting Lyman Wight he does it by appealing to the man's reason, and by pointing out the possible result of his course, which may be avoided by a little discretion; while the whole communication breathes such a spirit of confidence in the man he is correcting, and love for him as an 'old fellow-prisoner,' that it was altogether irresistible. And this is the secret of Joseph's power to control his brethren. There was no petty tyranny in his government. He was above that. Every right he claimed for himself, he accorded to others. While his mildness in correcting errors and his unbounded love for his brethren knit them to him in bands stronger than steel. It was ever his method to teach correct principles and let men govern themselves.

"Sidney Rigdon succeeded in escaping from the prison in Missouri before Joseph and the other brethren, who were confined in Liberty jail. And on his arrival in Quincy, his position as one of the Presidents of the Church, his education and eloquence, gave him the attention of the leading citizens of Quincy, and particularly enlisted the sympathy of Governor Carlin, of Illinois. By coming in contact with him, and relating the cruelties practiced against the Saints in Missouri, he conceived the idea of impeaching the character of Missouri on an item in the Constitution, viz., 'that the general government shall give to each State a republican form of government.' And it was his point to prove that such a government did not exist in Missouri. His plan was to present the story of the Saints' wrongs to the governors of the respective States, before the assembly of the several

legislatures, and induce as many of them as possible to bring the case before the legislatures in their messages. Another part of the plan was to have a man at each State capital armed with affidavits that would give the necessary information to the legislatures. After the action of the State legislatures the case was to be presented to Congress for its consideration and action.

"To carry out his plans George W. Robinson was appointed to take affidavits and collect general information bearing on the subject. And Sidney Rigdon secured a letter of introduction to the governors of several States and to the President of the United States from Governor Thomas Carlin, of Illinois, and Governor Robert Lucas, of Iowa."

This gigantic plan arranged by Sidney Rigdon for the impeachment of Missouri was like many of his other plans—altogether impracticable. It was therefore abandoned by Joseph and the Church, and the policy adopted of appealing directly to Congress and the President.

At a conference of the Church held on the Presbyterian camp ground near Quincy, May 4th, 5th and 6th, 1839, it was unanimously resolved:

"That Almon W. Babbitt, Erastus Snow and Robert B. Thompson be appointed a traveling committee to gather up and obtain all the libelous reports and publications which have been circulated against our Church, as well as other historical matter connected with said Church, that they possibly can obtain.

"That this conference do entirely sanction the purchase lately made for the Church in the Iowa Territory, and also the agency thereof.

"That Elder Oliver Granger be appointed to go to Kirtland, Ohio, and take the charge and oversight of the House of the Lord, and preside over the general affairs of the Church in that place.

"That the advice of this conference to the brethren living in the Eastern States is, for them to move to Kirtland, and the vicinity thereof, and again settle that place as a Stake of Zion; provided they feel so inclined, in preference to their moving further west.

"That this conference are entirely satisfied with, and give their sanction to the proceedings of the conference of the Twelve and their friends, held on the Temple spot at Far West, Missouri, on Friday, the 26th of April last.

"That they also sanction the act of the council held the same date and same place, in cutting off from the communion of said Church certain persons mentioned in the minutes thereof.

"That Elders Orson Hyde and William Smith be allowed the privilege of appearing personally before the next General Conference of the Church, to give an account of their conduct; and that in the meantime they be both suspended from exercising the functions of their office.

"That the conference do sanction the mission intended for the Twelve to Europe, and that they will do all in their power to enable them to go.

"That this conference send a delegate to the city of Washington, to lay our case before the General Government; and that President Rigdon be the delegate.

"That Colonel Lyman Wight be appointed to receive the affidavits which are to be sent to the city of Washington.

"That Elder William Marks be hereby appointed to preside over the Church at Commerce, Ill.

"That the following of the Seventies have the sanction of this council to accompany the Twelve to Europe, namely, Theodore Turley, George Pitkin, Joseph Bates Noble, Charles Hubbard, John Scott, Lorenzo D. Young, Samuel Mulliner, Willard Snow, John Snider, William Burton, Lorenzo D. Barne, Iton Holmes, Abram O. Smoot, Elias Smith; also the following High Priests, namely, Henry G. Sherwood, John Murdock, Winslow Farr, William Snow, Hiram Clark.

"That Elder J. P. Greene be appointed to go to the city of New York and preside over the churches there, and in the regions round about."

May 9, 1839, Joseph left Quincy, with his family, and removed to Commerce (afterwards Nauvoo). About the same time the majority of the

Saints who had been so kindly treated by the citizens of Quincy also removed to Hancock Co., Ill., and Lee County, Iowa, which had been selected as gathering places for the Saints.

Quincy, however, continued to be the home of a number of Saints for some time afterwards. On the 25th of October, 1840, a Stake of Zion was organized there, of which Daniel Stanton was appointed President, with Stephen Jones and Ezra T. Benson as his Counselors. Also a Bishopric, consisting of George W. Crouse (Bishop), Azariah Dustin and Sylvester B. Stoddard (Counselors), was appointed at the same time. This Stake organization existed until the following spring (1840), when all Stakes outside of Hancock County, Illinois, and Lee County, Iowa, were discontinued, and all who obeyed the council of the constituted Church authorities removed to these places. Notwithstanding this we find that as late as Feb. 18, 1843, when a conference was held in Quincy, the branch of the Church there was represented to consist of 77 members, including 2 High Priests, 5 Elders, 1 Priest, 1 Teacher and 1 Deacon, mostly in good standing.

Friendly relations continued between the citizens of Quincy and the Saints as long as the latter remained in Illinois, and at the time of the exodus in 1846, Mayor John Wood and other leading men of Quincy, took an active part in trying to bring about a peaceable settlement of the difficulties existing between the contending parties; and the citizens of Quincy again rendered the Saints substantial aid while they were fleeing away from the borders of civilization.



## HANCOCK COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Hancock County, Illinois, the headquarters of the Church from 1839 to 1846, is situated about forty miles north of the centre of the State of Illinois, on its west line, and within what is known as the "Military Bounty Land Tract." It is bounded on the south by Adams County, to which it was attached from 1825 to 1829, east by McDonough and Schuyler, north by Henderson, and west by the Mississippi River, which separates it from Clarke County, Missouri, and Lee County, Iowa, and constitutes about two-fifths of its whole boundary. It lies between 40 degrees and 10 minutes and 40 degrees and 40 minutes north latitude; and between 13 degrees and 35 minutes and 14 degrees and 5 minutes west longitude from Washington. It is 30 miles long from north to south, and on an average of 24 miles wide from east to west—its northern line measuring just 12 miles to its intersection with the Mississippi, while its southern measures a little over 30 miles. Its western line, following the meanderings of the river, measures about 45 miles.

The county includes 16 whole congressional townships and 8 fractional ones (the 8 being about equal to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  whole ones), subdivided into 769 square miles, or sections, containing about 492,160 acres.

The central portion of the county is composed of one grand prairie, bordered on the west by the wooded bluffs of the Mississippi, and east and south by the timber lands skirting the margins of Crooked and Bear Creeks, and their numerous tributaries.

The Burlington branch of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, passing through the county from Dallas City to the southwest corner of Section 35, Township 3 north, of Range 7 west, cuts it into two nearly equal parts; while an east and west line, following the T., W. & W. Railroad to Carthage, thence east through the centre of Carthage and Hancock Townships, would divide it into nearly equal portions in the other direction. The east half of the county contains the most woodland, being intersected by the many streams tributary to Crooked Creek. Most of the woodlands bordering on Bear Creek and branches are in the west half.

The soil upon the prairie land is usually a deep black loam, with a brown clay subsoil. On the ridges that skirt the streams the soil is usually a chocolate brown, loamy clay, becoming locally light brown or yellow, on the slopes of the hills, from the predominant character of the subsoil. The timber on these ridges consists for the most part of black and white oak and hickory, with an undergrowth of red-bud, sassafras and hazel. On the more level portions of the timbered uplands we find, in addition to these, elm, linden, wild cherry and honey locust. The soil on the lands where the last named varieties of timber are found is fully equal, in its productive capacity, to that of the prairies, while that on the oak ridges is comparatively thin. In the southwest portion of the county there is a wide belt of alluvial bottom skirting the Mississippi River, commencing at the city of Warsaw, and extending

to the south line of the county, with an average width of about three miles. A part of this bottom is prairie, and a part is covered with a heavy growth of timber, consisting of cottonwood, sycamore, red and slippery elm, black and white walnut, ash, hackberry, honey locust, pecan, persimmon, pawpaw, coffee-nut, white maple, red birch, linden and mulberry, and the common varieties of oak, and shell-bark and pig-nut hickory. The greater portion of this bottom is susceptible of cultivation, and possesses a sandy soil that is not surpassed in its productive capacities, by any other portion of the county. It is subject to overflow, however, during seasons of extraordinary high water.

Springs are not abundant in the county, but are occasionally found at the base of the river bluffs and in the valleys of the small streams. Good wells are usually obtained on the uplands at depths varying from twenty to forty feet. All the uplands are covered by accumulations of drift, varying in thickness from twenty to sixty feet or more.

"A large portion of the material composing the drift deposits," writes Mr. Worthen, in his "Geology of Illinois," "has been transported from a distance, and many of the boulders are derived from the metamorphic strata of Lake Superior, several hundred miles from the spot where they are found. Many of these boulders are of great size and many tons weight, and must have required a mighty force to transport them to their present position. One of these may be seen at the foot of the bluffs between Nauvoo and Appanoose, composed of the metamorphic rock of the Northwest, which is

nearly twenty feet in diameter. The power required to wrench such a mass of rock from its native bed and transport it, for hundreds of miles, with a force sufficient to obliterate all its angles, is inconceivably great; but here is the boulder of granite, nearly five hundred miles, as the crow flies, from the nearest known outcrop of this kind of rock, giving unmistakable evidence that such a result has been accomplished. Several specimens of native copper have been found in the drift deposits of this county, which, from their appearance, leave no doubt that they have been transported from the copper region of Lake Superior."

Hancock County is well supplied with good building stone. There are numerous mounds throughout the county, as in many other sections of the State and the whole Mississippi valley. They are found chiefly on the bluffs bordering the river and the smaller streams. In some instances they are in the open prairie, but most of them are in the timbered lands, and often covered with large trees. They are mostly small, of various sizes and elevations, from a few feet in height up to 15 or 20, and from 10 to 40 or 50 feet in diameter.

Two larger mounds, however, are known. One of these is the Gittings Mound in the north part of the county, which covers nearly a section of land and is perhaps 50 feet high. The other is what is known as the "Big Mound" in Appanoose Township. This mound, which is situated about seven miles east of Nauvoo, on the open prairie, is mentioned several times in the history of Joseph Smith. On the east, south and west of it, the prairie is quite level for several miles, but on the north it is

approached by the broken timbered lands skirting the river bluffs. It is not less than 40 to 50 feet high, while it is about one-fourth of a mile in diameter. It belongs to the estate of the late Amos Davis, who chose it for the site of his fine residence, which occupies its summit.

The population of Hancock County in 1880, according to the U. S. census, was 35,376 (559 less than in 1870), divided among its 26 townships as follows:

Augusta Township.....	1,894
St. Mary's Township.....	1,538
Hancock Township.....	1,130
Fountain Green Township.....	1,254
La Harpe Township.....	1,898
Chili Township.....	1,418
Harmony Township.....	1,246
Carthage Township.....	2,686
Pilot Grove Township.....	1,229
Durham Township.....	1,098
St. Alban's Township.....	1,280
Bear Creek Township.....	1,189
Prairie Township.....	1,229
Rock Creek Township.....	1,444
Pontoosuc Township.....	789
Dallas Township.....	1,144
Walker Township.....	1,612
Wythe Township.....	1,135
Montebello Township.....	1,977
Sonora Township.....	1,399
Appanoose Township.....	846
Rocky Run Township.....	855
Wilcox Township.....	588
Warsaw Township.....	3,105
Nauvoo Township.....	1,399

The eight principal towns of the county at that time ranked in population as follows: Warsaw 3,105; Carthage, the county seat, 1,594; Nauvoo 1,402; Hamilton 1,025; Augusta 1,015; La Harpe 958; Dallas 714, and Plymouth, 593.

#### HISTORY.

That part of Illinois which now constitutes Hancock County, was first settled in 1814 by the establishment of Fort Johnson and Fort Edwards on the present site of Warsaw. Fort Johnson was burned by

the troops a few months after it was first located, but Fort Edwards existed until 1824, when it was evacuated and its garrison removed to Fort Armstrong.

Illinois was admitted into the Union in 1818. Only eight or ten counties, including Madison, had then been organized. Out of Madison Pike County was formed in 1821, and in 1825 several counties were formed from the latter, among which were Adams and Hancock Counties—the latter being attached to Adams until such time as its population would justify a separate organization.

Whether there was at the date of the State's admission into the Union a single white inhabitant, other than the garrison at Fort Edwards, within the territory now included in Hancock County, is not known; but there were a few in 1825, when Adams County was organized.

Hancock was first organized as a separate county in 1829, and the order issued for its organization represented that the county at that time contained 350 persons, the number fixed by law to enable it to maintain a separate existence. Counting one to five of its population would give it 70 adult male citizens. At the first session of the county commissioners court, held in August, 1829, there were 66 men chosen to serve as jurors and fill the various offices in the county. Thus it will be seen that it required nearly all the male citizens to put the county machinery in motion.

In the history of Hancock County by Thomas Gregg, published in 1880, the status of the county at the time the Saints settled there is given in the following language:

"At that time (1839) there was a little village on the river shore, where Nauvoo now stands, called Commerce, with but a few houses. Below was the farm of Hugh White, and out northeast on the hill, where the Temple since stood, was the farm of Daniel H. Wells, another old settler, who \* \* \* joined the Church, and finally left with the rest for Salt Lake, where he has since become a leader high in authority among them. Alongside of this village of Commerce lay the lots and squares, and streets and parks of Commerce City—a *paper town* which, a few months before, had been ushered into existence by a brace of Eastern speculators.

"Opposite, across the Mississippi, in the then Territory of Iowa, stood the barracks of the old fort Des Moines, but lately vacated by the U. S. Dragoons and occupied by a few settlers. Here was also the land-office of the New York half-breed land company. The village of Keokuk, on the same side and twelve miles below, also on the half-breed lands, had but a few inhabitants, while Fort Madison, above, had a somewhat larger population.

"In Hancock County was Warsaw, 18 miles below, with a population of, say, 300; Carthage, the county seat, had not so many; Augusta, St. Mary's, Plymouth, Fountain Green, La Harpe, Chili, and a few others, had been laid out (chiefly in 1836), and contained each a few families, and were in the midst of young and fast growing settlements. There was no newspaper in the county; *The Carthaginian*, at Carthage, had, in 1836-37, a sickly existence, and had now 'gone where the woodbine twineth.' The population of the

county was probably 6,000; by the census of 1840 it was 10,000, including the then Mormon emigrants.\*

"Such was the status of Hancock County and its neighborhood when the Mormon exodus from Missouri began. That people crossed directly eastward to Quincy, in Illinois, through North Missouri, as the nearest and best route to a place of safety. Their leader was yet in jail, but he, somehow escaping, soon made his appearance among them, and at once began operations for planting a 'new Stake,' and gathering his followers around him. The first intention was to settle on the half-breed lands in Iowa, to which Smith had been invited through correspondence with Dr. Isaac Galland before leaving Missouri. Dr. Galland had interest in those lands, and also resided and held some interest at Commerce. For various reasons, chief of which was imperfect title, the negotiation as to the half-breed lands fell through, and the main body of the Mormons remained in Hancock County, though numbers had already settled on the other side of the river."

### NAUVOO.

Nauvoo is situated on the east bank of the Mississippi River, in Hancock County, Illinois, near the head of what are usually called the Des Moines Rapids, 12 miles by river above Keokuk (Iowa) and Hamilton (Illinois), 18 miles above Warsaw (Illinois), 50 miles above Quincy, (Illinois), 190 miles above St. Louis (Mo.) and 1,200 miles above New

\*The official census for 1840 gives the population of Hancock County as follows: 5,284 males, 4,724 females; total 10,008. Of this number 1,838 were subject to military duty. In 1830 the population of the county was 448, thus showing an increase of 9,560 during the ten years.

Orleans. It is also 9 miles by river below Fort Madison (Iowa), 80 miles below Burlington (Iowa), and 100 miles below Rock Island (Iowa).

The word Nauvoo comes from the Hebrew, and signifies beautiful situation. "Carrying with it also," says the Prophet Joseph, "the idea of rest." And, indeed, the location of the city is most commanding and beautiful. But few, if any, sites on the Mississippi River, all the way from New Orleans to the head-waters of navigation, can compare with it. No sooner does one come in view of it than he exclaims: "It is rightly named." The Mississippi, which, opposite what was once Commerce, is over a mile in width, gracefully sweeps round its rock-bound shore in a semi-circle, then falls off to the first chain of the rapids. Above the city the river approaches in a westerly course; below, it glides winding over the rapids southward, presenting a long reach of green and wooded bluffs on either side to Keokuk and Hamilton. From the immediate bank of the river—a few feet above high water mark—the ground is nearly level for six or seven blocks, when begins a gradual ascent to the Temple Block, where, after a rise of 60 or 70 feet, it again falls off to the common level of the prairie, which stretches out to the eastward further than the eye can reach, in a beautifully undulating surface, once covered by a luxuriant growth of natural grasses and wild flowers, relieved here and there by patches of timber, but now chequered with meadows and well cultivated farms. Within the city limits there are a few bad ravines and broken bluffs, which break the monotony and give variety to the landscape.

The curve of the river around the city forms a somewhat pointed half circle. A straight line back of it, from where it intersects the shore above and below, will measure about four miles; while the water line measurement around its western side is nearly twice that distance.

Opposite Nauvoo, on the west bank of the river, the bluffs rise rather abruptly, almost from the water's edge, and are covered for the most part with a fine growth of timber. Nestling near the foot of one of the highest of these bluffs, and immediately on the bank of the river is the little town of Montrose. Back of the bluffs rolls off the alternate prairie and woodlands of Iowa. Between Montrose and Nauvoo, and perhaps two-thirds of the distance across the river from the Illinois side, is an island about three-fourths of a mile in length and from 50 to 200 yards in width, having its greatest extent north and south. On this island is a heavy growth of small timber, which prevents Montrose from being seen from the opposite Nauvoo shore.

The Des Moines Rapids below Nauvoo were formerly a serious obstacle to the navigation of the Mississippi River at this point, as in the season of low water they could not be passed by the steamboats plying the river. This difficulty of late, however, has been obviated by the general government building a fine canal running parallel with the west bank of the river, from Keokuk to Nashville, a distance of seven miles. It cost about four million dollars.

The history of Nauvoo commences with Captain James White, a native of Ohio, who emigrated to Missouri Territory in 1818, three years before

it became a State. In 1823 or 1824 he came to reside and trade with the Sac and Fox Indians, who at that time had a large village of some 400 or 500 lodges at the head of the rapids where Nauvoo afterwards was built. In 1824 the treaty was made with those Indians by the Federal Government, by which they relinquished their lands on the east side of the river. Captain White wishing to obtain possession of the site of their village, induced them to vacate in his favor in consideration of 200 sacks of corn, which he paid them. They then loaded their *wik-ke-ups* and other "plunder" into their canoes and paddled across the Mississippi to the Iowa shore. On the vacated spot Mr. White opened out a farm, but his chief occupation during the remainder of his life—or until the business was superseded by steamboats—was that of keelboating on the Mississippi. His old residence stood on the bank of the river near where the Nauvoo House or L. C. Bidamon's residence now stands, at the head of the Des Moines Rapids.

A few years after he settled there a post office—the first one in Hancock County—was established at, or near his residence, and called Venus. The name was perhaps suggested by Mr. White, but the Hancock County records do not show that a town ever was laid out by that name. Venus contained the residence of Captain White, a store owned by Alexander White, one of the captain's sons, and the residence of George Y. Cutler, near by. But whether these houses were near enough together to constitute a village is unknown.

We have been unable to learn what year the post office of Venus was first established, or who the first

postmaster was, but it seems that the place was known as Venus in 1829, when the first court was held in Hancock County. At that time there were only two villages in the county—Venus and Montebello, the latter being situated on the river a few miles below Venus. At Montebello the first session of the Hancock County court was held, and the two neighborhoods competed with each other for the possession of the county seat, neither, however, being successful in obtaining what was desired, as Carthage, which was more centrally located, was selected for the county seat in 1833.

Captain White died in June, 1837. One of his sons, Hugh White (of whom the Church bought their first parcel of land in Hancock County in 1839), resided for many years near the old place and followed the business of steamboat piloting; he was widely known between St. Louis and Galena.

In 1834 a town was laid out by Joseph B. Teas and Alexander White about a mile up the river from Venus and called Commerce, and about three years later, in 1837, Commerce City, immediately above its namesake on the river was laid out by Horace R. Hotchkiss and John Gillett, two speculators from Connecticut. The streets of these two *paper towns* were laid out square with the shore opposite them, and were afterwards included in Nauvoo, although not made a part of the plat of that city.

In the fall of 1838, a brother in the Church by the name of Israel Barlow left the State of Missouri under the exterminating order of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs. By missing his way, or, what is more likely,

directed by the hand of a kind providence, he did not leave the State by the same route as the great body of the people, but, taking a northeasterly course, struck the Des Moines River a short distance above the mouth, in the Territory of Iowa. He was without food, destitute of clothing and in a sad condition. Making his wants known to the people living in that locality, they kindly supplied him with food and raiment. To them he related the story of the persecutions of the Saints in Missouri, and how his people, poor and destitute as himself, were fleeing from the State *en masse*. His relation of the sufferings of the Saints, and the cruelties heaped upon them by their heartless persecutors enlisted their sympathies, and they gave Elder Barlow letters of introduction to several gentlemen; among which was one to Dr. Isaac Galland, a gentleman of some influence living at Commerce. Dr. Galland owned considerable land in Commerce, and under date of Feb. 26, 1839, he wrote to the Saints located in Quincy, that several farms could doubtless be rented in that locality, and that perhaps some fifty families could be accommodated at Commerce. In addition to this offer of lands made to the Church, another and a previous one had been made of 20,000 acres, between the Des Moines and Mississippi Rivers. This tract was offered for sale at \$2.00 per acre, to be paid in 20 annual payments without interest.

Consequently a conference was convened by the Saints at Quincy in February, 1839, and the advisability of making the purchase, and settling the Saints in a body came up for consideration. But it was decided

at that time that it was not advisable to locate lands at present.

Subsequently, however, March 9, 1839, the Saints, having received further offers of land in Illinois and Iowa, called another public meeting and appointed a committee to go and examine the lands offered. In Iowa, the people and officers of the Territory expressed a kindly feeling toward the exiled Saints. Robert Lucas, the governor of Iowa, had known the Saints in Ohio, and testified to Dr. Galland that the "Mormon" people, when they were in Ohio, were good and virtuous citizens, and he respected them as such now, and would treat them accordingly, should they, or any part of them, decide to settle in his Territory. In conversation with Dr. Galland, Isaac Van Allen, Esq., attorney general for the same Territory, gave him to understand that he would so far as within his power, protect the "Mormon" people from insult and injury. It was these assurances of sympathy and protection which led to a reconsideration of the conclusion of the former conference, and the appointment of a committee to examine the lands offered. But little or nothing, was ever done by this committee.

Joseph's arrival at Quincy, April 22, 1839, was the signal for action. Two days after his arrival (April 24th) he called and presided over a council of the Church, at which, in connection with Bishop Vinson Knight and Alanson Ripley, he was appointed to go to Iowa to select a place for the gathering of the exiled Saints. The conference also advised the brethren, who could do so, to go to Commerce and locate in Dr. Galland's neighborhood.

The committee appointed started

for Iowa on the 25th (April), and spent several days looking at the different locations which were presented in Lee County, Iowa, and about Commerce, Hancock County, Illinois. On the 1st of May, Joseph, in connection with other members of the committee, purchased from Hugh White a farm of 135 acres, for which they agreed to pay \$5,000; also another and larger farm (lying west of the White purchase) of Dr. Isaac Galland for \$9,000. The committee desired that these farms should be deeded to Alanson Ripley, but Sidney Rigdon, manifesting a rather sour disposition, said that no committee should control any property that he had anything to do with. So the purchase made of Dr. Galland was deeded to Rigdon's son-in-law, George W. Robinson, with the understanding that he should deed it to the Church as soon as they had paid for it according to the contract. This was the first purchase of lands made in Commerce, and the place is thus described by Joseph:

"When I made the purchase of White and Galland, there were one stone house, three frame houses, and two block houses, which constituted the whole city of Commerce. •

• • The place was literally a wilderness. The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was so unhealthy that very few could live there; but believing that it might become a healthy place by the blessing of heaven to the Saints, and no more eligible place presenting itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city."

The small collection of houses mentioned by Joseph, was situated immediately on the banks of the river, and scattered between them and what afterwards became the south part of the city of Nauvoo

were one stone and three small log houses. It was one of these humble dwellings (one of the log houses) into which Joseph moved with his family May 10, 1839. This house also stood on the bank of the river about a mile south of Commerce City on grounds that afterwards became "Block 155 of the White Purchase" or the corner of Water and Main Streets. The Nauvoo House was subsequently commenced on the block lying immediately east of it, across Main Street.

In the forepart of June, 1839, Elder Theodore Turley raised the first house built by the Saints in Commerce, on "Lot 4, Block 147, of the White Purchase," or on the corner of what afterwards were named Water and Carlin Streets, on the same block upon which Joseph afterwards built the Nauvoo Mansion.

After securing the first farms of Hugh White and Doctor Galland, the Church subsequently made more extensive purchases of Dr. Galland, Davidson Hibbard, Daniel H. Wells, Horace R. Hotchkiss, Wm. White and others. At intervals, down to May, 1843, Nauvoo received as many as fifteen additions by Hiram and Ethan Kimball, Hyrum Smith, Daniel H. Wells, Davidson Hibbard, Herringshaw & Thompson, George W. Robinson, Joseph Smith, James Robinson's heirs, Benjamin Warrington and John T. Barnett. Some of these additions lie in Sonora Township.

Considerable difficulty and embarrassment to Joseph personally and to the Church arose over misunderstandings about the Hotchkiss land purchase. Hotchkiss sold to Joseph for the Church upwards of five hundred acres of land in Commerce, for



which he was to receive \$58,500, half to be paid in ten years, and the remainder in twenty years. This amount was secured to Hotchkiss & Company by two notes, one payable in ten years and the other in twenty, signed by Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Sidney Rigdon. The difficulty connected with this extensive land purchase arose from some exchanges that were made of property in the East, by some of the Saints, for its equivalent in value in land out of the Hotchkiss purchase in Commerce; but this matter was finally amicably settled.

The terms on which Dr. Galland let the Church have lands were extremely advantageous to the Saints. He sold at a reasonable rate, and on long credit, that the people might not be distressed in paying for the inheritances they purchased. In addition to the first purchase, he exchanged lands with the Saints in the vicinity of Commerce for lands in Missouri, to the value of \$80,000. And he gave them a good title to the same. He is described as a man of literary attainments and extensive information and influence, all of which he used for the good of the exiled Saints in giving them a character among his friends. Finally he joined the Church, thus casting his lot with the exiled people he had assisted, and from that time until his death partook of their joys and their sorrows, and shared their fortunes and reverses.

In addition to these land purchases in Hancock County, the village of Nashville, in Lee County, Iowa, and 20,000 acres of land adjoining was bought. (See *Nashville*.) Another purchase also in Iowa was made by Bishop Vinson Knight, and a settle-

ment started there, called Zarahemla, which was opposite Nauvoo. (See *Zarahemla*.)

"During the summer of 1839" writes B. H. Roberts, "the Saints who had been driven from Missouri continued to gather at Commerce, and settle on the lands which had been purchased by the Church authorities. The violent persecution they had passed through in Missouri had well nigh wrecked the people. They had been stripped of their earthly possessions, until they were reduced to the most abject poverty. And the exposure and hardships endured, made them an easy prey to the malaria that infected Nauvoo and vicinity. Another thing which doubtless contributed to make them unable to resist the ravages of disease, was the fact that a period of relaxation was following the intense excitement, under which they had lived for nearly a year past.

"The spirit has such power over the body when it is once thoroughly aroused, that for a time it so braces up the body that it is almost impregnable to disease, and knows no fatigue. But this cannot continue long. It wears out the body; and as soon as the excitement is removed, then comes the period of relaxation, when the body sinks down from sheer exhaustion.

"Such was the condition of the exiled Saints who came flocking into Nauvoo, in the summer of 1839. They had reached a haven of rest. The fearful strain on the nervous system under which they had labored during the mobbings in Missouri and their flight from that State was removed; and they fell down in Nauvoo exhausted, to be a prey to the deadly malaria. Such was their

condition on the morning of the 22nd of July. Joseph's house was crowded with the sick that he was trying to nurse back to health. In his door-yard were a number of people camped in tents, who had but newly arrived, but upon whom the fever had seized. Joseph himself was prostrate with sickness, and the general distress of the Saints weighed down his spirit with sadness. While still thinking of the trials of his people in the past, and the gloom that then overshadowed them, the purifying influence of God's Spirit rested upon him and he was immediately healed. He arose and began to administer to the sick in his house, all of whom immediately recovered. He then healed those encamped in his door-yard, and from thence went from house to house calling on the sick to arise from their beds of affliction, and they obeyed and were healed of their sickness." (See page 473.)

The Twelve Apostles, having returned from their visit to Far West in fulfillment of a revelation (see page 466), now began to make preparations to further comply with the words of God commanding them to "depart to go over the great waters, and there promulgate the Gospel." (See page 437.) Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor were the first of the quorum to leave Commerce for England. Elder Woodruff at this time was living at Montrose, and was rowed across the river in a canoe by Brigham Young, Aug. 8, 1839. On landing, he lay down to rest on a side of sole leather, near the post office. While there President Joseph Smith came along and said: "Well, Brother Woodruff, you have started on your mission?"

"Yes, but I feel and look more like a subject for the dissecting room than a missionary," was the reply.

"What did you say that for?" asked Joseph, "Get up and go along, all will be well with you."

Shortly afterwards Elder Woodruff was joined by Elder Taylor, and together they started on their mission. On their way they passed Parley P. Pratt, stripped, bare headed and bare footed, hewing some logs for a house. He hailed the brethren as they passed and gave them a purse, though he had nothing to put in it. Elder Heber C. Kimball, who was but a short distance away, stripped as Elder Pratt was, came up and said: "As Brother Parley has given you a purse, I have a dollar I will give you to put in it." And mutually blessing each other, they separated to meet again in foreign lands.

Aug. 29th, Parley P. Pratt and his brother Orson started for England, leaving Nauvoo in their own carriage.

On the 14th of the following month Brigham Young left his home at Montrose and started for England. He had been prostrated for some time with sickness, and at the time of starting on his mission was so feeble that he had to be assisted to the ferry, only about thirty rods from his house. All his children were sick, and he left his wife with a babe but ten days old, and in the poorest of circumstances; for the mobs of Missouri had robbed him of all he had. After crossing the river to the Nauvoo side, Israel Barlow took him on a horse behind him and carried him to the house of Elder Heber C. Kimball, where his strength altogether failed him, and he had to remain

there for several days, nursed by his wife, who, hearing that he was unable to get further than Brother Kimball's, had a boy carry her in a wagon to him. On the 18th, however, Brigham, in company with Heber C. Kimball, made another start. A brother by the name of Charles Hubbard sent a boy with a team to take them a day's journey on their way. Elder Kimball left his wife shaking on the bed with ague, and all his children sick. With the assistance of some of the brethren they climbed into the wagon.

"It seemed to me," says Elder Kimball, "as though my very inmost parts would melt within me at the thought of leaving my family in such a condition, as it were, almost in the arms of death. I felt as though I could scarcely endure it."

"Hold up!" said he to the teamster. "Brother Brigham, this is pretty tough, but let us rise and give them a cheer."

Brigham with much difficulty rose to his feet, and joined Elder Kimball in swinging his hat and shouting, "Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah for Israel!"

They then continued their journey, without purse and without scrip, for England.

The departure of Elders George A. Smith, Reuben Hedlock and Theodore Turley, Sept. 21, 1839, was but little less remarkable. They were feeble in health, in fact, down with the ague. Before they were out of sight of Nauvoo their wagon upset, and spilled them out down the bank of the river. Elders Smith and Turley were unable to get up, not because of any injuries they had received, but because of their illness. Elder Hedlock helped them into their wagon and they resumed their jour-

ney. They had not proceeded far when they met some gentlemen who stopped their team and said to the driver: "Mr., what graveyard have you been robbing?" The remark was elicited by the ghostly appearance of the Elders *en route* for England.

Thus in sickness and poverty, without purse and without scrip, leaving their families destitute of the comforts of life, with nothing but the assurances of the people, who were as poor as themselves, that their families should be provided for, they turned their faces towards Europe, to preach the Gospel to the highly civilized peoples of the world.

On the 5th, 6th and 7th of October, 1839, a general conference of the Church was held in Commerce. It was the first conference held at that place. On the first day of the conference a Stake of Zion was organized at Commerce, over which William Marks was called to preside. N. K. Whitney was appointed to act as Bishop of the middle Ward, Edward Partridge of the upper Ward and Vinson Knight of the lower Ward. The following named brethren were chosen as members of the High Council: George W. Harris, Samuel Bent, Henry G. Sherwood, David Fullmer, Alpheus Cutler, William Huntington, Thomas Grover, Newel Knight, Charles C. Rich, David Dort, Seymour Brunson and Lewis D. Wilson.

On the same day a branch of the Church was organized on the other side of the river, in Iowa Territory. (See *Zarahemla*.) Orson Hyde and William Smith who had been temporarily suspended from their offices, were restored to their former positions as Apostles in the Church. During this conference about fifty

brethren, were ordained Elders in the Church, and Elias Higbee appointed to accompany Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon to Washington.

Oct. 21, 1839, the High Council voted that "James Mulholland be appointed clerk for the land contracts, that Joseph Smith act as treasurer, that Henry G. Sherwood, price, exhibit, contract and sell town lots in Commerce, and that \$500 be the standard price of lots; that is, none less than \$200, nor more than \$800." On the 28th the High Council voted to build a stone house at Upper Commerce (Commerce City) to be used for boarding, and that Samuel Bent, Davidson Hibbard and David Dort act as trustees for building a stone school house which was in contemplation.

The following day, Joseph Smith, accompanied by Sidney Rigdon and others, started for Washington, D. C., from which trip he returned March 4, 1840. (See pages 473-479.)

In November, 1839, the first number of the *Times and Seasons* was published at Commerce by Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith, in the interest of the Church. (See *Times and Seasons*.) At that time there was no other paper published in Hancock County. Three years previous, in June, 1836, Thomas Gregg published at Carthage the first newspaper ever issued in the county. It was called the *Carthaginian* and was owned by a company of citizens; but after a precarious existence of less than a year it was purchased by Dr. Isaac Galland, one of the proprietors, and removed to Fort Des Moines, Wisconsin Territory, now Montrose, Iowa, its editor-printer going with it. There the new paper was called the *West-*

*ern Adventurer*, but it did not live very long. After the suspension of the *Carthaginian* Hancock County was without a newspaper of any kind until November, 1839, when the *Times and Seasons* was first issued.

In the spring of 1840, Daniel N. White, editor and publisher of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, was induced to bring a press to Warsaw, where he commenced the publication of a paper called the *Western World*. It was a six column weekly, at \$2.00 per year. At the end of six months Mr. White sold his establishment to Thomas C. Sharp and James Gamble, a journeyman printer. These men, at the end of the first year changed the title of their paper to the *Warsaw Signal*, a name which continued in Warsaw through various changes, with short intervals of rest, for a period of about thirteen years. It was the *Warsaw Signal*, through its editor, Mr. Thomas C. Sharp, which advocated in the strongest terms the expulsion of the Saints from Hancock County. Mr. Sharp is still alive and is now editing the *Carthage Gazette*, at Carthage, Illinois. The *Warsaw Signal*, and the periodicals issued at Nauvoo were the only papers published in Hancock County up to the time the Saints left.

April 21, 1840, through the influence of Richard M. Young, the postmaster-general at Washington, D. C., changed the name of the post office at Commerce to Nauvoo, agreeable to the wishes of the new citizens (the Saints) there, and appointed George W. Robinson postmaster.

By the 1st of June, 1840, the Saints had already erected about two hundred and fifty houses at Nauvoo. They were mostly block houses, but there were also a few frame dwell-

ings. Many more houses were in course of erection and the town was rapidly increasing in population. By that time, also, about one thousand acres of land had been laid off into blocks and lots. Each block contained four lots, and each lot, except a few fractional ones, was 11 by 12 rods in size, "which," writes Alanson Ripley in the *Times and Seasons* of June, 1840, "makes excellent gardens, and fills the definition of the Hebrew word Nauvoo, a delightful plantation."

Missouri was watching the progress of Nauvoo from a distance, and when she saw that the persecutions the Saints had endured in that State had not destroyed them as an organized community, but that they were on the eve of enjoying an era of prosperity as they never before had enjoyed, she employed all her cunning to incite the hatred of the citizens of Illinois against them. But this was not easy accomplished; and, at first, the misrepresentations of a State that had been guilty of such outrages as those committed by Missouri against the Saints had but little weight in Illinois.

Finding that their accusations against the people, whom they had so wronged, had little or no effect, an effort was made to give coloring to their statements; and stolen goods were conveyed from Missouri to the vicinity of Nauvoo, so that when they were found, suspicion might rest upon the people in whose neighborhood the stolen articles were discovered.

Nor did their outrages stop at this. But doubtless being emboldened by reason of the general government's refusing to make any effort to redress the wrongs of the Saints, a

company of men led by William Al lensworth, H. M. Woodyard, Wm. Martin, J. H. Owsly, John Bain, Light T. Tait and Halsay White, crossed over the Mississippi to Illinois, at a point a few miles above Quincy, and kidnapped Alanson Brown, James Allred, Benjamin Boyce and Noah Rogers; and without any writ or warrant of any character, whatever, they dragged them over to Missouri, to a neighborhood called Tully, in Lewis County. These unfortunate men were imprisoned for a day or two in an old log cabin, during which time their lives were repeatedly threatened. At one time Brown was taken out, and a rope placed around his neck; he was then hung up to a tree until he was nearly strangled to death. Boyce at the same time was tied to a tree, stripped of his clothing and inhumanly beaten. Rogers was also beaten, and Allred was stripped of every particle of clothing, and tied up to a tree for the greater part of the night, and threatened frequently, a man by the name of Monday, exclaiming: "G—d d—n you, I'll cut you to the hollow." He was finally, however, released without being whipped.

After they had received this inhuman treatment, their captors performed an act purely Missourian in its character; that is, they gave them the following note of acquittal:

"TULLY, MISSOURI, July 12, 1840.

"The people of Tully, having taken up Mr. Allred, with some others, and having examined into the offenses committed, find nothing to justify his detention any longer, and have released him.

"By order of the Committee.

H. M. WOODYARD."

As soon as the people of Commerce and vicinity were informed of this outrage, Gentiles as well as

"Mormons" were loud in their condemnation of it, and at once a mass meeting was called, July 18, 1840, and resolutions were adopted, expressing their unqualified indignation, and calling upon the governor of Illinois to take the necessary steps to punish those who had committed this outrage, and, by vindicating the law, give the Missourians to understand there was a limit beyond which their deeds of violence must not pass.

Daniel H. Wells, not then a member of the Church, and George Miller were appointed a committee to wait upon Governor Carlin, and lay the case before him. For this purpose they repaired to Quincy, and at the recital of the cruelties practiced upon the men who were the victims of the Missourians, the governor's wife, who was present at the interview, was moved to tears, and the governor himself was greatly agitated. He promised to counsel with the State attorney, who by law was made his adviser, and promised to take such steps as the case seemed to require, and the law to justify. Just what was done by Governor Carlin, however, we are unable to learn; but one thing is certain, and that is, the guilty parties were never brought to justice, nor even to a trial—indeed it may be that even then the love which Governor Carlin once had for the Saints, and which at last became dead, had begun to grow cold.

Scarcely had the excitement occasioned by the kidnapping of Allred and his associates subsided, when Governor Boggs of Missouri made a demand of Governor Carlin, of Illinois, for the persons of Joseph Smith, jun., Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight,

Parley P. Pratt, Caleb Baldwin and Alanson Brown, as fugitives from justice. (See page 478.)

These circumstances gave the Saints to understand that their peace in their beautiful situation on the banks of the Mississippi was not to be without alloy. They gave to them a premonition of danger, for these incidents were indeed the few drops of rain which sometimes precede the storm. A kind Providence, however, shut out from their vision how fierce that storm would be.

During the year 1840, a number of prominent men, who had proven themselves faithful and true to the cause of God, died in Nauvoo, some of them from the effects of their sufferings in Missouri. Among them was Bishop Edward Partridge who died May 27, 1840, and Joseph Smith, sen., the Prophet's father, who departed this life Sept. 14, 1840.

At the general conference held in Nauvoo, Oct. 5th, 6th and 7th, 1840, it was resolved to petition the State Legislature to incorporate the town of Nauvoo, and Joseph Smith, John C. Bennett and Robert B. Thompson were appointed to draft a petition and a bill. At the same conference it was resolved to build a "House of the Lord" at Nauvoo. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

The bill for the incorporation of Nauvoo was duly presented to the Legislature, at Springfield, and passed the House of Representatives with only one or two dissenting votes, and the senate with no opposition, whatever. The charter, including charters for the "Nauvoo Legion" and the "University of the city of Nauvoo," was signed by Governor Thomas Carlin Dec. 16, 1840. The charter described the boundaries of

the city—embracing nearly seven square miles, including the town plats of Nauvoo and Commerce—but gave to the citizens (whom it erected a body corporate and politic) the right to extend the area of the city whenever any tract of land adjoining should have been laid into town lots and recorded according to law. The city council was to consist of a mayor, four aldermen and nine councilors to be elected by the qualified voters of the city. The first Monday in February, 1841, was appointed for the first election of officers.

The charter granted to the citizens of Nauvoo the most plenary powers in the management of their local affairs. Indeed, about the only limit placed upon their powers was, that they do nothing inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, and the State constitution of Illinois. But inside of those lines they were all powerful to make and execute such laws, as in the wisdom of the city council, were necessary for the peace, good order and general welfare of the city.

The leading men of the State appeared not only willing, but anxious to grant the privileges of this city government to the Saints. S. H. Little, of the upper house, especially, stood by the Saints, and pleaded for their rights, together with Snyder, Ralston, Moore, Ross and Stapp; while John F. Charles, the representative to the lower house from the district in which Nauvoo was located, manfully discharged his duties to the Nauvoo portion of his constituents, by using all his energy to secure them their city government.

The Saints rejoiced in the prospects of liberty secured to them by

their city charter, and of it Joseph said:

"I concocted it for the salvation of the Church and on principles so broad, that every honest man might dwell secure under its protective influences, without distinction of sect or party."

An inspection of the charter will bear out this opinion of it, for while it was "concocted for the salvation of the Church," it by no means secured that salvation by trespassing upon the rights of others, but by recognizing the rights of the Saints to be equal to the rights of other citizens. Nor was it intended that Nauvoo should be an exclusive city for the Saints; on the contrary, all worthy people were invited to come and assist in building it up and partake of its liberty and other advantages. An official proclamation of the Saints, issued over the signatures of Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and Hyrum Smith (the First Presidency of the Church), contains the following passage:

"We wish it likewise to be distinctly understood, that we claim no privileges but what we feel cheerfully disposed to share with our fellow-citizens of every denomination, and every sentiment of religion; and therefore say, that so far from being restricted to our own faith, let all those who desire to locate in this place (Nauvoo) or the vicinity, come, and we will hail them as citizens and friends, and shall feel it not only a duty, but a privilege to reciprocate the kindness we have received from the benevolent and kind-hearted citizens of the State of Illinois."

By this time the inhabitants of Nauvoo had increased to more than three thousand souls. Much of the surrounding country had been brought into subjection to the skill of the husbandman, while industries of various kinds had begun a struggle for existence. A charter for a railroad between Warsaw and Nauvoo had been secured, which promised to

obviate some of the difficulties of the commerce of the beautiful city, by reason of the rapids in the river during low water. A number of public buildings had been planned, among them the "House of the Lord," the foundation of which was begun ten days after the October conference, 1840. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.) The healthiness of the place during the past year had been greatly improved by the digging of wells and draining off stagnant waters, and there was now but little or no sickness among the inhabitants. The Saints were also blessed with an abundant harvest in the year 1840.

Feb. 1, 1841, the first election for members of the Nauvoo city council, as provided by the city charter, took place. John C. Bennett was elected mayor; Wm. Marks, Samuel H. Smith, Daniel H. Wells and Newel K. Whitney, aldermen; Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Charles C. Rich, John F. Barnett, Wilson Law, Don Carlos Smith, John P. Greene and Vinson Knight, councilors. Two days later (Feb. 3rd) the city council was organized, on which occasion the mayor elect delivered his inaugural address. Henry G. Sherwood was appointed marshal; James Sloan, recorder; Robert B. Thompson, treasurer; James Robinson, assessor, and Austin Cowles, supervisor of streets. The first act of the city council, after its organization, was to express its gratitude for its privileges and powers conferred upon the city by its charter. For this purpose the following resolution was introduced by Joseph Smith, and adopted:

*"Resolved*, By the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the unfeigned thanks of this community be respectfully tendered to

the governor, council of revision, and legislature of the State of Illinois, as a feeble testimonial of their respect and esteem of noble, high-minded and patriotic statesmen, and as an evidence of gratitude for the signal powers recently conferred; and that the citizens of Quincy be held in everlasting remembrance of their unparalleled liberality and marked kindness to our people, when in their greatest state of suffering and want."

The next move was to pass ordinances in relation to the Nauvoo Legion and the University. The latter appointed a chancellor (John C. Bennett) and board of regents. A site for a building was subsequently selected and plans for the structure were drawn, but that was as far as the matter went, as the city had no funds with which to proceed with the work of construction.

On Feb. 15th, the city council passed a temperance ordinance, which practically made Nauvoo a prohibition city. (See page 480.)

On the 23rd of February, 1841, a bill, previously passed by the State Legislature, was approved by Governor Carlin, incorporating the "Nauvoo House Association" (see *Nauvoo House*), and on the 27th another incorporating the "Nauvoo Agricultural and Manufacturing Association;" the object of the last named association was the "promotion of agriculture and husbandry in all their branches, and the manufacture of flour, lumber and such other useful articles as are necessary for the ordinary purposes of life." The capital stock of this association was put at \$100,000, with privilege of increasing to \$300,000.

On the 1st of March an ordinance was passed by the Nauvoo city council in relation to religious liberty. It provided that all religious sects and denominations should have free



toleration and equal privileges within the city, and that any person ridiculing or abusing another on account of his religious belief, should, on conviction thereof, before the mayor or municipal court, be fined in any sum not exceeding \$500, or imprisonment not exceeding six months. On that day also the city council, at Joseph Smith's suggestion, divided Nauvoo into four Wards, to wit:

"All that district of country within the city limits, north of the centre of Knight Street and west of the centre of Wells Street, shall constitute the 1st Ward. North of the centre of Knight Street and east of the centre of Wells Street, the 2nd Ward. South of the centre of Knight Street and east of the centre of Wells Street, the 3rd Ward. South of the centre of Knight Street and west of the centre of Wells Street, the 4th Ward."

The city council also ordered the town lots of Commerce to be vacated, that the survey of the city of Nauvoo might be carried through the town plats of Commerce, and that the same be incorporated forever with the city of Nauvoo. These things, together with training the Legion and preparing in a general way for the conference to be commenced on the 6th of April, 1841, occupied the attention of the people of Nauvoo through the winter.

At the general conference which was commenced in Nauvoo April 6, 1841, the corner stones of a Temple were laid. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.) During the remaining days of the conference, which was continued from Wednesday morning till Sunday night, and was one of the most important conferences ever held by the Church, the Saints were instructed in principle and doctrine; the quorums of the Priesthood were arranged in their proper order and the important questions of business put

to each quorum separately and voted upon; especially the names of those whom God had appointed and re-appointed to fill the respective positions alluded to in a revelation given a few weeks previous. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 124.) Besides this the several charters of Nauvoo, the Legion, University, Agricultural and Manufacturing Association, Nauvoo House Association, etc., were read and accepted by the Church. Amasa M. Lyman was sustained to fill the vacancy in the quorum of the Twelve. John C. Bennett was presented in connection with the First Presidency as an assistant President, until Sidney Rigdon's health should be restored. Every thing necessary for the welfare, happiness and prosperity of the Saints was considered, and preparations made to push the work of God forward in all its departments.

The circumstances surrounding the Saints at that time were of a character to bid them hope that Nauvoo would be to them "a safe retreat." The friendship of nearly all the leading men of the State; the universal sympathy felt by the people of the State for the victims of Missouri's fury; the action of the State Legislature in granting the several charters all supported that hope. Yet, early in the summer of 1841, an event happened which threatened the peace of the inhabitants of Nauvoo. We allude to the arrest of Joseph Smith on a requisition from the governor of Missouri, June 5, 1841. (See pages 482-485.)

With the exception of the difficulties connected with this unwarranted arrest of the Prophet and a few minor ones, the summer of 1841 glided pleasantly by, bringing to the busy

inhabitants of Nauvoo many seasons of social and spiritual refreshment. Their city was the most promising and thrifty in the great State of Illinois, and the fame thereof had gone abroad everywhere, which together with the peculiar religion of its inhabitants, attracted much attention of the people. Strangers from far and near made it a point to visit Nauvoo, and the peace, sobriety, industry and public spirit of the citizens challenged their admiration, whatever views they might entertain respecting their religion. A large bowery was constructed just west of the Temple site where the people assembled for worship. Here the young Prophet preached his most powerful discourses, and taught his people in the doctrine of the heavenly kingdom; and not unfrequently it happened that

"Fools who came to mock,  
"Remained to pray."

Heber C. Kimball, writing from Nauvoo in July, 1841, described the appearance of the city at that time in the following language:

"You know there were not more than thirty buildings in the city when we left about two years ago; but at this time there are 1,200, and hundreds of others in progress, which will be finished soon. On Friday last, 70 Saints came to Nauvoo, led by Lorenzo Barnes, from Chester County, Pennsylvania, in wagons, living in tents by the way. On the next day, a company came in wagons from Canada, all in good spirits, and in two or three days after, they all obtained places to live in. They are coming in from all parts of this vast continent daily and hourly, and the work is spreading in all of this land and calls for preaching in all parts. You will recollect when we built our houses in the woods there was not a house within half a mile of us. Now the place, wild as it was at that time, is converted into a thickly populated village."

Another account of the rapid progress which Nauvoo had then made,

and of its thriving condition, we quote from the *St. Louis Atlas*:

"The population of Nauvoo is between 8,000 and 9,000, and of course the largest town in the State of Illinois. How long the Latter-day Saints will hold together and exhibit their present aspect, it is not for us to say. At this moment, they present the appearance of an enterprising, industrious, sober and thrifty population, such a population, indeed, as in the respects just mentioned, have no rivals east, and we rather guess, not even west of the Mississippi."

While the leading men of the State of Illinois were generally favorably inclined towards the citizens of Nauvoo, the Saints on their part manifested a lively interest in the general concerns of the State; and by no means intended to make either their city or the Legion exclusively "Mormon." On the contrary they were willing to unite with their fellow-citizens in every good work and enterprise, and tolerate religious differences. Indeed, repeated invitations were sent out to the honorable men, not only of the State of Illinois, but of the United States, to men of capital and influence and integrity, asking them to come to Nauvoo and assist in building up a glorious city. In July, 1841, Sidney H. Little, of the State senate, was killed by leaping from his carriage, while his horse was unmanageable; and that the "Saints might mourn with those who are called to mourn," as Joseph puts it, the 18th of July, 1841, was set apart as a day of fasting among the Saints. By thus manifesting a feeling of sympathy and interest, they sought to cultivate peace and good will among their fellow-citizens, and a number of honorable, and some of them influential men, while not accepting the faith of the Saints, became friendly disposed towards them and associated with

them in various business transactions.

But the good will of the Saints was not very generally reciprocated by the people of Illinois; and there were, even at that early date, envyings and bitterness manifested by those who were jealous of the prosperity and increasing power of the Saints in Nauvoo and vicinity. The same spirit existed to some extent in Iowa, as will be seen by the following occurrence: General Swazey, in command of the militia of Iowa Territory, invited Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and General Bennett to attend the parade of the militia of that Territory at Montrose, Sept. 14, 1841. The invitation was accepted, and General Swazey received his visitors courteously, and so did the militia. But during a recess in the exercises taken at noon, a Mr. D. W. Kilburn tried to create a disturbance by circulating the following note among the troops:

"Citizens of Iowa: The laws of Iowa do not require you to muster or be reviewed by Joe Smith or General Bennett; and should they have the impudence to attempt it, it is hoped that every person having a proper respect for himself, will at once leave the ranks."

The facts are that these militia companies were not mustered by Joseph's order, nor did he expect to review them. He had simply accepted the general's invitation to witness the movements of the troops as other spectators were doing, and neither Joseph nor Hyrum were in uniform. General Swazey had been several times invited to attend the drills and reviews of the Legion at Nauvoo, and he had simply returned the courtesy to the officers of the Legion. Kilburn's effort, however, to create a disturbance was not success-

ful, though the papers of the State commented upon it, and some began to whisper that it was Joseph's ambition to build up a military church and extend his faith, Mohammed-like, by the sword.

May 24, 1841, Joseph called upon the Saints everywhere to come into Hancock County, that there might be a concentration of effort to build up Nauvoo. The proclamation closes with these words:

"Let it therefore be understood that all the Stakes excepting those in this county [Hancock] and in Lee County, Iowa, are discontinued; and the Saints instructed to settle in this county as soon as circumstances will permit."

The Twelve Apostles, who had left Nauvoo on their missions to England under very trying circumstances about two years before, returned during the summer, after accomplishing one of the most successful and remarkable missions in modern times. They were a tower of strength to Joseph, and he was not long in availing himself of their valuable support. At a special conference convened in Nauvoo Aug. 16, 1841, Joseph said that "the time had come when the Twelve should be called upon to stand in their place next to the First Presidency; and attend to the settling of emigrants and the business of the Church at the Stakes, and assist to bear off the kingdom victoriously to the nations." And he at once turned over to their management many of the temporal affairs with which he had been perplexed, and devoted himself more exclusively to spiritual labors.

One of the most pleasing events that happened, during the summer of 1841, was the visit of the Indian chief Keokuk, to Nauvoo. (See page 486.)

Oct. 2, 1841, the corner stones of the Nauvoo House were laid in Nauvoo. (See *Nauvoo House*.) On that day the semi-annual conference of the Church also commenced; it was continued for four days, and much good instruction was given. (See page 486.) Joseph made a full report of the Church property in his charge as trustee-in-trust for the Church; and a few days later, in an epistle of the Twelve Apostles to the Saints generally, an account was given of the Prophet's own earthly possessions, of which the following is a copy:

"Old Charley, a horse given to him several years before in Kirtland; two pet deers; two old turkeys and four young ones; an old cow given to him by a brother in Missouri; old Major, a dog; his wife, children, and a little household furniture."

A few bad characters had at that time attached themselves to the Church in Nauvoo and vicinity, and gave a coloring to the charges that were made against the Church, to the effect that the leaders thereof sanctioned stealing, so long as it was practiced on those not belonging to the Church. Such were the rumors given out by some members of the Church engaged in this infamous business. On the 18th of November a nest of such vipers was uncovered at Ramus, a place 20 miles east of Nauvoo; and they were promptly excommunicated from the Church by the Apostles, who were holding a conference at the place on the date above mentioned. Both Joseph and Hyrum took advantage of the occasion to make affidavits before proper officers of the law to the effect: that they had never given their sanction to such infamous doctrine as that attributed to them; and the Twelve Apostles in an epistle to the public,

disavowed ever sanctioning the crime of theft.

Hyrum in his affidavit dated Nov. 26, 1841, says:

"I hereby disavow any sanction or approbation by me of the crime of theft, or any other evil practice in any person or persons whatever, whereby either the lives or property of our fellow-men may be unlawfully taken or molested; neither are such doings sanctioned or approbated by the First Presidency or any other persons in authority or good standing in the Church, but such acts are altogether in violation of the rules, order and regulations of the Church, contrary to the teachings given in said Church, and the laws of both God and man."

In a public declaration dated Nov. 29, 1841, to which Joseph appended his affidavit the Prophet said:

"It has been proclaimed upon the housetops and in the secret chamber, in the public walks and private circles throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent, that stealing by the Latter-day Saints has received my approval; nay, that I have taught them the doctrine, encouraged them in plunder, and led on the van—than which nothing is more foreign from my heart. I disfellowship the perpetrators of all such abominations; they are devils and not Saints, totally unfit for the society of Christians or men. It is true that some professing to be Latter-day Saints have taught such vile heresies, but all are not Israel that are of Israel; and I want it distinctly understood in all coming time, that the Church over which I have the honor of presiding, will ever set its brows like brass, and its face like steel, against all such abominable acts of villainy and crime."

Nor were the Twelve less forcible in denouncing this iniquity. In an epistle dated Dec. 1, 1841, and printed at the same time with the above, they said:

"We know nohow to express our abhorrence of such an idea, and can only say it is engendered in hell, founded in falsehood, and is the offspring of the devil; that it is at variance with every principle of righteousness and truth, and will damn all that are connected with it. \* \* \* We further call upon the Church to bring all such characters before the authorities, that they may be tried and dealt with according

to the law of God and delivered up to the laws of the land."

About this time, too, there were gangs of robbers operating up and down the Mississippi River, from which the Saints suffered, as many of their horses and cattle were stolen; but more serious injury arose from the fact that the acts of these robbers were attributed to the Saints, and did much to prejudice the minds of the public against them.

In December, 1841, the attempt to build up the town of Warren, located one mile south of Warsaw, was abandoned. (See *Warren*.)

In the meantime Nauvoo was rapidly building up. The Temple and Nauvoo House were being pushed ahead with considerable vigor; and many neat cottage homes had taken the place of the rude temporary cabins that had been constructed to shelter the people until their industry could win better homes. The population in the spring of 1842 was between eight and ten thousand, and the stream of emigration from the British mission by that time had commenced to flow in. The new citizens assisted in no small degree to increase the prosperity of this central gathering place of the Saints.

"But the Church had passed through a long period of disaster," writes B. H. Roberts. "Time and again the early members of the Church had been driven away from their homes, and while their faith in their religion remained unshaken, these frequent drivings and mobbings stripped them of their property and of course ruined their financial schemes; and though their prospects at Nauvoo began to brighten, the people were constantly plagued by the presentation of old claims

upon them, their creditors making small or no allowance for the disasters which had overtaken them. This was a constant draught upon their resources and a great hindrance to the growth of Nauvoo. Finally, as a means of protection against unreasonable, importunate creditors, a number of the leading brethren, among them the Prophet Joseph, took advantage of the bankrupt law. Under this law any one owing a certain amount more than he was able to pay, made out a schedule of his property and likewise of his debts, and placed both in the hands of an assignee, who paid his creditors whatever percentage of his debts his property amounted to; and the assignor could start again without being compelled to pay any of the old claims held against him previous to his declared insolvency. In whatever light this action on the part of the brethren may appear at first sight, an examination into all the circumstances will reveal the fact that as a means of self-protection it became absolutely necessary. They were financially down, and before they could rise to their feet, inexorable creditors were upon them to take away their substance. If it is possible for an individual or a company to be justified in taking advantage of the bankrupt law, then the 'Mormon' leaders were. There was no effort on the part of those who took advantage of the bankrupt law to defraud their creditors. To parties with whom Joseph had contracted for lands, he wrote that he still considered his contracts with them as good; and in the case of the Hotchkiss purchase he proposed to renew the contract; but this step placed the brethren beyond the power of their unjust

creditors, and necessity compelled the action."

As early as Dec. 20, 1841, Joseph, as lieutenant-general of the Legion, issued orders for a general military parade and review of the Legion to take place on the 7th of May following. A subsequent order, issued in April, marking out the programme for the day's exercises contained the following clause:

"At 3 o'clock p. m. the cohorts will separate and form in line of battle, the brigadiers assume their respective commands, and General Law's command [cavalry] will make a descent upon that of General Rich's [Cohort C. Infantry] in order of sham battle."

The lieutenant-general had invited the consolidated staff of the Legion and their ladies to partake of a *repast militaire*, on the occasion, at his house.

On the morning of the day appointed for the drill and review, two thousand troops were in the field; and an immense concourse of spectators, both of Saints and strangers. Such was the interest taken in the movements of the people of Nauvoo, that a number of the prominent men of the State within easy reach of the city of the Saints attended the review. Judge Stephen A. Douglass adjourned the circuit court, then in session at the county seat, Carthage, in order to attend. As soon as the lieutenant-general heard of the presence of Judge Douglass, he sent him an invitation to attend the military dinner given at his house, which the judge accepted.

It was a glorious day, passing off without drunkenness or noise or disorder; and even the strangers expressed themselves as highly satisfied with what they had witnessed. But even during the brightest days

clouds will sometimes drift across the sun's disc; so in the moments of man's supreme happiness, it often occurs that shadows arise to alarm his fears, and remind him how fleeting are the joys of this life. So was it with the principal founder of Nauvoo on the day of the drill. When the respective cohorts were drawn up in line of battle, a treacherous attempt was made by John C. Bennett, to have Joseph placed in a position where his life would have been in imminent danger. Bennett was soon afterwards expelled from the Church because of his wickedness and whoredoms. (See pages 494-496.)

April 16, 1842, the first number of the *Wasp*, a miscellaneous weekly newspaper was issued in Nauvoo. The next year it was enlarged, and changed its name to the *Nauvoo Neighbor*.

In the summer of 1842, Joseph, who was wickedly accused of being an accessary before the fact of an attempt to murder L. W. Boggs, ex-governor of Missouri, found it advisable to absent himself from Nauvoo for a while. (See pages 497-500.) From his places of concealment, he directed the movements of the people at Nauvoo, and managed his own business through faithful agents, who met with him occasionally. Emma, his wife spent considerable of her time with him, and beguiled the loneliness of those weary hours of inactivity, that he whose life is the synonym for intense activity, had to endure.

During those days of exile, one gets a glimpse of the Prophet's private life and character, that in part explains the mystery of his power and influence over his friends and his

people:—it was his unbounded love for them. Speaking of a meeting with his friends in the night of Aug. 11, 1842, on the little island near Nauvoo, in the account he gives of it in the Book of the Law of the Lord, he says:

"How glorious were my feelings when I met that faithful and friendly band on the night of the 11th [of August], on the island, at the mouth of the slough between Zarahemla and Nauvoo. With what unspeakable delight, and what transports of joy swelled my bosom, when I took by the hand, on that night, my beloved Emma—she that was my wife, even the wife of my youth, and choice of my heart. Many were the vibrations of my mind when I contemplated for a moment the many scenes we had been called to pass through, the fatigues and the toils, the sorrows and sufferings, and the joys and the consolations, from time to time, which had strewn our paths and crowned our board. Oh, what a commingling of thoughts filled my mind for the moment!—And again she is here, even in the seventh trouble—undaunted, firm, and unwavering—unchangeable, affectionate Emma!"

Of his brother Hyrum on the same occasion he says:

"There was brother Hyrum, who next took me by the hand—a natural brother. Thought I to myself: Brother Hyrum, what a faithful heart you have got! Oh, may the Eternal Jehovah crown eternal blessings upon your head, as a reward for the care you have had for my soul! Oh, how many are the sorrows we have shared together! and again we find ourselves shackled by the unrelenting hand of oppression. Hyrum, thy name shall be written in the Book of the Law of the Lord, for those who come after to look upon, that they may pattern after thy works."

So he goes on to call the faithful by their names and record their deeds of love manifested towards himself, and pronounces his blessings upon them; and if, as one of old said, "We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren"—surely Joseph Smith possessed that witness—he loved his brethren better than his life!

Some of the brethren proposed that Joseph should go up to the pine woods of Wisconsin, where a number of the brethren were engaged in getting out timber for the Temple and Nauvoo House, until the excitement should subside in Illinois. Of this proposition, Joseph said in a letter to Emma, dated Aug. 16, 1842:

"My mind will eternally revolt at every suggestion of that kind. \* \* \* My safety is with you if you want to have it so. \* \* \* If I go to the pine country, you shall go along with me, and the children; and if you and the children go not with me, I don't go. I do not wish to exile myself for the sake of my own life. I would rather fight it out. It is for your sakes, therefore, that I would do such a thing."

It appears that Joseph had resolved to submit no longer to the injustice he had suffered from the hands of the people of Missouri. It was rumored that the officers, on leaving Nauvoo, breathed out threats of returning with sufficient force to search every house in the city and vicinity; and Ford, the agent of Missouri, threatened to bring a mob against the "Mormons," if necessary, to arrest the Prophet. Hearing these rumors, Joseph exchanged several letters with Wilson Law, (who had been recently elected major-general of the Legion, *vice* John C. Bennett cashiered), in which he admonished him to have all things in readiness to protect the people in their rights, and not for one moment to submit to the outrages that were threatened. In a letter written to Law, dated Aug. 14, 1842, the Prophet said:

"You will see that the peace of the city of Nauvoo is kept, let who will, endeavor to disturb it. You will also see that whenever any mob force, or violence is used, on any citizen thereof, or that belongeth thereunto, you will see that that force or violence is immediately dispersed, and brought to punishment, or meet it, and contest at the point

of the word, with firm, undaunted and unyielding valor; and let them know that the spirit of old Seventy-six and of George Washington yet lives, and is contained in the bosoms and blood of the children of the fathers thereof. If there are any threats in the city, let legal steps be taken against them; and let no man, woman or child be intimidated, nor suffer it to be done. Nevertheless, as I said in the first place, we will take every measure that lays in our power, and make every sacrifice that God or man could require at our hands, to preserve the peace and safety of the people without collision."

To these sentiments there was a willing response of acquiescence on the part of the major-general, and he pledged himself to faithfully carry out Joseph's orders, provided the emergency for doing so should arise. After a little, however, the excitement began to subside; and as Joseph's hiding place at Derby's was discovered, by a young man who suddenly came upon Joseph and his kind host, on the 17th of August, while they were walking out in the woods for a little exercise, the Prophet moved quietly into the city, staying first at the house of one friend a day or two, and then removing to that of another.

In the meantime the situation was plainly placed before Governor Carlin; and the course that Joseph had taken fully vindicated by letters written to him by Emma, his wife, who displayed no mean ability in the correspondence she opened up with the governor, which so nearly concerned the peace of her family. She directed the attention of the governor to the fact that Joseph had not been in the State of Missouri for some three or four years—that if her husband had been accessory before the fact, to the assault upon ex-Governor Boggs, the crime, if committed at all—which she stoutly averred was

not the case—was done in Illinois, and there was no law to drag a man from a State where the crime was committed, into a State where it had not been committed, for trial; and as her husband had not been in the State of Missouri for several years previous to the assault on Boggs, he could not have fled from the justice of that State, and therefore ought not to be given up under the fugitive-from-justice law.

Letters from other prominent citizens of Nauvoo were also sent to the governor; and the Female Relief Society called his attention to the threats of mob violence and invasion from Missouri, and asked that sufficient military protection might be given to insure the peace and safety of the citizens of Nauvoo. All these things the governor treated lightly, and claimed that the only excitement that existed was with the "Mormon" people at Nauvoo, and nowhere else; and there was no need, he insisted, of taking the precautions hinted at by the people. Though when talking on another subject he unwittingly remarked that persons were offering their services every day either in person or by letter, and held themselves in readiness to go against the "Mormons" whenever he should call upon them; but he never had the least idea of calling on the militia, neither had he thought it necessary. He maintained that the proper thing for Joseph to do was to give himself up to the authorities of Missouri for trial, and he had no doubt that he would be acquitted. Judge Ralston asked him how he thought Mr. Smith would go through the midst of his enemies without being subject to violence; and how after his acquittal, he would be able



to return to Illinois. To that proposition the governor could give no satisfactory answer, but made light of the whole matter. And in spite of all the protests sent in by the people of Nauvoo, he made a proclamation that as Joseph Smith and O. P. Rockwell had resisted the laws, by refusing to go with the officers who had them in custody, and had made their escape, he offered a reward of \$200 for each or either of those "fugitives from justice." Governor Reynolds also offered a reward for their arrest, \$300 for each one or either of them.

Joseph continued to remain in the city and moved about cautiously, attending to his business. A tide of popular prejudice had set in of such proportions that it seemed that it would overwhelm the Saints. It had been created largely through the misrepresentations of John C. Bennett, and Joseph at once determined to counteract it if possible. He ordered that a special conference be called for the purpose of appointing Elders to go through the State of Illinois and the East to flood the country with the truth in relation to Bennett's character. The conference was called, and in the interim documents and affidavits were prepared, that the Elders might be armed with proofs, in relation to the facts respecting Bennett and his misrepresentations.

The conference convened on the 29th of August, 1842, the day appointed, and Hyrum Smith addressed the brethren on the mission many of them were expected to go upon. At the conclusion of his remarks Joseph stepped into the stand, to the great joy of his people, many of whom thought he had come to Washington,

and others to Europe. His appearance created great cheerfulness and animation among the people, and Joseph who was naturally impulsive, was overjoyed to again stand before the Saints. He addressed them in more than his usual spirited manner, and called upon the Elders to go through the States taking documents with them, "to show to the world the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Boggs, Carlin and others, that the public might have the truth laid before them."

In response to this call to sustain the Prophet's character, about three hundred and eighty Elders volunteered their services, and announced their willingness to go immediately.

For several days after the conference the Prophet continued about home, but it being revealed to him that his enemies were again on the move to take him, he found it necessary to drop out of sight. Still he occasionally visited his home, and while on one of these visits to his family, he nearly fell into the hands of the officers. (See page 501.)

Joseph's case was soon afterwards brought before the court in Springfield, and he was honorably acquitted. (See page 506.)

Notwithstanding the annoyance from the Missourians and the threatening attitude of the enemies of the Saints generally, Nauvoo continued to grow. On the 20th of August, 1842, the High Council, "Resolved that the city of Nauvoo be divided into ten Wards, according to the division made by the Temple Committee; and that there be a Bishop appointed over each Ward; and also that other Bishops be appointed over such districts immediately out of the city and adjoining thereto as shall be consid-

ered necessary. Resolved that Samuel H. Smith be appointed Bishop in the place of Bishop Vinson Knight, deceased; also that Tarleton Lewis be appointed Bishop of the Fourth Ward; John Murdock, of the Fifth Ward; Daniel Carn, of the Sixth Ward; Jacob Foutz, of the Eighth Ward; Jonathan H. Hale, of the Ninth Ward; Hezekiah Peck, of the Tenth Ward; David Evans, of the district south of the city, called the Eleventh Ward; Israel Calkins, of the district east of the city and south of Knight Street; William W. Spencer, of the district east of the city and north of Knight Street."

At another meeting of the High Council held Dec. 4, 1842, the report of a committee previously appointed for dividing the city into Wards, for transacting Church business, was heard, accepted and adopted, as follows:

"The First Ward is bounded on the north by the city boundary line, and on the south by Brattle Street.

"The Second Ward is bounded on the north by Brattle Street or the First Ward, and on the south by Carlos Street or the Third Ward.

"The Third Ward is bounded on the north by Carlos Street or the Second Ward, and on the south by Joseph Street or the Fourth Ward.

"The Fourth Ward is bounded on the north by Joseph Street or the Third Ward, and on the south by Cutler Street or the Fifth Ward.

"The Fifth Ward is bounded on the north by Cutler Street or the Fourth Ward, and on the south by Mulholland Street.

"The Sixth Ward is bounded on the west by the Mississippi River, and on the east by Main Street or the Seventh Ward.

"The Seventh Ward is bounded on the west by Main Street or the Sixth Ward, and on the east by Durfee Street or the Eighth Ward.

"The Eighth Ward is bounded on the west by Durfee Street or the Seventh Ward, and on the east by Robinson Street or the Ninth Ward.

"The Ninth Ward is bounded on the west

by Robinson Street or the Eighth Ward, and on the east by Green Street or the Tenth Ward.

"The Tenth Ward is bounded on the west by Green Street or the Ninth Ward, and on the east by the city boundary line."

In the *Times and Seasons* of Oct. 1, 1842, the following in regard to the status of the town at that time appears:

"For three or four miles upon the river and about the same distance back in the country, Nauvoo presents a city of gardens, ornamented with the dwellings of those who have made a covenant by sacrifice, and are guided by revelation. \* \* \*

The city is regularly laid off into blocks containing four lots of 11 by 12 rods each—making all corner lots. It will be no more than probably correct, if we allow the city to contain between seven and eight hundred houses, with a population of fourteen or fifteen thousand people. Many of the houses recently built are of brick, some one story and some two stories high, displaying that skill, economy and industry which have always characterized intelligent minds and laudable intentions. \* \* \*

We can therefore, of a truth declare, that within the same length of time, and with the same amount of means, no society on the face of the globe has a better right to the claim of improvement by their own industry, or have offered to their surrounding neighbors a plainer pattern of mechanical skill, domestic economy, practical temperance, common intelligence, every day virtue, and eternal religion, than the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. \* \* \* Two steam mills have been put in operation this season, and many other buildings for mechanical labor, in the various branches of manufacture, are either under way or in contemplation; while the Temple of God (a work of great magnitude) and the Nauvoo House, which, when finished, will hardly be surpassed in the western world, are rising up as monuments of the enterprise, industry and reverence of the commandments of God."

Oct. 30, 1842, the Saints met for worship on the temporary floor of the Temple, for the first time. Previous to this meetings had been held in a grove on the brow of the hill immediately west of that building, the walls of which were now about

four feet high or more above the basement.

Gradually the people of Illinois imbibed the same persecuting spirit which had followed the Saints in all their wanderings. After the election of Thomas Ford to the office of governor of Illinois—notwithstanding he was elected to that position by the votes of the Saints—he expressed himself dissatisfied with the privileges granted to Nauvoo in the charter of incorporation, under which the citizens had prospered. Some members of the Legislature talked of modification, and others, more rapid, of annulling all the charters granted to the city. The bias of the public mind in Illinois was not, however, fully against the people at that time, and consequently the charters were not interfered with, and the citizens of Nauvoo, anxious to believe that the unfounded prejudice against them would ultimately wear itself out, continued in their usual avocations, all tending to increase the importance of the city.

Occasionally, honorable individuals, who had visited the city, would publish accounts which contradicted many of the false reports in circulation against the Saints, which in many cases enlisted the sympathies and respect of persons far and near, and, in some measure, postponed the day of calamity which awaited it and its citizens.

A Mr. Prior, a Methodist minister, who visited the place in the spring of 1843, wrote of it and the people as follows:

"At length the city burst upon my sight, and how sadly was I disappointed. Instead of seeing a few miserable log cabins and mud hovels, which I expected to find, I was surprised to see one of the most romantic places that I had visited in the west. The

buildings, though many of them were small and of wood, yet bore the marks of neatness which I have not seen equalled in this country. The far-spread plain at the bottom of the hill was dotted over with the habitations of men with such majestic profusion, that I was almost willing to believe myself mistaken; and instead of being in Nauvoo, of Illinois, among Mormons, that I was in Italy, at the city of Leghorn (which the location of Nauvoo resembles very much), and among the eccentric Italians. I gazed for some time with fond admiration upon the plain below. Here and there arose a tall, majestic brick house, speaking loudly of the genius and untiring labor of the inhabitants who have snatched the place from the clutches of obscurity, and wrested it from the bonds of disease; and in two or three short years, rescued it from a dreary waste to transform it into one of the first cities in the west. The hill upon which I stood was covered over with the dwellings of men, and amid them was seen to rise the hewn stone and already accomplished work of the Temple, which is now raised 15 or 20 feet above the level of the ground. The few trees that were permitted to stand were now in full foliage, and were scattered with a sort of fantastic irregularity over the slope of the hill. I passed on into the more active parts of the city, looking into every street and lane to observe all that was passing. I found all the people engaged in some useful and healthy employment. The place was alive with business—much more so than any place I have visited since the hard times commenced. I sought in vain for anything that bore the marks of immorality; but was both astonished and highly pleased at my ill success. I could see no loungers about the streets, nor any drunkards about the taverns. I did not meet with those distorted features of ruffians, or with the ill-bred or impudent. I heard not an oath in the place. I saw not a gloomy countenance; all were cheerful, polite and industrious. I conversed with many leading men, and found them social and well-informed, hospitable and generous. I saw nothing but order and regulation in the society. Where then, I exclaimed, is all this startling proof of the utter profligacy of Nauvoo? Where, in the name of God, is the immorality charged upon the citizens of it; and what dreadful out-breaking crimes have given men the licence to deprecate this place as much as they do? Where is the gang of marauders, horse-thieves and ruffians, the drunkards and vicious men of Nauvoo? Where are the horrid forms of human beings distorted

with hellish rage and maddened ire? Where are the dark and diabolical superstitions? Where are those specimens of credulity and ignorance? Where are those damning doctrines of demons? Where, in fine, is this slough, this sink of iniquity of which I have heard so much? Surely not in Nauvoo. They must have got the wrong place, or willfully lied about it. I could but blush with disappointed shame for my friends who had so misinformed me, and very soon made up my mind, like the Queen of Sheba, not to believe any reports of enemies, but to always, like her, go and see for myself."

Indeed, Nauvoo was now rapidly advancing in population, wealth and every other characteristic of a great city. An Englishman, who saw it at that time, and wrote a letter to the *Times and Seasons*, said:

"Look and see what they have done at Nauvoo during the comparatively short time they have been there. If they are enabled to proceed as they have commenced, their town ere long will become a mighty city. I do not believe that there is another people in existence who could have made such improvements in the same length of time under the same circumstances."

The 4th of July, 1848, was celebrated in grand style at Nauvoo. Two meetings were held in the grove, which were attended by nearly fifteen thousand people. In the forenoon Orson Hyde delivered a powerful and appropriate speech, and in the afternoon Parley P. Pratt treated the large assembly to a masterly discourse. During the day three steamboats arrived with passengers—one from Quincy, one from St. Louis, and one from Burlington—bringing from 800 to 1,000 passengers. On the arrival of each boat, the people were escorted by the Nauvoo Band to convenient seats provided for them, and were welcomed by the firing of cannon.

A member of the expedition from Quincy, writing of his visit to Nauvoo to the *Quincy Whig*, says:

"I left Quincy on the glorious Fourth, on

board the splendid steamer *Annawan*, Captain Whitney, in company with a large number of ladies and gentlemen of this city, on a pleasure excursion to the far-famed city of Nauvoo. The kindness of the officers of the boat and the hearty welcome received from the citizens of Nauvoo on our arrival there, induced me to return to each and all of them my own and the thanks of every passenger on board the *Annawan*, as I am sure all alike feel grateful for the pleasure there experienced. We left Quincy at half-past eight, and reached Nauvoo at about two o'clock p. m., where we received an invitation from the Prophet to attend the delivering of an oration, which was accepted; and two companies of the Legion were sent to escort us to the Grove (on the hill near the Temple), where the oration was to be delivered. When we reached the brow of the hill, we received a salute from the artillery there stationed, and proceeded on to the Grove, where we were welcomed in a cordial and happy manner by the Prophet and his people.

"The large concourse of people, assembled to celebrate the day which gave birth to American independence, convinced me that the Mormons have been most grossly slandered, and that they respect, cherish and love the free institutions of our country, and appreciate the sacrifices and bloodshed of those patriots who established them. I never saw a more orderly, gentlemanly, and hospitable people than the Mormons, nor a more interesting population, as the stirring appearance of their city indicates. Nauvoo is destined to be, under the influence and enterprise of such citizens as it now contains, and her natural advantages, a populous, wealthy, and manufacturing city.

"The services of the day were opened by a chaste and appropriate prayer by an Elder whose name I do not know, which was followed by rich strains of vocal and instrumental music. Then followed the oration, which was an elegant, eloquent and pathetic one, as much so as I ever heard on a similar occasion.

"We started home about six o'clock, all evidently much pleased with Nauvoo, and gratified by the kind reception of her citizens.  
A CITIZEN OF QUINCY."

After Joseph's arrest near Dixon, Ill., and his subsequent trial and acquittal by the municipal court of Nauvoo (see pages 516-526), nothing of importance transpired at Nauvoo

until Aug. 7, 1848, when the general election for State officers took place. On that occasion the Saints generally voted the Democratic ticket, but Joseph himself, in fulfillment of a pledge he had formerly made to Cyrus H. Walker, who was the Whig candidate for representative to Congress, voted the Whig ticket.

The fact that the Democrats gained the victory by "Mormon" votes, stirred up to the very depths the enmity of the defeated political party; and when, shortly after the election, Robert D. Foster, who had been elected school commissioner, and George W. Thatcher, who had been elected clerk of the commissioner's court for the county, appeared at the court-house in Carthage to take the oath of office, and file their bonds, an attempt was made to keep them from doing so; and the court was threatened with violence if the "Mormons" were permitted to qualify.

But they qualified, nevertheless; whereupon a call was issued for an anti-Mormon meeting to convene in Carthage on the following Saturday, Aug. 19, 1848, to protest against the "Mormons" holding office. The people of Carthage and vicinity assembled at the appointed time, and organized with a chairman (Major Reuben Graves) and a secretary (W. D. Abernethy). A committee of nine was appointed to draft resolutions. After listening to speeches by Valentine Wilson, Walter Bagby and others, the meeting adjourned to meet again on the 6th of September.

To enumerate the crimes alleged against the Saints in general, and particularly against Joseph Smith, in the preamble to the resolutions adopted at their second meeting,

held in Carthage, Sept. 6, 1848, would be drawing up a list of all the crimes that ever threatened the peace, happiness, prosperity and liberty of a nation. They resolved that, from recent movements among the "Mormons," there were indications that they were unwilling to submit to the ordinary restrictions of law; and therefore concluded that the people of Illinois must assert their rights in some way. That while they deprecated anything like lawless violence, they pledged themselves to resist all wrongs the "Mormons" should inflict upon them in the future—of course. They called upon all good and honest men to assist in humbling the pride of that "audacious despot," Joseph Smith; pledged themselves to raise a *posse* and take him, if the authorities of Missouri made another demand for him; that it might not be said of them, they allowed the most outrageous culprits "to go unwhipped of justice." They agreed to support no man of either political party who should truckle to the "Mormons" for their influence, and finally

"Resolved that when the government ceases to afford protection, the citizens of course fall back upon their original inherent rights of self-defense."

One of the principal movers in these meetings was Walter Bagby, the county collector, with whom Joseph had had some difficulty in relation to the payment of taxes. In the dispute that arose Bagby told Joseph he lied, and for the insult Joseph struck him several times, and would doubtless have thrashed him soundly but for the interference of Daniel H. Wells. From that time on, Bagby became the relentless enemy of Joseph and the inspirer of these meetings at Carthage; and afterwards

went to Missouri where he conferred with the Prophet's old enemies, and brought about that concerted action between the Missourians and the anti-Mormons of Illinois, which resulted finally in the Prophet's assassination.

Later on in the fall, acts of violence began to be perpetrated upon the Saints who lived at a distance from Nauvoo; and threats of violence were frequent. In December, 1843, a member of the Church, living near Warsaw, by the name of Daniel Avery, and his son Philander, were kidnapped by Levi Williams of Warsaw, John Elliot and others, and run across the Mississippi River to Missouri, where for several weeks Daniel Avery was kept a prisoner in Clarke County, while one Joseph McCoy was hunting up witnesses to prove that he had stolen a mare from him. Philander Avery escaped and returned to Illinois; but his father remained a prisoner, and suffered great cruelty at the hands of his captors. Finally, however, he was released by writ of *habeas corpus*, and went to Nauvoo where he made affidavit as to his treatment.

The air was also filled with wild rumors as to what the Missourians were intending to do; and some of the letters from Missouri that fell into Joseph's hands, through friends of his, threatened Illinois with invasion, and for a season it would seem that a border war was inevitable. Joseph was careful to keep Governor Ford informed as to all acts of violence perpetrated upon his people, and especially as to the threats of the Missourians respecting an attack, and went so far as to tender the services of the Legion to repel it, should it occur. Governor

Ford, however, refused to believe there was any danger in the threats, and therefore would detail no portion of the Legion, or of the State militia, to be ready for such an assault.

A petition signed by nearly all the citizens of Nauvoo, asking the governor to issue no more warrants at the demand of Missouri for the arrest of Joseph Smith on those old charges, was also presented to the executive, but the governor refused to give the people any encouragement that he would favorably entertain their suit.

In the summer of 1843 great improvements were made in Nauvoo. Fine residences now adorned both the high and low lands upon which it stood, and a number of public buildings were in course of erection, among which was the Masonic Temple, a substantial three-story brick building, on Main Street. The corner stones of that historic building, which is still standing, were laid June 24, 1843; it was dedicated April 5, 1844. An arsenal was also built at a convenient place near the Temple, for the accomodation of the Legion.

During the winter of 1843-44 another important event began to take shape. As the time of the Presidential Election was approaching the probable candidates for the office began to be discussed. It was well known that the vote of the citizens of Nauvoo would be important, as it would most likely determine whether Illinois would go Whig or Democratic. The political friends of John C. Calhoun at Quincy early perceived the importance of securing their favor, and began to work for it. A Colonel Frierson of Quincy, the po-

litical friend of John C. Calhoun, expressed great sympathy for the Saints because of the injustice and persecution they had received at the hands of Missouri, and intimated to brother Joseph L. Heywood that the Hon. B. Rhett, a representative from South Carolina to the United States Congress, and also a political friend of Mr. Calhoun, had expressed a willingness to present to Congress a memorial for a redress of wrongs suffered by the Saints in Missouri; but was careful to intimate to Brother Heywood, and through him to the citizens of Nauvoo that he supposed that Mr. Calhoun would be a more acceptable candidate to them than Mr. Van Buren.

In November, 1843, Colonel Frier-son went to Nauvoo, met in council with the leading citizens, and drafted a memorial to Congress; a copy of which he took with him to Quincy to obtain signers, but it probably never reached the House of Representatives.

This incident, however, suggested to the brethren the propriety of addressing letters to each of the candidates for the Presidency—five in number, viz.,—John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Richard M. Johnson, Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren; and ascertain what policy they would adopt respecting the Saints, and redressing the wrongs done them by Missouri. Only two out of the number, however, gave a reply, namely, Calhoun and Clay. (See pages 534-537.)

At a political meeting held in Nauvoo Jan. 29, 1844, Joseph Smith was nominated a candidate for the Presidency of the United States (see page 540), which nomination was ratified at a State convention held at Nauvoo,

May 17, 1844, together with Joseph's "Views and Powers of the Policy of the Government of the United States." (See page 548.) This convention also put in nomination Sidney Rigdon for Vice President and passed a series of resolutions, inviting all men of all parties to assist in the work of reforming the government. One of the resolutions adopted on that occasion read as follows:

"Resolved, that the better to carry out the principles of liberty and equal rights, Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade and sailors' rights, and the protection of person and property, we will support General Joseph Smith for the President of the United States at the ensuing election."

Arrangements were entered into, to hold a national convention in New York on the 13th of July following, and preparations made for an active campaign in favor of the Prophet nominee; but before the time for the national convention had arrived, the standard bearer of the new party of reform, Jeffersonian Democracy, free trade and sailors' rights, fell pierced by assassins' bullets, the victim of a cruel mob.

Of course Joseph had no hope that he would be elected to the Presidency, but by becoming a candidate, he gave the citizens of Nauvoo an opportunity to act consistently with their views of what ought to be done for the general good of the nation, and, at the same time, avoid the wrath of the political parties in the State of Illinois by affiliating with neither of them in the ensuing election; for whenever they voted with one of those parties the other became enraged and *vice versa*.

As an evidence that Joseph entertained no thought of success in his candidacy for the office of chief executive, we may mention the fact.

that during the time that vigorous preparations were being made for the Presidential canvass, he was setting on foot a scheme for taking the body of the Church into the west to settle Oregon. (See page 541.)

Subsequently a memorial was drawn up by Joseph, asking Congress to pass an enactment, authorizing him to raise a company for the purpose of establishing colonies in the unsettled section of country in the Far West, known under the general name of Oregon. At that time there was no particular government existing in the vast region to which the name of Oregon and California was given. Nor was it certain whether it would fall into the possession of England or the United States, as the northern boundary line question was then unsettled, and England and the United States held the country by a treaty of joint occupancy. As the Prophet preferred having an assurance of protection from the government on his enterprise, he asked Congress to pass the act before alluded to.

Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt went to Washington in the interest of this scheme, and through the influence of Joseph P. Hoge, representative to Congress from the district in which Nauvoo was included, John J. Hardin and Stephen A. Douglass succeeded in approaching a number of members of Congress, but received small encouragement, as congressmen then, as now, were extremely cautious in engaging in anything affecting their reputation and prospects for political preferment for the future. But however much these men objected to advocating anything which looked like favoring openly the scheme of the Prophet, they all

concurred in affirming that he had the right to lead his people to Oregon to settle, and the government would protect them. Stephen A. Douglass remarked, that if he could command the following that Mr. Smith could, he would resign his seat in Congress, to go to the West.

An event took place in the House of Representatives before the Prophet's petition was introduced, which put at rest all hopes of Congress doing anything at that time in relation to the Oregon Territory. A resolution was introduced to give Great Britain notice, that the treaty of joint occupancy of that country was at an end, and was promptly voted down. And that was virtually serving public notice that the Oregon question was not to be reopened by Congress, at least not until the conclusion of the Presidential election.

Altogether the winter of 1843-44 was big with events affecting the destinies of Nauvoo and her citizens, for there was set on foot several conspiracies, which culminated in the destruction of the city. Men who stood nearest to the Prophet Joseph, and who were bound in honor to defend his life, combined together in secret covenant for his overthrow.

Owing to the constant efforts of the Prophet's enemies in Missouri, to capture him and drag him to that State, where he might be murdered with impunity, the force of police in Nauvoo in January, 1844, was increased by the appointment of forty nightguards to patrol the city. These made it less convenient for the conspirators, who worked, as men ever do when engaged in such business, in the darkness. The nightguards several times came in contact with men moving about the city in a man-



ner, which, to say the least, was suspicious, and soon complaints were made by these same parties that the city government was arbitrary and oppressive; they claimed that these night-watchmen threatened their peace and even started rumors that Joseph had appointed them for the purpose of intimidation.

"In the spring of 1844," writes B. H. Roberts, "the Prophet was apprized by two young men, Denison L. Harris and Robert Scott, the latter being in the family of William Law, of a secret movement then on foot to take his life, and the lives of several other leading men in the Church; among them the Prophet's brother Hyrum. These young men were invited to the secret meetings by the conspirators, but before going, conferred with the Prophet, who told them to go, but to take no part in the proceedings of these wicked men against himself. They carried out his advice, and at the risk of their lives attended the secret meetings three times, and brought to the Prophet a report of what they had witnessed. \* \* \*

"In addition to the testimonies of these young men, was that of M. G. Eaton, who expressed a willingness to make affidavit that there was a plot laid to kill the Prophet and others, and would give the names of those who had concocted it. There was also one A. B. Williams who said the same thing. These men went before Daniel H. Wells, at the time a justice of the peace, and made affidavit that such a plot as we have spoken of existed. In their statements they name as leaders of the movement, Chauncy L. Higbee, R. D. Foster, Joseph H. Jackson and William and Wilson Law. These

names correspond with those given by the young men before alluded to, except that they also name Austin Cowles, a member of the High Council, as one of the active and leading conspirators.

"These statements were shortly confirmed by the action of the conspirators themselves, as they soon came out in open as well as secret opposition to the leading Church authorities; and on the 18th of April, 1844, a number of them were excommunicated for unchristianlike conduct.

"A sickly effort was made by these apostates to organize a church after the pattern of the true Church, by the appointment of apostles, prophets, presidents, etc., but it failed miserably, as their following in Nauvoo was insignificant. (See page 547.) These men were desperately wicked, in addition to gross licentiousness they were guilty of theft and of counterfeiting money; brought much reproach upon the city of Nauvoo, since these things were traced to within her borders, and that fact went far towards undoing her reputation abroad. But though these men at one time, and indeed up to the time of their excommunication, held high official positions in the Church and the city, their wickedness was not sustained either by the Church laws or by the members of the Church, or citizens of Nauvoo. It was known that there existed a band of desperate men within the city, and these parties were suspected, but it required some time to obtain proof sufficiently positive to act upon; and where the counterfeiting was done was never learned.

"The mask having at last fallen from the faces of these men, they

joined with the avowed enemies of the Saints outside of Nauvoo, and openly advocated the repeal of the city charter, which, but a short time before they had assisted to obtain. They violated on several occasions the city ordinances, resisted the city officers, and threatened the life of the mayor. These disturbances led to arrests and trials before the municipal court, from which they were generally appealed to the circuit courts, and followed by counter arrests of the city authorities for false imprisonment, defamation of character, etc. In all these cases the power of the municipal court to grant writs of *habeas corpus* was freely exercised, and the city authorities released, as the actions were malicious, and without sufficient cause on which to base the complaints.

"Thus the affairs of Nauvoo became more and more complicated, and the bitterness was constantly increasing. At last the disaffected parties imported a press into the city and proposed publishing a paper to be called the *Nauvoo Expositor*. It avowed its intention in the prospectus it published to agitate for the destruction of the Nauvoo charter, and also announced that since its position in the city of the Saints afforded it opportunities of being familiar with the abuses that existed within the city, they intended to give a full, candid and succinct statement of facts as they really existed in the city of Nauvoo—fearless of whose particular case the facts might apply to. The proprietors of the paper were the band of conspirators already named, and Sylvester Emmons was employed as editor.

"The first, and indeed the only

number of the *Expositor*, was published on the 7th of June, 1844, and contained a most scandalous attack upon the most respectable citizens of Nauvoo. It at once filled the entire city with indignation, and the city council immediately took into consideration what would be the best method of dealing with it. The result of the council's meditations was this: Blackstone declared a libelous press a nuisance; the city charter gave to the city authorities the power to declare what should be considered a nuisance and to prevent and remove the same; therefore it was

"Resolved, by the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing office from whence issues the *Nauvoo Expositor* is a public nuisance, and also all of said *Nauvoo Expositors*, which may be or exist, in said establishment; and the mayor is instructed to cause said printing establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he may direct.

"On receiving this order the mayor issued instructions to the city marshal to destroy the press without delay, and at the same time gave orders to Jonathan Dunham, acting major-general of the Nauvoo Legion, to assist the marshal with the Legion, if called upon to do so.

"The marshal with a small force of men appeared before the *Expositor* printing establishment, informed one or more of the proprietors of the character of his mission, and demanded entrance into the building to carry out his instructions from the mayor. This was denied and the door locked; whereupon the marshal broke in the door, carried out the press, broke it in the street, piled the type and burned all the papers found in the office, and then reported to the mayor, who sent an account of these proceedings to the governor of the State.

"This act enraged the conspirators to a higher pitch of desperation. They set fire to their buildings and then fled to Carthage, the county seat of Hancock County, with the lie in their mouths that their lives were in danger in Nauvoo, and that they were driven away from their homes. Fortunately the police discovered the flames started by these men in time to extinguish them, so that they failed to have the smoking ruins of their own houses to support their story; but their misrepresentations spread like wild-fire and inflamed the public mind, already blinded with prejudice against the Saints, to a point which made violence almost certain.

"Francis M. Higbee made a complaint before Thomas Morrison, a justice of the peace, against Joseph Smith and all the members of the Nauvoo city council for riot committed in destroying the anti-Mormon press. The warrant issued by the justice was served by Constable Bettisworth upon Joseph June 12, 1844, and required him and the others named in the warrant to be taken before the justice issuing the warrant, 'or some other justice of the peace.' Joseph called the attention of the constable to this clause in the writ, and expressed a willingness to go before Esquire Johnson, or any other justice of the peace in Nauvoo. But Bettisworth was determined to take Joseph to Carthage before justice Morrison, who had issued the writ. Joseph was equally determined not to go, and petitioned the municipal court for a writ of *habeas corpus* which was granted, and under it the prisoner was honorably discharged. The other parties mentioned in the writ followed his ex-

ample and they too were likewise discharged.

"Meantime indignation meetings were held first at Warsaw, and afterwards in Carthage. The men who had used their uttermost endeavors, for more than two years, to incite the people to acts of mob violence against the Saints, had now a popular war cry—'unhallowed hands had been laid upon the liberty of the press.' 'The law had ceased to be a protection to their lives or property! A mob at Nauvoo, under a city ordinance, had violated the highest privilege in the government; and to seek redress in the ordinary mode would be utterly ineffectual.' Therefore these meetings adopted resolutions announcing themselves at all times ready to co-operate with their fellow-citizens in Missouri and Iowa to exterminate, utterly exterminate the wicked and abominable 'Mormon' leaders, the authors of their troubles.

"Committees were appointed to notify all persons in the respective townships suspected of being the 'tools of the Prophet, to leave immediately, on pain of instant vengeance.' And it was further recommended that the adherents of Smith, as a body, be 'driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo; that the Prophet and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands; and, if not surrendered, a war of extermination should be waged to the entire destruction, if necessary, for the mob's protection, of his adherents;' and to carry out these resolutions every citizen was called upon to arm himself.

"The mass meeting at Carthage, which had adopted the Warsaw resolutions was in full blast June 13, 1844, when the news arrived of the

failure of Constable Bettisworth to drag the Prophet into their midst. This increased the excitement, and poured more gall into the cup of bitterness. It was resolved that the 'riot' in Nauvoo was still progressing, and of such a serious character as to demand executive interference; and therefore two discreet citizens were appointed to go to Springfield and lay the case before Governor Ford. But this appeal to the executive was not to interfere with the resolutions before passed; active preparations for the extermination of the 'Mormons' were to be continued.

"The authorities at Nauvoo also dispatched trusty messengers to the governor, with truthful accounts of their proceedings, both as regards the destruction of the press and their action in refusing to accompany Constable Bettisworth to Carthage, that he might not be misled by a false representation of the case, or influenced by the thousand and one falsehoods that had been set on foot by the enemies of the Saints.

"Both parties then appealed to the executive of the State: the mob for assistance to carry out their murderous designs, and to give their proceedings a coloring of lawful authority; and the citizens of Nauvoo for protection against the combinations of their avowed enemies bent upon, and publicly pledged to their extermination.

"Without waiting the issue of this appeal, however, the mob forces in Carthage, Warsaw and other localities began active operations by sending their committees to the settlements of the Saints outside of Nauvoo, and threatening them with destruction if they did not accept one

of three propositions: First, deny that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God, and take up arms and accompany the mob to arrest him: or second, gather up their effects and forthwith remove to the city of Nauvoo: or third, give up their arms and remain quiet until the fuss was over. Usually a few days were given the people to consider these propositions, which were utilized by the people in conferring with the Prophet, to know what he advised under the circumstances. The advice given, in its general purport was to yield up none of their rights as American citizens to the demand of mobocrats, but to maintain their rights wherever they were strong enough to resist the mob forces, and when they were not strong enough retreat to Nauvoo.

"Besides the reports which came to Nauvoo from the Saints who were threatened, the air was filled with rumors of mob forces collecting on every hand.

"Great excitement was reported to exist in upper Missouri, from which the Saints had been driven but six years before; and it was reported that the Missourians were going over into Illinois in large numbers to assist the anti-Mormons in and around Carthage. That arms and ammunition were sent over the Mississippi to the mob, is quite certain; and it is also known that Walter Bagby, the tax collector for Hancock County, had spent some time in Missouri as an anti-Mormon agent, seeking to bring about a concerted action between the old enemies of the Saints, and those of like ilk in Illinois.

"While these active, hostile preparations were being made for his destruction, and the extermination of

his people, those at all acquainted with the temperament of the Prophet Joseph, might well know that he was not idle. He kept an efficient corps of clerks busy copying reports and affidavits of threatened violence and insurrection, and sent them to the governor, whom he petitioned to come to Nauvoo, and in person investigate the causes of the disturbance. Information was also sent to the President of the United States, acquainting him with the prospects of an insurrection, and an invasion of Illinois by Missourians, and asking him for protection.

"Nor was Joseph and his associates neglectful of anything that would have a tendency to allay the excitement. Jesse B. Thomas, judge of the circuit in which Hancock County was located, advised him to go before some justice of the peace of the county and have an examination of the charges specified in the writ issued by Justice Morrison, of Carthage, and that would take away all excuse for a mob, and he would be bound to order them to keep the peace. Some advised the Prophet to go to Carthage, but that he emphatically refused to do. He and all others named in Justice Morrison's warrant, however, went before Daniel H. Wells, a justice of the peace in Nauvoo; had a thorough investigation and were acquitted June 17, 1844.

"In addition to these movements, a mass meeting was held in Nauvoo, June 16, 1844, at which John Taylor was chairman. Pacific resolutions were adopted, denying the misrepresentations of the apostates, and appointing men to go to the neighboring towns and settlements to present the truth to the people and allay ex-

citement. These men were authorized to say that the members of the city council charged with riot and the violation of law, were willing to go before the circuit court for an investigation of their conduct in respect to the Nauvoo *Expositor*, and refused not to be bound over for such a hearing. But when this announcement was made and it was learned that Judge Thomas had advised this court to allay excitement, the mob motioned that a committee wait upon the judge and give him a coat of tar and feathers for giving such advice.

"These pacific measures appearing to have little or no effect, and active preparations for hostilities continuing on the part of the enemy, Nauvoo was placed under martial law June 18th; the Legion was mustered into service, and Joseph in person took command of it. He mounted an unfinished frame building near the Mansion, and addressed the Legion and the people for about an hour and a half; during which time he reviewed the events that had brought upon Nauvoo the issue that confronted them. \* \* \* (See page 553.)

"Two days later Joseph requested his brother Hyrum to take his family and go with them to Cincinnati. But Hyrum demurred and said, 'Joseph, I can't leave you!' Joseph, turning to a number of brethren present, said: 'I wish I could get Hyrum out of the way, so that he may live to avenge my blood, and I will stay with you and see it out.' But Hyrum Smith was not the kind of man to leave his brother now that the hour of his severest trial had come upon him. His noble nature revolted at the thought, and though the Spirit

had doubtless whispered Joseph that his life and that of Hyrum's would be sacrificed in the impending crisis, his pathetic words, 'Joseph, I can't leave you!' bears testimony to the nobility of the soul that uttered them, and is a witness to the strength of those bonds of love that bound him to his younger brother.

"On the 20th, also, Joseph wrote to the Twelve Apostles, who were on missions, and requested them to return to Nauvoo, as likewise all the Elders, and as many more good, faithful men as felt disposed to accompany them, to assist the Saints; and thus every effort was being put forth by the people of Nauvoo to resist oppression and maintain their rights.

"In the midst of these preparations, a message was received from Governor Ford, stating that he had arrived in Carthage in the interests of peace, and hoped to be able to avert the evils of war by his presence; and that he might the better judge of the situation he asked that well informed and discreet persons be sent to him at Carthage, where he had established for the time his headquarters. This request of the governor's was gladly complied with on the part of the people of Nauvoo; and John Taylor and Dr. J. M. Bernhisel were appointed to represent their version of the situation, and for that purpose were furnished with a copy of the proceedings of the city council, and the affidavits of a number of citizens bearing on the subjects that would likely be discussed.

"These representatives of the citizens of Nauvoo found the governor surrounded by their enemies—the Laws, Fosters and Higbees, besides others living at Warsaw and Car-

thage. The only audience given to Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel was in the presence of these parties, by whom they were frequently interrupted in the most insulting manner, and the parties insulting and abusing them were unchecked by Governor Ford.

"After the governor had heard the statements of these gentlemen and read the documents presented by them, he sent a written communication to the mayor, Joseph Smith, in which he charged that by destroying the *Expositor* press, the city council of Nauvoo had committed a gross outrage upon the laws and liberties of the people, and violated the constitution in several particulars. He also claimed that the municipal court of Nauvoo had exceeded its authority in granting writs of *habeas corpus*. He accepted the statement of the mob at Carthage that Joseph Smith refused to be tried by any other court than the municipal court of Nauvoo, although he had before him the most positive proof that Joseph was willing to go before any justice of the peace in Hancock County, except Justice Morrison of Carthage, where an angry mob had collected, bent upon his destruction; and since the warrant was made returnable to the magistrate who issued it, or any other justice in the county, the Prophet expressed a willingness to go before any other justice, but very properly refused to go to Carthage; and was even willing to be bound over to appear in the circuit court to answer for the part he took in abating the *Expositor* press as a nuisance. Yet in the face of these facts—in the face of the fact that all the parties charged with a riot had appeared before Daniel H. Wells, a justice of

the peace and a non-Mormon, and had an investigation and were acquitted—yet the governor charged the members of the city council with refusing to appear before any other than the municipal court of Nauvoo for an investigation. He demanded that the mayor and all persons in Nauvoo accused or sued submit in all cases implicitly to the process of the courts, and to interpose no obstacles to an arrest, either by writ of *habeas corpus* or otherwise. And in the case of the mayor and a number of the city council charged with riot, he required that they should be arrested by the same constable, by virtue of the same warrant, and tried before the same magistrate, whose authority he claimed had been resisted. 'Nothing short of this,' he added, 'can vindicate the dignity of violated law, and allay the just excitement of the people.' Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel called his attention to the state of excitement in Carthage, and informed him that there were men there bent on killing Joseph, and that to ensure his safety it would be necessary for him to be accompanied by an armed force which would doubtless provoke a collision. In answer to this the governor advised them to bring no arms, and pledged his faith as governor, and that of the State to protect those who should go to Carthage for trial. He also made the same pledge in his written communication to Joseph.

"The conduct of the governor in thus adopting the reports of the enemies of the citizens of Nauvoo, and menacing the city with destruction, if his arbitrary demands were not complied with, created no small amount of astonishment in Nauvoo. Joseph, however, wrote a courteous

reply, corrected the governor's errors, and also represented that the city council of Nauvoo had acted on their best judgment, aided by the best legal advice they could procure; but if a mistake had been made they were willing to make all things right. \* \* \* (See page 557.)

"On a hasty consultation with his brother Hyrum, Dr. Richards and Messrs Taylor and Bernhisel, after the return of the latter from their conference with the governor, it was decided that Joseph should proceed to Washington and lay the case before President Tyler, and he informed Governor Ford of this intention in the letter above referred to. That plan, however, at a subsequent council meeting was abandoned; as Joseph received an inspiration to go to the West." (See page 557.)

This was between 9 and 10 o'clock on the night of the 22nd of June, 1844. Preparations were at once entered into to carry out this impression of the Spirit, and that night O. P. Rockwell rowed Joseph, Hyrum and Dr. Richards over the Mississippi to Montrose, and then returned with instructions to procure horses for them and make all necessary preparations to start for "the great basin in the Rocky Mountains." But through the strong persuasions of his wife Emma and others, Joseph returned to Nauvoo the next day (June 23rd), and went to Carthage on the 24th to give himself up to the governor, that official having pledged his honor and that of the State that he should be protected. The other brethren who were accused of riot in destroying the *Expositor* press, etc., also went to Carthage to stand another trial. Having arrived there Joseph and Hyrum, contrary to law,

were remanded to prison and placed in the Carthage jail, where they were cruelly murdered in the afternoon of June 27, 1844. (See page 559-572.)

On the day of the murder Governor Ford had gone to Nauvoo to deliver a speech, and taken with him those of his troops who were most friendly to the Saints, thus leaving the prisoners to their fate. While the governor in his speech was insulting the citizens at Nauvoo, by assuming that all their worst enemies had said of them was true, and threatened them with dire calamities, the blood of the best men of the Nineteenth Century was being spilt in Carthage. The governor afterwards said that the people at Nauvoo manifested some impatience and anger, when he uttered his threats, and well they might, for baser falsehoods were never put in circulation to slander a people.

The governor was invited to stay all night, but he refused and left the city about 6:30 in the evening for Carthage, his escort riding with full speed up Main Street and performing the sword exercise, passed the Temple, and so left the city.

Three miles out he met George D. Grant and David Bettisworth, riding into Nauvoo with the sad news of the death of the Prophet. The governor took them back with him to Grant's house, 1½ miles east of Carthage, that the news might not reach Nauvoo until he had time to have the county records removed from the court-house, and warn the people of Carthage to flee, as he expected an immediate attack from the Nauvoo Legion, and that the whole country would be laid waste.

After being taken back to Carthage George D. Grant mounted an-

other horse and rode that night with the news to Nauvoo.

On the arrival of Governor Ford at Carthage, the following note was addressed to Mrs. Emma Smith and Major-General Dunham of the Nauvoo Legion, dated 12 o'clock at night June 27th, Hamilton Tavern, Carthage:

"The governor has just arrived; says all things shall be inquired into, and all right measures taken. I say to all citizens of Nauvoo—My brethren be still, and know that God reigns. Don't rush out of the city—don't rush to Carthage—stay at home and be prepared for an attack from Missouri mobbers. The governor will render every assistance possible—has sent orders for troops. Joseph and Hyrum are dead, will prepare to move the bodies as soon as possible.

"The people of the county are greatly excited, and fear the 'Mormons' will come out and take vengeance. I have pledged my word the 'Mormons' will stay at home as soon as they can be informed, and no violence will be on their part, and say to my brethren in Nauvoo, in the name of the Lord, be still; be patient, only let such friends as choose come here to see the bodies. Mr. Taylor's wounds are dressed, and not serious. I am sound.

WILLARD RICHARDS."

To this note, which was also signed by John Taylor and Samuel H. Smith, Governor Ford added a postscript, telling the people of Nauvoo to defend themselves until the necessary protection could be furnished. The governor then, about 1 o'clock in the morning, went out on the public square and advised all present to disperse, as he expected the "Mormons" would be so exasperated that they would burn the town. Upon this the people fled in all directions, and the governor and his posse took flight in the direction of Quincy.

The next day (June 28th) the bodies of the murdered men were taken to Nauvoo. (See page 573.) Neither tongue nor pen can ever de-



scribe the scene of sorrow and lamentation which was there beheld. The love of these men for the Saints was unbounded, and it had begotten in the people an affection for them that was equally dear and unselfish. They lived in the hearts of the Saints, and thousands would have laid down their lives willingly to have saved theirs.

Arriving at the Mansion the bodies were taken into it to be prepared for burial; and Elder Willard Richards and others addressed some eight or ten thousand of the people in the open air. The Saints were advised to keep peace. Elder Richards stated that he had pledged his honor and his life for their conduct. When the multitude heard that, notwithstanding the sense of outraged justice under which they labored, and this cruel invasion of the rights of liberty and life—in the very midst of their grief and excitement, with the means in their right hands to wreck a terrible vengeance, they voted to a man to trust to the law to deal with these assassins; and if that failed them, they would call upon God to avenge them of their wrongs! History records few actions so sublime as this; and it stands to this day a testimony of the devotion of the Latter-day Saints to law and order, the like of which is not paralleled in the history of our country, if in the world.

Great uneasiness prevailed among the people outside of Nauvoo, respecting the intentions of the Saints. There had been so many falsehoods circulated about acts of violence which had been committed by them, that many supposed they would now seek revenge. They knew that the cold-blooded murder of Joseph and

Hyrum while they were unarmed prisoners, relying upon the pledged honor of the governor and the pledged faith of the State, was a sufficient provocation to enrage any people holding the relationship which the Saints did to the Prophet and Patriarch, and to cause them to take the law in their own hands. Besides, many of those who felt this uneasiness were either members of the mob, or guilty of giving aid and comfort to the mob, and in their secret souls they felt that they merited punishment.

On the 1st of July, two gentlemen—A. Jonas and Hart Fellows—arrived at Nauvoo, with a message from Governor Ford to the city council. Their instructions from the governor were:

"Colonel Fellows and Captain Jonas are requested to proceed by the first boat to Nauvoo, and ascertain what is the feeling, disposition and determination of the people there, in reference to the late disturbances, ascertain whether any of them propose in any manner to avenge themselves, whether any threats have been used, and what is proposed generally to be done by them."

These men were also requested to return to Warsaw and learn the state of feeling there and whether the militia, which was assembled there, intended to make an attack upon Nauvoo.

The city council of Nauvoo met, and, speaking for the people, passed the following resolutions:

"Resolved, For the purpose of ensuring peace, and promoting the welfare of the county of Hancock and surrounding country, that we will rigidly sustain the laws and the governor of the State, so long as they, and he, sustain us in all our constitutional rights.

"Resolved, secondly, That, to carry the foregoing resolutions into complete effect, inasmuch as the governor has taken from us the public arms, we solicit of him to do the same with all the rest of the public arms of the State.

"Resolved, thirdly, To further secure the peace, friendship and happiness of the people, and allay the excitement that now exists, we will reprobate private revenge on the assassins of General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith by any of the Latter-day Saints. That instead of 'an appeal to arms,' we appeal to the majesty of the law, and will be content with whatever judgment it shall award; and should the law fail, we leave the matter with God.

"Resolved, unanimously, That this city council pledge themselves for the city of Nauvoo, that no aggressions by the citizens of said city shall be made on the citizens of the surrounding country, but we invite them, as friends and neighbors, to use the Savior's golden rule, and 'do unto others as they would have others do unto them,' and we will do likewise.

"Resolved, lastly, That we highly approve of the present public pacific course of the governor to allay excitement and restore peace among the citizens of the country; and while he does so, and will use his influence to stop all vexatious proceedings in law, until confidence is restored, so that the citizens of Nauvoo can go to Carthage, or any other place, for trial, without exposing themselves to the violence of assassins, we will uphold him, and the law, by all honorable means."

A copy of the foregoing resolutions was inclosed in a letter to the messengers of the governor, and they were invited to attend a public meeting of the citizens which was to be held that afternoon (July 1st) near the Temple.

The meeting was held, and was addressed by Mr. Jonas and others; the resolutions of the city council were read, all of which were endorsed by the people. Votes of thanks were also passed by the meeting to several gentlemen who had manifested friendly feelings and a disposition to see justice done to the Saints.

On the 2nd of July, Elder John Taylor was brought home in his wounded condition from Carthage. His own account of his removal from Carthage to Nauvoo is so graphic

and interesting, that we make the following extract from it:

"Many of the mob came around and treated me with apparent respect, and the officers and people generally looked upon me as a hostage, and feared that my removal would be the signal for the rising of the 'Mormons.' I do not remember the time that I stayed at Carthage, but I think three or four days after the murder, when Brother Marks with a carriage, Brother James Allred with a wagon, Dr. Ellis, and a number of others on horseback, came for the purpose of taking me to Nauvoo. I was very weak at the time, occasioned by the loss of blood and the great discharge of my wounds, so that when my wife asked me if I could talk, I could barely whisper 'No.' Quite a discussion arose as to the propriety of my removal, physicians and people of Carthage protesting that it would be my death, while my friends were anxious for my removal if possible.

"I suppose the former were actuated by the above named desire to keep me. Colonel Jonas was, I believe, sincere; he had acted as a friend all the time, and he told my wife she ought to persuade me not to go, for he did not believe I had strength enough to reach Nauvoo. It was finally agreed, however, that I should go: but as it was thought that I could not stand riding in a wagon or carriage, they prepared a litter for me; I was carried down stairs and put on it. A number of men assisted to carry me, some of whom had been engaged in the mob. As soon as I got down stairs I felt much better and strengthened, so that I could talk; I suppose the effect of the fresh air.

"When we had got near the outside of the town, I remembered some woods that we had to go through, and telling a person near to call on Dr. Ellis, who was riding a very good horse, I said, 'Doctor, I perceive that the people are getting fatigued with carrying me; a number of 'Mormons' live about two or three miles from here, near our route; will you ride to their settlement as quietly as possible, and have them come out and meet us?' He started off on a gallop immediately. My object in this was to obtain protection in case of an attack, rather than to obtain help to carry me.

"Very soon after the men from Carthage made one excuse after another, until they had all left, and I felt glad to get rid of them. I found that the tramping of those carrying me produced violent pain, and a sleigh was produced and attached to the

hind end of Brother James Allred's wagon, a bed placed upon it, and I propped up on the bed. My wife rode with me, applying ice and ice-water to my wounds. As the sleigh was dragged over the grass on the prairie, which was quite tall, it moved very easily and gave me very little pain.

"When I got within five or six miles of Nauvoo, the brethren commenced to meet me from the city, and they increased in number as we drew nearer, until there was a very large company of people, of all ages and both sexes, principally, however, of men.

"For some time there had been almost incessant rain, so that in many low places in the prairie it was from one to three feet deep in water, and at such places the brethren whom we met took hold of the sleigh, lifted it, and carried it over the water: and when we arrived in the neighborhood of the city, where the roads were excessively muddy and bad, the brethren tore down the fences, and we passed through the fields.

"Never shall I forget the difference of feeling that I experienced between the place that I had left and the one that I had now arrived at. I had left a lot of reckless, bloodthirsty murderers, and had come to the city of the Saints, the people of the living God, friends of truth and righteousness, thousands of whom stood with warm, true hearts to offer their friendship and services, and to welcome my return. It is true it was a painful scene, and brought sorrowful remembrances to mind, but to me it caused a thrill of joy to find myself once more in the bosom of my friends, and to meet with the cordial welcome of true, honest hearts. What was very remarkable, I found myself very much better after my arrival at Nauvoo than I was when I started on my journey, although I had traveled eighteen miles."

At this time the following address was published in the *Times and Seasons*:

"TO THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF  
LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

"Deeply impressed for the welfare of all, while mourning the great loss of President Joseph Smith, our 'Prophet and Seer,' and President Hyrum Smith, our 'Patriarch,' we have considered the occasion demanded of us a word of consolation.

"As has been the case in all ages, these Saints have fallen martyrs for the truth's sake, and their escape from the persecution of a wicked world, in blood to bliss, only strengthens our faith, and confirms our religion as pure and holy.

"We, therefore, as servants of the Most High God, having the Bible, Book of Mormon, and the book of Doctrine and Covenants, together with thousands of witnesses, for Jesus Christ, would beseech the Latter-day Saints, in Nauvoo and elsewhere, to hold fast to the faith that has been delivered to them in the last days, abiding in the perfect law of the Gospel.

"Be peaceable, quiet citizens, doing the works of righteousness, and as soon as the Twelve and other authorities can assemble, or a majority of them, the onward course to the great gathering of Israel, and the final consummation of the dispensation of the fulness of times will be pointed out, so that the murder of Abel, the assassination of hundreds, the righteous blood of all the holy Prophets, from Abel to Joseph, sprinkled with the best blood of the Son of God, as the crimson sign of remission, only carries conviction to the bosoms of all intelligent beings, that the cause is just and will continue; and blessed are they that hold out faithful to the end, while apostates, consenting to the shedding of innocent blood, have no forgiveness in this world nor in the world to come.

"Union is peace, brethren, and eternal life is the greatest gift of God. Rejoice, then, that you are found worthy to live and die for God. Men may kill the body, but they cannot hurt the soul, and wisdom shall be justified of her children. Amen.

W. W. PHELPS,  
W. RICHARDS,  
JOHN TAYLOR."

Elder George J. Adams had been appointed to bear letters and other documents to those of the Twelve Apostles who were in the East, and to inform them of the massacre of the Prophet and Patriarch. He had plenty of means to accomplish his journey: but he failed to perform this mission. Elder Jedediah M. Grant, who also left Nauvoo about the same time, did not tarry till he found them and carried them the news. This incident illustrates the difference in the characters and fate of the two men. Adams became an apostate, and his subsequent career has been disgraceful. Jedediah M. Grant was a faithful, true man; he

was subsequently ordained one of the First Seven Presidents of the Seventies, and at the time of his death he was President Brigham Young's second Counselor.

Colonel Fellows and Captain Jonas, the governor's commissioners, after leaving Nauvoo, went to Carthage, and from there to Warsaw. They were joined at the latter town by Colonel John Wood, the mayor of Quincy, and other gentlemen, who had the object of their visit before the people of Warsaw, and Mr. Jonas made a speech to them in a public meeting which had been called. He requested them to say whether they would support Governor Ford in enforcing the law and upholding the Constitution, and they unanimously refused to give the pledge. The same sentiment was expressed afterwards to the commissioners by O. C. Skinner, a prominent lawyer, who professed to speak in the name of the citizens of Hancock County.

"If any person" writes George Q. Cannon, "had wished to know which were right and which were wrong—the 'Mormons,' or their enemies—in the troubles which existed in Hancock County, the proceedings at the meetings attended by the commissioners at Nauvoo and at Warsaw would have given him the necessary evidence.

"In the presence of the great and terrible wrongs which they had endured, and which were well calculated to exasperate and drive them to the commission of acts of violence, the Latter-day Saints, with a high regard for the rights of their fellow-citizens, and a desire to maintain peace, had agreed to sustain the governor and the laws in all righteous-

ness, to take no private revenge and leave their cause with God.

"The people of Carthage and Warsaw had been the aggressors in every instance; they had formed themselves into mobs, had threatened the lives of the Saints, and had committed foul and bloody murder, and now refused to sustain the governor in enforcing the law and upholding the Constitution. This was in keeping with all their previous conduct. They had not been disturbed in the least of their rights; they did as they pleased: if a Latter-day Saint said or did anything that they thought interfered in the least with them, they raised a great outcry.

"While the Saints were peaceably building houses, making gardens, planting orchards, opening farms and rearing a beautiful city, strictly attending to their own business, these men, who now openly refused to sustain the governor and the laws, were making speeches, writing bitter articles, banding themselves together as mobs, and doing all in their power to create excitement in the country against the Saints and to bring about their destruction. By their refusal to meet the wishes of the governor's commissioners, they plainly exhibited the spirit of mobocracy which filled them.

"What they wanted, and what they seemed determined to have, was the entire removal of the Saints from Hancock County. Not satisfied with killing Joseph and Hyrum, they were eager for more victims. They had tasted blood, and their appetite was awakened, and like wolves, they panted for more.

"They said either the 'Mormons' or, as they styled themselves, 'the citizens,' must leave the county, and

that sooner or later one must go, even if force was necessary to accomplish it. Such a result as their leaving the county never entered their minds; for they knew very well that the Saints would never attempt to force them away. They fully calculated upon the 'Mormons' going, even if they had to use violence to drive them out. They were 'the citizens,' the Saints were only the 'Mormons.'

"They sent a committee to Governor Ford, to inform him of their fixed conviction that it was necessary that one of the parties should leave the county, and desired him to decide which should go. This kind of talk was barefaced deception, yet it deceived nobody. It was well known that the design of these men was to drive the Saints from their homes and lands, and that, while they lived, they would never be content until they had accomplished this. But this committee's speech puzzled poor Ford. He told them that it was not for him to decide such a question. He could not order any body of citizens, he said, whether 'Mormons' or anti-Mormons, out of the county or State.

"With such a reply as this he was doubtless very glad to get them away. Had he been a man of nerve, and disposed to do right, he would have given them a reply which they would probably have respected more than they did this. But they knew very well he was afraid of them, that he dared not do anything to interfere with them, and they despised him, and acted as though he was not in existence, except when it suited their purposes to use him.

"In a letter which Governor Ford wrote about this time, and sent to

Nauvoo, he urged upon the people the necessity of being passive and unresisting, holding over their heads the terrors of mob violence, if they did not hold their peace. He then proceeded to tell what he was pleased to call 'the naked truth.' He declared it was not with any design of insulting their misfortunes, but 'in a pure spirit of friendly concern for the peace and safety of all who repose under the shade of our political fig tree.' Said he:

"The naked truth then is, that most well-informed persons condemn in the most unqualified manner the mode in which the Smiths were put to death; but nine out of every ten of such accompany the expression of their disapprobation by a manifestation of their pleasure that they are dead. The disapproval is most unusually cold and without feeling. It is a disapproval which appears to be called for, on their part, by decency, by a respect for the laws and a horror of mobs, but does not flow warm from the heart. The unfortunate victims of this assassination were generally and thoroughly hated throughout the country, and it is not reasonable to suppose that their death has produced any reaction in the public mind resulting in active sympathy; if you think so, you are mistaken. Most that is said on the subject is merely from the teeth out; and your people may depend on the fact, that public feeling is now, at this time, as thoroughly against them as it has ever been.'

"Governor Ford ought to be good authority for a statement of this kind, and we quote it here to show how wide-spread was the guiltiness of the people in approving of the shedding of that innocent blood which yet stains the floor of Carthage Jail and the soil of the State of Illinois. In this letter he acknowledged that the Saints had behaved well, much better than could have been expected under the circumstances; but if a mob should come against them, he could not protect them.

"He admitted that if he called

upon the 'Mormons' themselves, he would have a reliable force; but if he should do so, he thought it would lead to civil war, in which Nauvoo might be utterly destroyed. 'You may be disposed to ask,' said he, 'What use is there for law and government, if these things be so? I answer you, that cases like the present do not seem to be fully provided for by our constitutions.'

"Strange views these, for a man who wished to be thought a statesman to entertain of the authority of the government! Of what value would law and government be were such views to prevail among rulers? The minority, if unpopular, would be more likely to receive justice from a band of Indians than from a nation where governors held such opinions and acted upon them."

July 30, 1844, Samuel H. Smith, a younger brother of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, died in Nauvoo. (See pages 615-621.)

Before the President of the Twelve Apostles and the majority of the quorum could return to Nauvoo, an anxiety began to be exhibited by certain parties to arrange affairs to suit themselves. Among the first of these attempts was that of William Marks, who was President of the Stake of Zion at Nauvoo. He was eager to have a trustee-in-trust appointed to take charge of affairs; others were anxious to have the Church reorganized, and no doubt wanted to appoint a President; but Doctor Willard Richards, Bishop N. K. Whitney and other staunch men were opposed to any appointments or other business of that character being attended to before the Twelve Apostles returned from the East.

Brother George A. Smith, who,

with other Elders, was laboring in Michigan at the time the news came to them of the murder of Joseph and Hyrum, reached Nauvoo on the night of the 28th of July. Elder Parley P. Pratt had arrived from his mission on the 10th inst., and the Elders from various parts of the States, having had the sad news of the death of the Prophet and Patriarch confirmed, began to arrive home. They seemed weighed down with gloom.

Aug. 3rd, Sidney Rigdon arrived from Pittsburg, and began immediately to lay his plans to have the Church accept him as President, or, as he called it, "guardian." Elders Parley P. Pratt, George A. Smith and Willard Richards saw him after his arrival, and an appointment was arranged to meet together in council the next morning (Sunday Aug. 4th); but he failed to meet with them. He evidently had no wish to come face to face with them, as he would have done had his intentions been honest, upright and honorable; but he desired to get at the people, and shunned councils in which the Apostles and the men of authority and understanding met. He was not averse, however, to holding secret councils with a certain class of persons—those who had lost their faith, and were in the dark, and were ready for any delusion that might present itself. To these he related certain visions and revelations that he claimed to have had, and which they accepted as divine. But in endeavoring to hide his plans from the Apostles, he plainly showed his true character, and that he was playing an underhanded game.

Sunday Aug. 4, 1844, at 10 a. m. the people assembled at the grove, which was the usual place for hold-

ing the larger meetings in the summer time, and Sidney Rigdon preached from the words: "For my thoughts are not as your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord." He related a vision which he said the Lord had shown him concerning the situation of the Church, and said there must be a guardian appointed to build the Church up to Joseph as he had begun it. He was the identical man, he said, that the ancient Prophets had sung about, wrote and rejoiced over, and he was sent to do the identical work that had been the theme of all the Prophets in every preceding generation. He told many more things equally foolish to the people, about the fate that awaited his enemies and the great things that he was to perform, adding that if it were not for two or three things which he knew, the Latter-day Saints would be utterly destroyed, and not a soul be left to tell the tale.

In alluding to this sermon afterwards, Brother Parley P. Pratt humorously said of himself, "I am the identical man the Prophets never sang nor wrote a word about."

In the afternoon Sidney Rigdon requested William Marks, President of the Stake, to give a notice out to the Saints that there would be a special meeting of the Church held at that place the ensuing Thursday, the 8th inst., for the purpose of choosing a "guardian." Marks was in sympathy with Rigdon, and it seemed to suit him exactly to have this meeting held, for, whether he aspired to position himself or not, he was very anxious to have a President and trustee-in-trust appointed without delay. Willard Richards proposed waiting till the Twelve

Apostles returned. Marks replied that President Rigdon wanted the meeting on Tuesday, but he had put it off till Thursday. He justified the haste in calling the meeting by saying that Rigdon was some distance from his family, which was in Pittsburgh, Penn., and he wanted to know if the Saints had anything for him to do; if not, he wanted to go on his way, for there was a people numbering thousands and tens of thousands who would receive him; he wanted to visit other branches of the Church around, but he had come to Nauvoo first.

"The design in this," writes Geo. Q. Cannon, "was very clear. The excuse was that Sidney Rigdon's family was in Pittsburgh, but what of that? To an Elder, in the path of duty, being at a distance from his family made no difference, if God required his labors. But Sidney Rigdon had only arrived in Nauvoo the day before, and yet he was in such haste that he could not wait a few days for the Twelve Apostles to arrive! The fact was he hoped to carry out his design before they could reach Nauvoo. It was no part of his scheme to wait for them.

"The leading Elders were all dissatisfied with the appointment of a meeting in so hurried a manner. The Twelve Apostles were soon expected home, they said, and to have a meeting before their arrival seemed like a plot to take advantage of the situation of the Saints. But God was watching over His people, and His providence was overruling all for good and for the accomplishment of His designs."

The following morning (Aug. 5th), those of the Twelve who were in Nauvoo and Bishop N. K. Whitney

called upon Sidney Rigdon. He agreed to meet them in council at Elder John Taylor's after dinner. He did so, and when he came in he paced the room, and told them they were used up and divided, the brethren were voting every way and the anti-Mormons had got them. "You cannot stay in the country," said he; "everything is in confusion, you can do nothing, you lack a great leader, you want a head, and unless you unite upon that head, you are blown to the four winds, the anti-Mormons will carry the election—a guardian must be appointed." This was the style of his conversation from the time he reached Nauvoo, predicting evil upon the people, extolling himself, and relating the great things he would accomplish, all with a design to induce the people to accept him as the leader of the Church.

These remarks stirred up Elder George A. Smith; he knew them to be incorrect and prompted by a wrong spirit. Said he: "Brethren, Elder Rigdon is entirely mistaken, there is no division; the brethren are united; the election will be unanimous, and the friends of law and order will be elected by a thousand majority. There is no occasion to be alarmed, President Rigdon is inspiring fears there are no grounds for."

The result proved that he was right and Rigdon was wrong. That election was one of the most unanimous ever held in Nauvoo. There were only five opposition votes polled in the city, and in the county the majority for the "law and order" candidates, as the men for whom the Saints voted were called, was over one thousand, and this, too, after the votes which the anti-Mormons

had smuggled in from other counties had been counted!

Before Rigdon left the council he said that he did not expect the people to choose a "guardian" on Thursday, but to have a prayer meeting, an interchange of thought and feeling, and warm up each other's hearts. The result showed how much confidence could be placed in his word, for when the day arrived, his proposition was not to have a prayer meeting, but to select and appoint a "guardian."

All this transpired at Nauvoo while President Young and the other absent members of the Twelve were making their way home from the Eastern States, where they were laboring in the ministry when the news of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum first reached them. In those days there were neither railways nor telegraph lines in the western States; hence it took a comparatively long time before they received what they considered reliable information of the foul crime, as all news had to be sent by private messengers or by tardy mails. And when finally they were convinced that the murder had been perpetrated it took several days before they could arrange their affairs and get together to commence the homeward journey. However, they got ready as quick as possible, and on July 24, 1844, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Lyman Wight left Boston for the West, and traveled by rail to Albany, New York. There they met Orson Pratt Orson Hyde and Wilford Woodruff in the evening of the same day, and in company with these brethren continued the journey to Buffalo, from whence they took steamer to Detroit and Chicago, arriving in the latter



town, Aug. 1st. From Chicago they traveled by stage 160 miles to Gale-  
na, on the Mississippi River, and  
thence down the river by steamboat  
to Nauvoo, where they arrived Aug.  
6th, at 8 o'clock p. m.

The return of the Twelve caused  
the Saints to rejoice, and this was  
not without cause; for in Nauvoo  
plotters were at work against the in-  
terest of the Church, and wolves in  
sheep's clothing were laying plans  
to obtain possession of the flock.  
The chief shepherds had been slain,  
and now false ones began to approach  
the flock, claiming it as their own.  
It was truly a critical time and the  
faithful Saints very much desired the  
presence of the Twelve Apostles,  
who now constituted the highest au-  
thority in the Church. Its President  
was a man of unflinching integrity  
and unwavering mind—a man who  
had never faltered. Its members  
were men of ripe experience and  
matured wisdom—familiar with the  
law of God, the authority of the  
Priesthood and the organization of  
the Church. If Rigdon's assumptions  
and claims were right, they were the  
men whose statement to that effect  
would have weight and carry with it  
confidence; if they were wrong—  
which was the prevailing opinion—  
they were the men to expose and  
handle him. The faithful Saints,  
knowing this, had therefore been  
earnestly praying for the Twelve,  
that they might have a safe and  
speedy journey to Nauvoo, where  
their presence was so much needed.

There was evidently a providence  
connected with having Rigdon's  
meeting postponed from Tuesday the  
6th till Thursday the 8th of August.  
The hand of the Lord was in Wm.  
Marks' action in this relation, for

the Twelve arrived home on Tuesday  
evening. Thus once more there was  
a quorum of Apostles among the  
Saints; once more they had those  
who held the keys of the Priesthood  
and Presidency in their midst; and  
though gloom reigned in the city  
because of the death of the loved  
ones who had gone, yet the presence  
of the Twelve in their midst was the  
signal for a general feeling of relief  
among the faithful Saints, who,  
through this were inspired with fresh  
courage and strength. Also the  
Twelve felt thankful to God for hav-  
ing preserved their lives and led  
them safe and well back to their  
homes and the city of the Saints,  
where they once more could enjoy  
the society of their families and  
warm-hearted friends.

No time was lost by President  
Young and the other Apostles after  
their arrival at Nauvoo in finding  
out the true condition of affairs. Af-  
ter holding a council at the house of  
Elder Taylor, who was recovering  
from his wounds, a meeting was called  
of the Twelve Apostles, High Coun-  
cil and High Priests. They met on  
Aug. 7th at 4 p. m., the day after  
their arrival, and after the meeting  
was opened, President Brigham  
Young called upon Sidney Rigdon to  
make a statement concerning his  
message to the Saints, and the vision  
and revelation which he stated he  
had received. Rigdon arose and ex-  
plained himself as follows:

"The object of my mission is to visit the  
Saints and offer myself to them as a guar-  
dian. I had a vision at Pittsburgh, June  
27th. This was presented to my mind not  
as an open vision, but rather a continuation  
of the vision mentioned in the Book of Doc-  
trine and Covenants.

"It was shown to me that this Church  
must be built up to Joseph, and that all the  
blessings we receive must come through

him. I have been ordained a spokesman to Joseph, and I must come to Nauvoo and see that the Church is governed in a proper manner. Joseph sustains the same relationship to this Church as he has always done. No man can be the successor of Joseph.

"The kingdom is to be built up to Jesus Christ through Joseph; there must be revelation still. The martyred Prophet is still the head of this Church; every quorum should stand as you stood in your washings and consecrations. I have been consecrated a spokesman to Joseph, and I was commanded to speak for him. The Church is not disorganized though our head is gone.

"We may have a diversity of feelings on this matter. I have been called to be a spokesman unto Joseph, and I want to build up the Church unto him; and if the people want me to sustain this place, I want it upon the principle that every individual shall acknowledge it for himself.

"I propose to be a guardian to the people; in this I have discharged my duty and done what God has commanded me, and the people can please themselves whether they accept me or not."

When he had finished, President Brigham Young made some remarks, a summary of which we herewith give as follows:

"I do not care who leads this Church, even though it were Ann Lee; but one thing I must know, and that is what God says about it. I have the keys and the means of obtaining the mind of God on the subject.

"I know there are those in our midst who will seek the lives of the Twelve as they did the lives of Joseph and Hyrum. We shall ordain others and give the fulness of the Priesthood, so that if we are killed the fulness of the Priesthood may remain.

"Joseph conferred upon our heads all the keys and powers belonging to the Apostleship which he himself held before he was taken away, and no man or set of men can get between Joseph and the Twelve in this world or in the world to come.

"How often has Joseph said to the Twelve, 'I have laid the foundation and you must build thereon, for upon your shoulders the kingdom rests.'"

According to the appointment of William Marks for a special meeting to be held on Thursday, Aug. 8th, the people assembled at the hour designated—10 o'clock a. m.—at the

grove, east of the Temple. There was a large attendance, everyone feeling a deep interest in the object for which the meeting had been called, namely, to choose a "guardian" or President and also a trustee-in-trust. The wind was unfavorable for speaking from the stand, and a wagon was, therefore, drawn to a position opposite the stand, that was thought to be suitable to speak from. Into this Sidney Rigdon, William Marks, George James and probably one or two more ascended. After the meeting was opened, Sidney Rigdon arose to speak. Usually he was a fluent, impassioned speaker, and excelled in oratory; but upon this occasion he was visibly embarrassed, and spoke slowly and in a very labored manner. Speaking nevertheless for an hour and a half, his hearers became exceedingly tired. The difficulty which he seemed to labor under in speaking could but have its effects, for the Latter-day Saints above all people in the world, are the most scrutinizing and critical when men who make great pretensions address them. They soon discern the spirit which possesses them, and quickly decide upon the weight there is to be attached to their utterances.

On this occasion they were particularly on the alert as the object of their gathering was of the greatest importance, but they saw nothing in Rigdon or in his remarks which gave them evidence that he was the man to lead them. They heard from him no voice or sound that marked him as the true shepherd.

As soon as Sidney Rigdon had finished his speech and had sat down, President Young arose and made a few remarks. He had taken a seat

in the stand after Sidney Rigdon had left it to occupy the wagon. The congregation wheeled around and faced him, turning their backs upon Sidney Rigdon. It was the first sound of Brigham's voice which the people had heard since he had gone east on his mission, and the effect upon them was most wonderful. None who were present on that occasion can ever forget the impression it made upon them! If Joseph had risen from the dead and again spoken in their hearing, the effect could hardly have been more startling. It seemed to be the voice of Joseph himself; and not only that: but it seemed in the eyes of the people as though it was the very person of Joseph which stood before them.

"A more wonderful and miraculous event than was wrought that day in the presence of that congregation we never heard of," writes George Q. Cannon. "The Lord gave His people a testimony that left no room for doubt as to who was the man He had chosen to lead them. They both saw and heard with their natural eyes and ears, and then the words which were uttered came, accompanied by the convincing power of God, to their hearts, and they were filled with the Spirit and with great joy. There had been gloom, and, in some hearts probably, doubt and uncertainty; but now it was plain to all that here was the man upon whom the Lord had bestowed the necessary authority to act in their midst in Joseph's stead.

"On that occasion President Brigham Young seemed to be transformed, and a change such as that we read of in the Scriptures as happening to the Prophet Elisha, when Elijah was translated in his presence,

seemed to have taken place with him. The mantle of the Prophet Joseph had been left for Brigham Young.

\* \* \* When Elijah the Prophet was taken away, his mantle fell from him, and it was taken up by Elisha. He came to the river Jordan and he smote the waters, and they parted hither and thither. And when the sons of the Prophets saw him, they said, 'The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha,' and they paid him honor, and acknowledged him as their Prophet and leader. So with President Brigham Young upon this occasion; the people said one to another, 'The spirit of Joseph rests upon Brigham;' they knew that he was the man chosen to lead them, and they honored him accordingly. In his remarks to the congregation, he alluded to the fact that instead of himself and brethren finding them mourning the death of their great leader, as Israel did the departure of Moses, they found them holding meetings to choose his successor. But if they wished to obtain the mind and will of the Lord concerning this subject, why did they not meet according to the order, and have a general assembly of the several quorums, which constitute the spiritual authorities of the Church, a tribunal from whose decisions there was no appeal? In a moment, the few words he spoke upon this subject threw a flood of light upon it. The Elders remembered then the proper order. He desired to see an assembly of the quorums at 2 o'clock that afternoon, every quorum in its place and order, and a general meeting also of the members.

"The tones of President Young's voice, his appearance, everything he said and the spirit which accompanied

his words, convinced the people that the leader whom God had selected to guide them stood before them. He was the master spirit on the occasion; and then, and afterwards in the following meeting, Sidney Rigdon was as ignorant as a child might be in the presence of a wise and experienced man. There was a power, an influence and a wisdom manifested with which he could not cope. Probably no few words that were ever uttered by a servant of God gave greater relief and satisfaction than those spoken that morning by President Young; for at no other period in the history of the Church had the people beheld such a crisis. As far as our observation went, (we were only a boy at the time,) the people were divided into three classes from the time of the death of Joseph up to this meeting of which we speak. One class felt clearly and understandingly that President Brigham Young was the man whose right it was to preside, he being the President of the Twelve Apostles, and that body being, through the death of Joseph and Hyrum, the presiding quorum in the Church. Another class were not quite clear as to who would be called to preside; but they felt very certain that Sidney Rigdon was not the man. They did not believe that God would choose a coward and a traitor to lead His people, to both of which characters they believed Rigdon had a claim. The third class, and we think its members were few, was composed of those who had no clear views one way or the other. They were undecided in their feelings.

"From this third class Rigdon afterwards drew away a few persons. They were ready to deny the faith

and to forsake the truth, and, of course, were fit subjects for him to deceive. But the Latter-day Saints are a people of too positive a character to furnish many members to a class like this third of which we speak. Their views upon all subjects which are brought to their attention, and in which they have an interest, are very decided, the most so probably of any other people on the earth, and especially so where they are faithful to the duties of their religion.

"With very few exceptions, then, the people returned to their homes from that meeting filled with great rejoicing. All uncertainty and anxiety were removed. They had heard the voice of the shepherd, and they knew it."

In the afternoon the people were on the ground punctually at the time appointed. The several quorums were organized on and around the stand according to order. The following members of the quorum of the Twelve were present: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith. After the meeting was opened President Young arose and addressed the people. The Church had no short hand reporters in those days, but the following synopsis of his speech on that memorable occasion is found in the history of the Church:

"Attention all! This congregation makes me think of the days of King Benjamin, the multitude being so great that all could not hear. I request the brethren not to have any feelings for being convened this afternoon, for it is necessary; we want you all to be still and give attention, that all may hear. Let none complain because of the situation of the congregation, we will do the best we can.

"For the first time in my life, for the first

time in your lives, for the first time in the kingdom of God in the Nineteenth Century, without a Prophet at our head, do I step forth to act in my calling in connection with the quorum of the Twelve, as Apostles of Jesus Christ unto this generation—Apostles whom God has called by revelation through the Prophet Joseph, who are ordained and anointed to bear off the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world.

"This people have hitherto walked by sight and not by faith. You have had the Prophet in your midst. Do you all understand? You have walked by sight and without much pleading to the Lord to know whether things were right or not.

"Heretofore you have had a Prophet as the mouth of the Lord to speak to you, but he has sealed his testimony with his blood, and now, for the first time, are you called to walk by faith, not by sight.

"The first position I take in behalf of the Twelve and the people is, to ask a few questions. I ask the Latter-day Saints: Do you, as individuals, at this time, want to choose a Prophet or a guardian? Inasmuch as our Prophet and Patriarch are taken from our midst, do you want some one to guard, to guide and lead you through this world into the kingdom of God or not? All that want some person to be a guardian or a Prophet, a spokesman or something else, signify it by raising the right hand. (No votes.)

"When I came to this stand I had peculiar feelings and impressions. The faces of this people seem to say, We want a shepherd to guide and lead us through this world. All that want to draw away a party from the Church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper.

"If any man thinks he has influence among this people to lead away a party, let him try it, and he will find out that there is power with the Apostles which will carry them off victorious through all the world, and build up and defend the Church and kingdom of God.

"What do the people want? I feel as though I wanted the privilege to weep and mourn for thirty days at least, then rise up, shake myself, and tell the people what the Lord wants of them; although my heart is too full of mourning to launch forth into business transactions and the organization of the Church, I feel compelled this day to step forth in the discharge of those duties God has placed upon me.

"I now wish to speak of the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. If the Church is organized, and you want to know how it is organized, I will

tell you. I know your feelings—do you want me to tell your feelings?

"Here is President Rigdon, who was Counselor to Joseph. I ask, where are Joseph and Hyrum? They are gone beyond the veil; and if Elder Rigdon wants to act as his counselor, he must go beyond the veil where he is.

"There has been much said about President Rigdon being President of the Church, and leading the people, being the head, etc. Brother Rigdon has come sixteen hundred miles to tell you what he wants to do for you. If the people want President Rigdon to lead them they may have him; but I say unto you that the quorum of the Twelve have the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world.

"The Twelve are appointed by the finger of God. Here is Brigham, have his knees ever faltered? have his lips ever quivered? Here is Heber and the rest of the Twelve, an independent body, who have the keys of the Priesthood—the keys of the kingdom of God to deliver to all the world; this is true, so help me God. They stand next to Joseph, and are as the First Presidency of the Church.

"I do not know whether my enemies will take my life or not, and I do not care, for I want to be with the man I love.

"You cannot fill the office of a Prophet, Seer and Revelator: God must do this. You are like children without a father and sheep without a shepherd. You must not appoint any man at our head; if you should, the Twelve must ordain him. You cannot appoint a man at our head; but if you do want any other man or men to lead you, take them and we will go our way to build up the kingdom in all the world.

"I know who are Joseph's friends, and who are his enemies. I know where the keys of the kingdom are, and where they will eternally be. You cannot call a man to be a Prophet; you cannot take Elder Rigdon and place him above the Twelve; if so, he must be ordained by them.

"I tell you there is an overanxiety to hurry matters here. You cannot take any man and put him at the head; you would scatter the Saints to the four winds, you would sever the Priesthood. So long as we remain as we are, the heavenly Head is in constant co-operation with us; and if you go out of that course, God will have nothing to do with you.

"Again, perhaps some think that our beloved brother Rigdon would not be honored, would not be looked to as a friend; but if he does right, and remains faithful he will

not act against our counsel, nor we against his, but act together, and we shall be as one.

"I again repeat, no man can stand at our head, except God reveals it from the heavens.

"I have spared no pains to learn my lesson of the kingdom in this world and in the eternal worlds; and if it were not so, I could go and live in peace; but for the Gospel and your sakes I shall stand in my place. We are liable to be killed all the day long. You have never lived by faith.

"Brother Joseph, the Prophet, has laid the foundation for a great work, and we will build upon it; you have never seen the quorums built one upon another. There is an almighty foundation laid, and we can build a kingdom such as there never was in the world: we can build a kingdom faster than Satan can kill the Saints off.

"What do you want? Do you want a Patriarch for the whole Church? To this we are perfectly willing. If brother Samuel H. Smith had been living, it would have been his right and privilege; but he is dead, he is gone to Joseph and Hyrum, he is out of the reach of bullets and spears, and he can waft himself with his brothers, his friends and the Saints.

"Do you want a Patriarch? Here is brother William left; here is Uncle John Smith, uncle to the Prophet Joseph, left; it is their right. The right of patriarchal blessings belongs to Joseph's family.

"Do you want a trustee-in-trust? Has there been a Bishop who has stood in his lot yet? What is his business? To take charge of the temporal affairs, so that the Twelve and the Elders may go on their business. Joseph condescended to do their business for them. Joseph condescended to offer himself for President of the United States, and it was a great condescension.

"Do you want a spokesman? Here are Elder Rigdon, Brother Amasa Lyman (whom Joseph expected to take as a Counselor) and myself. Do you want the Church properly organized, or do you want a spokesman to be chief cook and bottle-washer? Elder Rigdon claims to be spokesman to the Prophet. Very well, he was; but can he now act in that office? If he wants now to be a spokesman to the Prophet, he must go the other side of the veil, for the Prophet is there, but Elder Rigdon is here. Why will Elder Rigdon be a fool? Who knows anything of the Priesthood, or the organization of the kingdom of God? I am plain.

"Does this Church want it as God organized it? or do you want to clip the power of the Priesthood, and let those who have the

keys of the Priesthood go and build up the kingdom in all the world, wherever the people will hear them?

"If there is a spokesman, if he is a king and priest, let him go and build up a kingdom unto himself; that is his right and it is the right of many here, but the Twelve are at the head of it.

"I want to live on the earth and spread truth through all the world. You Saints of Latter-days want things right. If 10,000 men rise up and say they have the Prophet Joseph Smith's shoes, I know they are impostors. In the Priesthood you have a right to build up a kingdom, if you know how the Church is organized.

"Now, if you want Sidney Rigdon or William Law to lead you, or anybody else, you are welcome to them; but I tell you, in the name of the Lord, that no man can put another between the Twelve and the Prophet Joseph. Why? Because Joseph was their file leader, and he has committed into their hands the keys of the kingdom in this last dispensation, for all the world; don't put a thread between the Priesthood and God.

"I will ask, who has stood next to Joseph and Hyrum? I have, and I will stand next to him. We have a head, and that head is the Apostleship, the spirit and power of Joseph, and we can now begin to see the necessity of that Apostleship.

"Brother Rigdon was at his side—not above. No man has a right to counsel the Twelve but Joseph Smith. Think of these things. You cannot appoint a Prophet; but if you let the Twelve remain and act in their place, the keys of the kingdom are with them and they can manage the affairs of the Church and direct all things aright.

"Now, all this does not lessen the character of President Rigdon; let him magnify his calling, and Joseph will want him beyond the veil—let him be careful what he does, lest that thread which binds us together is cut asunder. May God bless you all." (President Young said much more which was not written.)

Amasa M. Lyman said:

"I do not rise to electioneer. I am gratified with the open, frank and plain exposition of President Young. He has seen the relation I bear to my deceased brother. I never did conceive it gave me a precedence to go before the Twelve.

"I do not make exceptions to anything he has said. I believe there is no power, or officer, or means wanted to carry on the work, but what is in the Twelve. I am satisfied that no man can carry on the work,

but the power that is in the Twelve, as has been stated.

"There is one thing to secure the salvation of this people, and that is not in union alone, it is for you to know the right and be united—it has been presented to you by President Young, and I will back him up. All I design to do is to redeem my pledge.

"President Young has stood next to the Prophet Joseph, with the Twelve, and I have stood next to them, and I will stand next to them. I have been at the back of Joseph Smith, and will be at the back of the Twelve forever, and then we will be saved.

"There is no need of a President, we have a head here. What is that head? The quorum of the Twelve Apostles are the head. We now see the necessity of the Apostleship.

"I might rise up as well as any other man to ask for the Presidency, but I could not do it without endangering my salvation. This is the power that turns the key to bestow salvation through all the land, in the way that Joseph commenced it, the first one called to do the same in all the world. If Joseph Smith had any power to bear off the kingdom of God, the Twelve have the same.

"I could not advocate a choosing of a President, and myself a candidate; so that you know the place I occupy is, to stand to the Twelve, the same as the Twelve did to Joseph, either on one side or the other. I do not want to go before them or to fall asleep. I want to see the kingdom roll forth by our united faith and efforts."

Sidney Rigdon was next called on, but he excused himself and called upon W. W. Phelps to speak in his behalf. During the entire meeting he sat in the stand with his back to the congregation, and much of the time with his head down. He had no inclination to show himself to the people, and if his conduct and appearance gave a correct idea of his feelings, he felt badly. Not one word did he utter in a public congregation of the Saints after making his remarks that morning.

Wm. W. Phelps arose and said:

"With the knowledge that I have I cannot suppose but that this congregation will act aright this day. I believe enough has been said to prepare the minds of the people to act.

"I have known many of them for fourteen years, and I have always known them to submit with deference to the authorities of the Church. I have seen the Elders of Israel and the people take their lives in their hands and go without purse or scrip in winter and in summer. I have seen them prepare for war, and ready to pour out their heart's blood, and that is an evidence that they will walk by counsel.

"I am happy to see this little lake of faces, and to see the same spirit and disposition manifested here to-day, as it was the day after the bloody tragedy, when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were brought home dead to this city. Then you submitted to the law's slow delay, and banded the matter over to God; and I see the same thing to-day—you are now determined as one man to sustain the authorities of the Church, and I am happy that the men who were on Joseph's right and left hand submit themselves to the authority of the Priesthood.

"I have feelings about this, especially for President Rigdon, and I want to say that there is a quorum that the Twelve belong to, and that the people will receive an endowment. I brought President Rigdon into that quorum, and he received in part the blessings. I could not bear the thought of President Rigdon going into the world without his endowment. He did obtain part, and I hope he will submit.

"I want Brother Amasa to stand on the side of the Twelve, and they are wanted there still—let them go on and sustain them in that high office. You cannot put in a guardian of the Church.

"We have hitherto walked by sight, and if a man wanted to know anything he had only to go to Brother Joseph. Joseph has gone, but he has not left us comfortless.

"I want to say that Brother Joseph came and enlightened me two days after he was buried. He came the same as when he was alive, and in a moment appeared to me in his own house. He said, Tell the drivers to drive on. I asked if the building was on wheels? He said, Certainly. I spoke, and away it went. We drove all round the hills and valleys. He then told the drivers to drive on over the river into Iowa. I told him Devil Creek was before us. He said, Drive over Devil Creek; I don't care for Devil Creek or any other creek; and we did so. Then I awoke.

"There is a combination of persons in this city who are in continual intercourse with William and Wilson Law, who are at the bottom of the matter to destroy all that stands for Joseph, and there are persons

now in this city who are only wanting power to murder all the persons that still hold on to Joseph; but let us go ahead and build up the Temple, and then you will be endowed. When the Temple is completed all the honorable mothers in Israel will be endowed, as well as the Elders.

"If you want to do right, uphold the Twelve. If they die, I am willing to die with them; but do your duty and you will be endowed. I will sustain the Twelve as long as I have breath.

"When Joseph was going away he said he was going to die, and I said I was willing to die with him; but as I am now alive, as a lawyer in Israel, I am determined to live.

"I want you all to recollect that Joseph and Hyrum have only been removed from the earth, and they now counsel and converse with the Gods beyond the reach of powder and ball."

Parley P. Pratt was the next speaker. He said:

"What has been said has been well said. If there are men here who are our enemies, I'll tell you when they will cease to be here: they will be here while you will deal with them. If I exchange property or deal with men, I do it with those whom I know to be faithful.

"If there are wicked men here, it is because we support them. Stop dealing with them, and they will go away. Will I support them? No, I would deal with all honest men whom I know to be such.

"I am willing to do good to all men, especially to the household of faith. Our enemies will cease to dwell here when you cease to deal with them. Mobs and wicked men will cease when you cease to support them.

"I know we can all live and be happy too, when we deal with honest men. If a man wants a doctor or a lawyer, he will send directly for the worst man he can find.

"I would die a natural death sooner than I would have a wicked doctor to help me off. I would go without suing all the days of my life before I would go to a lawyer to sue. I will not say anything about the merchants, because you all know them."

President Brigham Young again arose and said:

"There is more business than can be done this afternoon, but we can accomplish all we want to have done without calling this convention of the whole Church. I am going to present to you the leading items.

"I do not ask you to take my counsel or advice alone, but every one of you act for

yourselves; but if Brother Rigdon is the person you want to lead you, vote for him, but not unless you intend to follow him and support him as you did Joseph. Do not say so without you mean to take his counsel hereafter.

"And I would say the same for the Twelve, don't make a covenant to support them unless you intend to abide by their counsel; and if they do not counsel you as you please, don't turn round and oppose them.

"I want every man, before he enters into a covenant, to know what he is going to do; but we want to know if this people will support the Priesthood in the name of Israel's God. If you say you will, do so.

"We want men appointed to take charge of the business that did lay on the shoulders of Joseph. Let me say to you that this kingdom will spread more than ever.

"The Twelve have the power now—the Seventies, the Elders and all of you can have power to go and build up the kingdom in the name of Israel's God. Nauvoo will not hold all the people that will come into the kingdom.

"We want to build the Temple, so as to get our endowment; and if we do our best, and Satan will not let us build it, we will go into the wilderness and we will receive the endowment, for we will receive an endowment anyhow.

"Will you abide our counsel? I again say, my soul for any man's, if they will abide our counsel, that they will go right into heaven. We have all the signs and tokens to give to the porter at the door, and he will let us in."

President Young then addressed himself to the quorums of the Priesthood present, and said:

"Do you want Brother Rigdon to stand forward as your leader, your guide, your spokesman?"

But Sidney Rigdon told him at this point that he desired him to bring up the other question first, which he did by asking:

"Does the Church want, and is it their only desire to sustain the Twelve as the First Presidency of this people? Here are the Apostles, the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants—they are written on the tablet of my heart. If the Church want the Twelve to stand as the head, the First Presidency of the Church, and at the head of this kingdom in all the world, stand next to Joseph, walk up into



their calling and hold the keys of this kingdom, every man, every woman, every quorum is now put in order, and you are now the sole controllers of it. All that are in favor of this, in all the congregation of the Saints, manifest it by holding up the right hand."

The vote was unanimous. He then said:

"If there are any of the contrary mind, every man and every woman who does not want the Twelve to preside, lift up your hands in like manner."

Not a hand was raised. President Young then continued:

"We feel as though we could take Brother Rigdon in our bosom along with us; we want such men as Brother Rigdon. He has been sent away by Brother Joseph to build up a kingdom; let him keep the instructions and calling; let him raise up a mighty kingdom in Pittsburgh, and we will lift up his hands to Almighty God. I think we may have a printing office and a gathering there. If the devil still tries to kill us he will have enough to do.

"The next is President Marks. Our feelings are to let him stand as President of the Stake, as heretofore. We can build the Temple, etc.

"You did not know who you had among you. Joseph so loved this people that he gave his life for them; Hyrum loved his brother and this people unto death. Joseph and Hyrum have given their lives for the Church. But very few knew Joseph's character; he loved you unto death—you did not know it until after his death: he has now sealed his testimony with his blood.

"If the Twelve had been here we would not have seen him given up; he should not have been given up. He was in your midst, but you did not know him; he has been taken away, for the people are not worthy of him.

"The world is wide. I can preach in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, etc. I can preach in all the world, and the devils cannot find us. I'll swear to you I will not be given up.

"There is much to be done. You have men among you who sleep with one eye open. The foundation is laid by our Prophet, and we will build thereon; no other foundation can be laid but that which is laid, and we will have our endowment if the Lord will.

"As the authorities do not want us to do military duty, don't do it. If it is necessary

my neck is ready for the knife; as for myself, I am determined to build up the kingdom of God: and bye-and-bye there will be a gleanings of grapes, and it may be said, 'To your tents, O Israel.'

"We can build on the foundation that was laid by the Prophet. Joseph has finished his work, and all the devils in hell and all the mobbers on earth could not take his life until he had accomplished his work. God said, I will put a veil over his eyes and lead him up to the slaughter like a sheep to be killed, for the people are not worthy of him, though God loves this people.

"Let no man suppose that the kingdom is rent from you; that it is not organized. If all the quorums of the Church were slain, except the High Priests, they would rise up with the keys of the kingdom, and have the powers of the Priesthood upon them, and build up the kingdom, and the devil cannot help himself.

"You can go to a healthy country, buy the land, and don't let a cursed scoundrel get in your midst. Let there be good men, good women, and whenever a man comes with a wheel-barrow full of goods, don't sell him land, don't let him a house, nor buy of him.

"Suppose we had ten thousand such places, and increasing in greatness, perfectly free from these poor devils, we should feel better than we do now. Let us all be humble and get our endowments—all be humble, industrious and prudent, what sort of a kingdom would it be. The foundation is laid for more than we can think or talk about to-day.

"Is it the will of this congregation that they will be tithed until the Temple is finished, as they have hitherto been? If so, signify it by the uplifted hand. (The vote was unanimous.)

"The men will act that have never acted before, and they will have the power and authority to do it. Is it the mind of this congregation to loose the hands of the Twelve, and enable us to go and preach to all the world? We want to know the feelings of the people. Is it your will to support the Twelve in all the world in their missions? (The congregation sustained this question by a unanimous vote.) Will you leave it to the Twelve to dictate about the finances of the Church? and will it be the mind of this people that the Twelve teach what will be the duties of the Bishops in handling the affairs of the Church? I want this, because twelve men can do it just as well as calling this immense congregation together at any other time. (A unanimous vote.)

"We shall have a Patriarch, and the right is in the family of Joseph Smith, his brothers, his sons, or some one of his relations. Here is Uncle John, he has been ordained a Patriarch. Brother Samuel would have taken the office if he had been alive; it would have been his right; the right is in Uncle John, or one of his brothers. I know that it would have belonged to Samuel. But as it is, if you leave it to the Twelve, they will wait until they know who is the man. (Read Doc. & Cov., Sec. 107, V. 89.) Will you leave it to the Twelve, and they dictate the matter? (A unanimous vote.) I know it will be let alone for the present.

"I feel to bring up Brother Rigdon; we are of one mind with him and he with us. Will this congregation uphold him in the place he occupies by the prayer of faith and let him be one with us and we with him? (Unanimous.) The Twelve will dictate and see to other matters. There will be a committee for the Temple; and now let men stand to their posts and be faithful."

After the benediction was offered by Parley P. Pratt, the meeting was adjourned until the October conference.

The result of this meeting gave general satisfaction; the Saints were relieved of a great burden, and though still full of sadness because of Joseph and Hyrum's death, they felt truly thankful to God that they no longer were without a leader.

But there were a few persons who were much disappointed at the turn affairs had taken. Sidney Rigdon, Wm. Marks and several others, who were actually apostates at heart, did not wish the Twelve to preside. In their secret councils they had laid altogether different plans in relation to the government of the Church and made secret preparations in relation thereto. Now that the Twelve were accepted as the highest authority in the Church, all their projects had been destroyed.\*

\*The contents of the following pages are mostly taken from George Q. Cannon's "History of the Church" as published in the *Juvenile Instructor*.

President Young and the other Apostles took hold of the new duties which devolved upon them with great zeal and energy. They were surrounded by enemies, and they had great responsibility devolving upon them. Joseph's presence and personal superintendence, during his lifetime, had superseded the necessity of strictness and thorough organization in many directions which were now felt to be essential. Bishops N. K. Whitney and George Miller were appointed to act as trustees-in-trust of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and it was decided also to increase the number of quorums of Seventies. An epistle was issued to the Saints in Nauvoo and all the world, under date of Aug. 15, 1844, of which we give the opening paragraphs. The epistle says:

"Forasmuch as the Saints have been called to suffer deep affliction and persecution, and also to mourn the loss of our beloved Prophet and also our Patriarch, who have suffered a cruel martyrdom for the testimony of Jesus, having voluntarily yielded themselves to cruel murderers who had sworn to take their lives, and thus like good shepherds have laid down their lives for the sheep, therefore it becomes necessary for us to address you at this time on several important subjects.

"You are now without a Prophet present with you in the flesh to guide you; but you are not without Apostles, who hold the keys of power to seal on earth that which shall be sealed in Heaven, and to preside over all the affairs of the Church in all the world; being still under the direction of the same God, and being dictated by the same Spirit, having the same manifestations of the Holy Ghost to dictate all the affairs of the Church in all the world, to build up the kingdom upon the foundation that the Prophet Joseph has laid, who still holds the keys of this last dispensation, and will hold them to all eternity, as a King and Priest unto the Most High God, ministering in heaven, on earth, or among the spirits of the departed dead, as seemeth good to Him who sent him.

"Let no man presume for a moment that

his place will be filled by another; for, remember he stands in his own place, and always will; and the Twelve Apostles of this dispensation stand in their own place and always will, both in time and in eternity, to minister, preside and regulate the affairs of the whole Church.

"How vain are the imaginations of the children of men, to presume for a moment that the slaughter of one, two, or a hundred of the leaders of this Church could destroy an organization, so perfect in itself and so harmoniously arranged that it will stand while one member of it is left alive upon the earth. Brethren, be not alarmed, for if the Twelve should be taken away, still there are powers and offices in existence which will bear the Kingdom of God triumphantly victorious in all the world. This Church may have Prophets many, and Apostles many, but they are all to stand in due time in their proper organization, under the direction of those who hold the keys."

The epistle then gave directions concerning the gathering, urging the Saints who had capital to come to Nauvoo, employ the poor and help build up the city. The building of the Temple was given a prominent place, and the necessity of every member proceeding immediately to tithe himself was set forth with great plainness.

There was a disposition manifested by some men during those days to lead off companies into the wilderness, promising the people that they would there receive their endowments. A report was circulated that President Young and the other Apostles had a secret understanding with the men who set themselves up as the leaders of these companies, to the effect that they were to take away all that they could; and although in public the Twelve would speak against their going, yet privately they wished them to go. This was a very cunning plan of the evil one, by which he hoped to break up the people and destroy the work of God. If President Young, or any of the

Apostles should speak in public against the formation of these companies, and say to the people that they ought not to leave Nauvoo at that time, these men who started this lying report would say. "Did we not tell you that the Twelve would speak against this in public? This was all arranged beforehand when we had our secret understanding. You must not mind what they say in public." By this means the adversary hoped to deceive the people and lead them to destruction. But when they heard President Young declare to the people that it was not the will of God that the Saints should go into the wilderness at that time, but that it was His will that they should stay in Nauvoo, and build the Temple and get their endowments, they believed his words, for the Spirit bore testimony that they were true.

A number of persons had worked in the pineries of Wisconsin Territory, under the direction of Lyman Wight and George Miller, in cutting timber and sawing lumber for the Temple, and were, therefore, called the Pine Company. This company embraced all of the Saints who had liberty from President Young and the Twelve to leave the city. President Young told Lyman Wight and George Miller from the stand that if they took a course contrary to the counsel of the Twelve and would not act in concert with them, they would be damned and go to destruction. At the same time he said that if men would not stop striving to be great and exalted, and would persist in leading away parties from the place of gathering, thereby weakening his and his brethren's hands, they would fall and not rise again. These predictions were fulfilled to the very

letter. Lyman Wight did not act in concert with the Twelve; he led the people into difficulty and apostasy; he lost his Apostleship, and another took his place. (See page 111.) George Miller afterwards took the same course, and with the same results. He lost his office and standing in the Church, and, like Lyman Wight, died in apostasy.

At a meeting of the Twelve held in Nauvoo Aug. 24, 1844, Lyman Wight was counseled to go north, but he was determined to carry out his own views, regardless of the council of the Presidency of the Church, and go south. At the meeting mentioned, Wilford Woodruff was set apart for another mission to England, to be accompanied by Elders Dan Jones and Hiram Clark.

Sidney Rigdon outwardly appeared for a short time to submit to the Presidency of the Apostles, but he only did so until he could get his plans matured. Secretly he collected together those who sympathized with him, and all others whom he could tempt and deceive by his cunning words and false statements, and held meetings, in which he promised them wonderful things, and even went so far as to ordain some of them to be prophets, priests and kings. Of course such movements could not long remain concealed; his hypocrisy soon became public; and the whole Church learned, what the Twelve Apostles had long been aware of, that he was an apostate and an enemy to the truth. He also continued to prophesy evil against the Saints, and among other things he predicted that there would not be another stone raised upon the walls of the Temple. He said this in a

meeting, at which Wm. W. Player was present. When Brother Player, who had charge of the mason work of the Temple, went away from the meeting, he took with him Brothers Archibald and John Hill, which three brethren raised and set a stone upon the building, determined that Rigdon's prediction in this instance should fail at once. Shortly afterward the walls of the Temple were completed and under roof. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

Sept. 8, 1844, Rigdon was cut off from the Church by the High Council of Nauvoo. (See *Sidney Rigdon*.) Soon afterwards he came out openly and opposed the Church, denounced its leaders and endeavored to seduce the people to commit the same folly and to practise the same wickedness of which he was guilty. To keep up a form of organization he proceeded to choose twelve men and call them apostles, and he soon left Nauvoo and retired to Pittsburgh, Penn., which he made his headquarters. He also sent his missionaries to various places where there were branches of the Church, and endeavored to persuade the Elders and members that he was the legal and heaven-appointed leader of the Church, and that the Twelve Apostles had assumed an authority which did not belong to them. For awhile they made some little stir; what his preachers lacked in authority and in spirit they made up in noise, being vigorous in setting forth their own claims and in detracting from President Young, his brethren the Apostles, and the Elders and Saints who were associated with them. Their exertions, however, had one excellent effect: they gathered out from the Church many hypocrites and evil doers, and

left it more pure and healthy by their labors.

Oct. 6, 1844, and the two following days, the semi-annual conference was held at Nauvoo. Among the authorities of the Church presented on that occasion was William Marks, the President of the Stake of Zion at Nauvoo. He was in sympathy with Sidney Rigdon, and thought that he (Rigdon), and not the Twelve Apostles, should preside over the Church, although he did not avow this very publicly. When Marks' name was represented at the conference, he was objected to by one of the Elders, and when the vote on his name was called, there were but two who held up their hands to sustain him. Upon the contrary vote being called, almost every hand was raised against him. This decided the matter, and William Marks was dropped from his position. A motion was then made to sustain Elder John Smith as President of the Stake, which was unanimously carried. To show how little William Marks cared for the memory of Joseph and Hyrum, the Prophet and the Patriarch, it is only necessary to state that after their deaths, he hired the Mansion House of Emma Smith, Joseph's widow, for the purpose of keeping tavern there. The dining room of that building was yet stained with the blood which had flowed from them while lying there before burial, and they were scarcely cold in their graves, when he arranged to have a ball there, the dancing to be done in the dining room. When President Young and his council heard of this, they resolved to use their influence with the people to prevent their attending the ball.

Also one of the first seven Presi-

dents of the Seventies by the name of Josiah Butterfield was dropped at this conference. He had happened to get a little money, by which he became lifted up, and his religion ceased to have the value to him it ought to have had. Elder Jedediah M. Grant was chosen to act in this office in his stead.

At this conference much valuable instruction was given, the quorums, particularly the Seventies, were filled up, a number of High Priests were selected to go to various places in the United States and to preside, and other important business was attended to. The building of the Temple, and the pushing forward of all the labors incumbent upon the Saints at Nauvoo, were urged with force and energy upon the conference. Around the Temple itself centered the hopes and the future prospect of the Saints, and they labored for and earnestly desired its completion. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

The murder of the Prophet and Patriarch had not been attended with the results which the enemies of the Church had anticipated. They had hoped their deaths would be followed by the complete overthrow of the Church; but instead of this the Saints were found to be still united, being led with great wisdom by men of much influence and integrity, and the prospects were that Nauvoo would continue to prosper. Consequently the enemies of the Saints began to lay new plans for the overthrow of the Church and the city of Nauvoo. All kinds of charges were preferred against the Saints, and certain newspapers, among which the *Warsaw Signal*, the *Alton Telegraph* and the *Quincy Whig*, were filled with false stories about the

thieving, the counterfeiting and the murders of the people of Nauvoo. Great indignation was aroused in the country against the Saints by these lies, and this was what these wicked men desired; for they hoped by this means to succeed in raising a mob that would drive the Saints away from their homes. Governor Ford related an incident that came under his own observation which illustrates the character of the charges circulated about the Saints. Said he:

"On my late visit to Hancock County, I was informed by some of their (the Mormons) violent enemies, that their larcenies had become unusually numerous and insufferable. They indeed admitted that but little had been done in this way in their immediate vicinity. But they insisted that sixteen horses had been stolen by the Mormons in one night, near Lima, in the county of Adams. At the close of the expedition, I called at this same town of Lima, and upon inquiry, was told that no horses had been stolen in that neighborhood, but that sixteen horses had been stolen in one night in Hancock County. This last informant being told of the Hancock County story, again changed the venue to another distant settlement in the northern edge of Adams County."

In his message to the legislature the governor said:

"Justice, however, requires me here to say, that I have investigated the charge of promiscuous stealing, and find it to be greatly exaggerated. I could not ascertain that there were a greater proportion of thieves in that community, than in any other of the same number of inhabitants; and perhaps if the city of Nauvoo were compared with St. Louis, or any other western city, the proportion would not be so great."

Vigilance was required to counteract the designs of the wicked, to thwart their plans and to preserve the Saints from the snares which were spread for their feet. President Young was on the alert; he scrutinized every movement, penetrated every plot and, with his brethren, was unceasing in his efforts to

defend and guard the Saints. From the public stand he rebuked the civil authorities of the city for their want of energy in the discharge of the duties of their offices, censured parents and guardians for not controlling their children and keeping them out of the street at night, and warned the people that if they did not rise up and put a stop to the thieving, swearing, gambling, bogus-making, the selling of spirituous liquors, bad houses and all abominations practiced in their midst by their enemies, these evils would uproot them and they would have to leave Nauvoo before they had done the things which the Lord had commanded them to do. These plain warnings had their effect. The Saints became more strict in their own conduct, in controlling their families and in opposing iniquity in every form, and good order was maintained in the city.

Early in January, 1845, a selection of Elders was made to take short missions through the State of Illinois and the Territory of Iowa, for the purpose of frustrating the designs of wicked men, who were endeavoring to poison the minds of the people so as to create a public opinion which would sustain the raising of mobs against the Saints and justify the commission of outrages upon them. Through false reports, which were circulated about the people of Nauvoo, many were led to suppose that the Saints were people of very bad habits and wicked character, and numbers had no means of knowing the truth concerning them. By sending Elders out they could correct misrepresentations, dissipate many prejudices, impart correct information concerning the motives and con-

duct of the Saints, and thus counteract the schemes of the mobbers.

About the time these Elders were called and set apart for this mission, an epistle was prepared by the Twelve Apostles, and sent forth to the Church in all the world. Hopeful and zealous themselves in their labors, the epistle breathed this spirit. It gave a cheerful description of the progress made in building the Temple, and the anticipations in which they indulged respecting certain portions of it being finished by the succeeding fall, so that they could begin to give the Saints their endowments in its rooms. Of the Saints abroad who desired to share with them the labor, as well as the glory, of building the Temple, they made several requests. All the young, middle-aged and able-bodied men who had it in their hearts to help at this work were requested to come to Nauvoo, prepared to stay during the summer, furnished with means with which to sustain themselves, and "to bring with them teams, cattle, sheep, gold, silver, brass, iron, oil, paints and tools;" and those who were within market distance of Nauvoo were requested to bring with them provisions to sustain themselves and others during their stay. The branches of the Church were asked to send all the money, cloth, clothing and raw materials for manufacturing purposes they could. The subject of tithing and its importance was referred to, and the Saints were warned not to trust or pay their money to impostors; but to responsible agents who had written authority from the Apostles, and whose names were published in the *Times and Seasons*.

The quorums of Seventies had finished a very good hall, in which to

hold their meetings; a concert hall was also built with the view to promote the culture of music. Until these were erected, the hall over the Prophet Joseph's store was the only one in Nauvoo where a congregation could be gathered. The High Priests felt that they were sufficiently numerous and important to have a hall for their use; but at their meeting on Jan. 26, 1845, President Young suggested to them that instead of erecting this building, they devote their means to the completion of the upper story of the Temple, in which they could receive their washings, anointings and endowments. This proposition they accepted by a unanimous vote.

The city charter of Nauvoo had proved a bulwark of liberty to the people. Liberal in its provisions and powers, it guaranteed to the citizens under its jurisdiction, protection from the plots of wicked and designing men. It had been granted by the legislature of the State of Illinois at a time when mobocrats did not control the State, and when it was not considered a crime to treat the Latter-day Saints with humanity and that degree of fairness to which, as American citizens, they were entitled. One of the sections of that charter provided that:

"All power is granted to the city council, to make, ordain, establish and execute all ordinances not repugnant to the Constitution of the State, or of the United States, or, as they may deem necessary for the peace and safety of said city."

Under this authority the city council had passed an ordinance to prevent the citizens of Nauvoo from being carried off by an illegal process. If any person thought he was illegally seized, he could, under that ordinance, claim the right of *habeas*

*corpus*, to try the question of identity. The Prophet Joseph had found this ordinance very useful when the attempt was made to kidnap and carry him off illegally to the State of Missouri. (See page 525.)

A great outcry was raised by the mobbers against the charter, and politicians, always ready to desert and sacrifice principle for popularity, thought they could gain favor by joining in the clamor. To gain a few votes they were ready to strip the people of Nauvoo of every right and to abandon them to the attacks and machinations of a band of wretches who were more cruel and pitiless than savages or wild beasts. Even Thomas Carlin, governor of the State of Illinois, as early as 1842, in his anxiety to pander to the mob, denounced the city council of Nauvoo for its action in passing this ordinance.

The members of the legislature, with few exceptions, were ready to carry out any plan that would injure or destroy the Latter-day Saints. All the prejudices against them which circulated through the country they fully entertained, and they were prepared to go to any lengths to give expression to them in a hostile manner. Jacob C. Davis, a member of the Senate from Hancock County, was indicted for the murder of the Prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum, and there is not a doubt but he was in the mob which committed the massacre at Carthage jail. But the Senate, instead of allowing the law to take its course and him to be tried for the crime of which he was accused, discharged him from arrest. No one of those engaged in the commission of that bloody and treacherous deed was to

be punished by the law. This man Davis was afterwards suffered to make bitter speeches against the people of Nauvoo and in favor of the repeal of the charter on the floor of the Senate, and was listened to with as much attention as if he were not a murderer. In fact, a member of the Senate, John Dougherty, from Union County, openly justified the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

What could be expected by the Latter-day Saints from such a legislature? In vain did the representatives from Hancock County, Hon. Jacob B. Backenstos and Hon. A. W. Habbit, plead for the rights of their constituents, the citizens of Nauvoo, and appeal to the sense of justice, equal rights, patriotism and humanity of the members; the latter were resolved to repeal the charter, and thereby deprive the people of all legal protection and expose them to the full violence of their enemies whenever they chose to attack them.

The city charter of Nauvoo was repealed Jan. 21, 1845. It had existed as a body corporate since Dec. 16, 1840, a period of about four years. When the charter was granted the principal officers of the State were as follows: Thomas Carlin, governor; Wm. Wilson, chief justice; Samuel D. Lockwood, Thomas C. Brown, Walter B. Scates, associate justices: These men formed the council of revision. When the State took away the chartered rights and left them entirely destitute of protection, the council of revision stood as follows: Thomas Ford, governor; Wm. Wilson, chief justice; Samuel D. Lockwood, Thomas C. Brown, Walter B. Scates, Samuel H. Treat, Richard M. Young, James



Shields, Jesse B. Thomas and John D. Caton.

Nauvoo was the most flourishing city in the State of Illinois. Its situation upon the Mississippi was most beautiful, and there was every prospect of it becoming, if left to grow undisturbed, a place of great commercial importance. When the Saints settled there it was a very sickly place; but their industry, perseverance and union had, in a few brief years, improved it, and it was rapidly growing in importance. The people in other portions of the State, and especially in Hancock and the surrounding counties, saw the progress which was made, and they were jealous. They dreaded the growing power of the Latter-day Saints, and, prompted by the evil one, they were ready to adopt any measure to check it and to destroy the work of God. In a community nearly equally divided into two political parties, a united people like the Latter-day Saints, voting in a solid body, carried with them great weight. In those days the great political parties of the country were Democrats and Whigs. In Illinois the people were nearly equally divided in politics. In some places Democrats were elected; in others, Whigs; but at every election in Hancock County, and in every general election in the State, the Saints held the balance of power; for whichever party gained their votes carried the election. This also was a great cause of jealousy, and gave rise to bitterness of feeling. Politicians saw a growing power which they could not manage, and which, at no very distant day, would control the State; and they wished it checked. All these causes combined to prompt the legislature to

strip the city of its charter, and to reduce it to an almost chaotic condition. The property of any city, not peopled by Latter-day Saints, would have been so depreciated by being deprived of its charter, that its prosperity would have received a severe blow. But not so with Nauvoo. Its growth did not depend upon its charter, or the favor of the legislature; there were other causes which had made it a prosperous city, and they still continued to operate when its charter was wrested from it.

After the repeal of the city charter, the attorney-general of the State, Josiah Lamborn, Esq., wrote a letter to President Young, in which he alluded to the legislature and its action in terms the reverse of complimentary. Said he:

"I have always considered that your enemies have been prompted by religious and political prejudices and by a desire for plunder and blood, more than for the common good. By the repeal of your charter and by refusing all amendments and modifications our legislature has given a kind of sanction to the barbarous manner in which you have been treated. Your two representatives exerted themselves to the extent of their abilities in your behalf, but the tide of popular passion and frenzy was too strong to be resisted. It is truly a melancholy spectacle to witness the law makers of a sovereign State condescending to pander to the vices, ignorance and malevolence of a class of people who are at all times ready for riot, murder and rebellion."

Referring to Jacob C. Davis, he said:

"Your senator, Jacob C. Davis, has done much to poison the minds of members against anything in your favor. He walks at large in defiance of law, an indicted murderer. If a Mormon was in his position, the Senate would afford no protection, but he would be dragged forth to the jail, or to the gallows, or to be shot down by a cowardly and brutal mob."

A stronger contrast could not be given than this alluded to by Mr. Lamborn—the treatment Davis, the

murderer, received from the Senate, and the treatment a "Mormon" would have received from that body had he been in Davis' place and been accused of, or indicted for, the same crime. Every person of reflection in the State knew that a Latter-day Saint accused of crime would receive no mercy at the hands of such men as composed the legislature; they would want him hung or shot down instantly.

Mr. Lamborn wrote another paragraph in his letter which contained an excellent exhortation and a very encouraging prophecy. Said he:

"All you have to do is to be quiet, submissive to the laws and circumspect in your conduct. 'Heap coals of fire on their heads' by humility and kindness, and, my word for it, there will be a mighty reaction in the public sentiment, which will ultimately overthrow all your enemies. The 'sober second thought of the people' will always be right, and heaven will protect you against all the assaults of a corrupt and blood-thirsty rabble."

The Saints have lived to see the fulfilment of Mr. Lamborn's words.

At the April Conference, 1845, the name of the city of Nauvoo was changed by vote to the City of Joseph, in honor of the Prophet. In describing the condition of the city at that time the conference report says:

"Never have we seen the time before when the people were more willing to receive and listen to counsel than now. The High Council have only had one case in about seven weeks. Our magistrates have nothing to do. We have little or no use for charter or law. Every man is doing his best to cultivate the ground, and all are anxious to provide things honestly in the sight of all men—to honor our God, our country and its laws. Whenever a dispute or difficulty arises, a word from the proper source puts all to right, and no resort to law. May God ever save us from this snare of men, this drainer of the purse, and this fruitful source of contention and strife."

The people of God are not dependent upon charters or laws of human enactment for the peace which they enjoy. This was proved at Nauvoo at the time of which we write. Another city, thus robbed of its charter, might obtain an organization by calling the people together and electing a committee, etc.; but at Nauvoo there was a man whom all looked up to as their governor and chief, appointed by the Lord. He presided over the Twelve Apostles, and, with them, was recognized as having the right to prescribe rules and regulations for the government of the city. In company with the Twelve Apostles, President Young attended a meeting which he had appointed and ordained a number of Bishops to take charge of all the Wards of the city. They were directed to select and set apart deacons in their Wards to attend to all things needful, and especially to watch; to be, in fact, among other things, a police to maintain peace and good order throughout the city.

There were many suspicious characters who came to the city, and who presumed upon the people because the city charter was repealed. Some of these were notorious for their crimes, and it was well known that they had evil designs in visiting Nauvoo. But how could they be dealt with? There were no police who had the authority to arrest them, and for the people to have waited upon them and warned them to leave the city would have afforded new pretexts to the enemies of the Saints for getting out writs and carrying them off to prison. Yet something had to be done. It was and still is, a common practice among Yankees, when engaged in conversation, or in

making a bargain, to take out their pocket knives and commence whittling; frequently, also, when engaged in thought they indulge in the same practice, accompanying the whittling by whistling. No person could object, therefore, to the practices of whittling and whistling. Many of the boys of the city had each a large bowie knife made, and when a man came to town who was known to be a villian, and was there for evil purposes, a few of them would get together, and go to where the obnoxious person was, and having previously provided themselves with pine shingles, would commence whittling. The presence of a number of boys, each whittling a shingle with a bright, large bowie knife, was not a sight to escape the notice of a stranger, especially when these knives came uncomfortably close to his body. His first movement, of course, would be to step back and ask what this meant. The boys

would make no reply, but with grave faces, keep up their whistling, as though the chief and only pursuit of their lives was whittling and whistling. The man would very likely get very indignant and threaten what he would do if they did not leave him. This would call forth no expression, except, perhaps, the whistling would be a little louder, and the knives would be pushed a little closer to him. In the meantime the crowd of boys would be all the time increasing. What could the man do? If he was armed, he could shoot; but the resolute expression of the boys' faces, and the gleaming knives which they used so dexterously in whittling, would convince him that discretion was the better part of valor; besides, who would want to fight

with a crowd of boys? If a man were to whip them, it would be no credit to him; and if they were to whip him, which would most likely be the case, what a disgrace it would be. The most we ever knew them to do was to stand for awhile and curse and threaten. When they found they could not drive off their tormentors by these means, then they would walk off in the direction of their stopping place, if they had one in town, or, if they had not, in the direction of the ferry, followed by the troop of boys vigorously whittling and whistling; but not uttering a word. To be thus made the laughing stock of the town was maddening; but there was no help for it. There was no law against boys whittling and whistling. The result would be that these people would get out of the city as quickly as possible, for they did not know how soon they might have another visit from the boys.

This unique method of disposing of bad characters, and causing them to leave the city, became universal among the boys. They keenly felt the wrong which had been inflicted upon the Saints, and they entered heartily into this plan to free the city from the presence of men whose aim was to create trouble and to drive their fathers and mothers and friends from their homes. It was fun to them, and it proved most effectual in accomplishing the desired object. The news soon spread around that improper characters had better not visit Nauvoo, as the boys had constituted themselves a committee to keep the city free from low characters, and their method of doing so was one that could not be resisted. The plan was one that was liable to

be greatly abused, and under other circumstances its adoption might have been attended with bad effects, for boys might combine to thus drive off innocent and unoffending men. But in extreme cases, extreme measures are needed; and this was the position of Nauvoo. If any evil arose from the boys whittling and whistling in Nauvoo, it is not known.

Restless and intriguing men were constantly forming and carrying out schemes to drive the Saints off from their homes. Defeated in one direction they did not relinquish their purpose; but turned their attention to other plans. A number of families of the Saints, after the expulsion from Missouri, had settled at and near Lima, Adams County, Illinois. The name of one of these settlements was Yelrome. On Feb. 14, 1845, Father Isaac Morley arrived at Nauvoo from that place with the news that five of the brethren had been arrested there on the charge of larceny, and it was reported that a warrant had been issued for his own arrest. These were trumped-up charges and had been framed for the purpose of producing excitement.

To give some coloring to their accusations, these mobbers would take various articles and go at night to the premises of the people whom they wished to accuse, and conceal them there. Then they raised a hue and cry about these things having been stolen from them. Of course they would express their suspicions that the "Mormons" had stolen them, and would get out search warrants to examine their premises. "Those who hide, know how to find" is an old proverb, and they had no difficulty in finding the missing goods. It was thus that the five brethren

spoken of were arrested for larceny. This plan, and others of a similar character, were adopted to get out writs against the brethren in other places as well as Yelrome. By getting out writs of this kind against innocent men, they hoped to provoke resistance to the form of legal authority, and thus produce a collision between the Saints and the State. This subject came up for consideration in a council at Nauvoo, and it was decided that it was best for those who were hunted with writs to go on missions, so that this cause of difficulty might be evaded until the Temple could be finished.

The following letter written by George A. Smith and his father John Smith to Josiah Lamborn, Esq., attorney-general of Illinois, shows very clearly the condition of feelings which existed in Illinois respecting the murder of the Prophet Joseph. It also describes the feelings of the Saints and their quiet and patient submission to the operation of the laws as administered by those entrusted with office:

"Sir! We are this evening informed by Mr. Scott that it is your wish, as prosecuting attorney *vs.* the murderers of the Gens. Smith, that the 'Mormons' should hunt up the witnesses in the case, and that Mr. Murray McConnell had conveyed the idea that there was a committee in the county whose business it was to collect and arrange the testimony against the day of trial, and that said committee are supposed to be 'Mormons,' etc., etc.

"Now, sir, in behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; or, if you choose, the 'Mormon' fraternity, we beg leave to state to you, what has been often reiterated by us, and which is a well known fact, both to our people and the State; *viz.*, that the difficulty causing the pending trials is not between the 'Mormons' and the anti-Mormons, nor between the 'Mormons' and the murderers; but it is between the State and the prisoners, or offenders.

"To show our loyalty to the institutions of our country and preserve peace in the country, as a people, we pledged ourselves to abide the operations of the law as directed by the proper authorities of the commonwealth; and that we would abide the decisions of the court, not taking vengeance into our own hands, (as was then feared by some,) or commencing prosecutions, to which we have strictly adhered, and intend still to adhere, that our pledge may be honorably redeemed in the sight of all men, although we have been strongly solicited to enter the field of prosecution, and that, too, by the State or her agents; for instance, when Mr. McConnell was engaged in preparation for the prosecution, he came to Nauvoo and strongly solicited the 'Mormons' to come out as complainants and assist in procuring witnesses etc.; but we replied that we had had nothing to do with the affair and wanted nothing to do with it; and for us to enlist in attempting to bring the murderers to justice, no matter how legal in our own movements, it would be construed into a persecution, or a desire to pick a quarrel on our part, which we were and still are determined to avoid, even every appearance of evil, and cut off every occasion of our enemies, or of those who are ready to seize upon any pretext to make us trouble.

"We are decidedly for peace, and we ever have been, and as the murders were committed while the murdered were in the immediate charge of the State, all we ask is that the State will prosecute the case to final judgment and redeem her pledge, as we have ours; or if she choose to abandon the prosecution we shall submit peaceably; although, for public good, we would prefer that justice should take place.

"We are unacquainted with the statutes which suffer indicted murderers to roam at large month after month without arrest; or, after delivery or surrender, to run at pleasure before trial, and we know not what other similar laws we might come in contact with, and be liable to break to our own endangering or disadvantage should we attempt to have anything to do with the case in question.

"It is reported to us, true or false we know not, that the sheriff of Hancock County and his deputies have been forbidden by the court to act in the pending trials; and that the jurors have been discharged without empanelling. If this be true we are unacquainted with the statutes in the case and have nothing to say.

"When Mr. McConnell was here last fall,

at his earnest solicitation, we collected all the information in our possession and presented the same to him, supposing he would prosecute the case to final judgment. He took minutes at the time and probably has them now if he has not handed them over, of which you must be acquainted, better than we, and of which we did not preserve minutes; we know of no new information since that period.

"We were happy to hear that the trials had been committed to your able charge, and anticipated that you would have made us a visit before the sitting of the court; and we still anticipate that after court you will make us a visit that you may have the pleasure of a more general acquaintance among our citizens; and we feel confident that such a visit would be highly appreciated by our friend, General Young, with whom we understand you are acquainted.

"We shall be ever ready in favoring the ends of right so far as we can do it, and not give any occasion of excitement which would be detrimental to public peace. We are sir, Most Respectfully, Your Servants,

GEORGE A. SMITH,  
JOHN SMITH."

May 19, 1845, the trials of some of the murderers of the Prophet and Patriarch, Joseph and Hyrum, commenced at Carthage, Hon. Richard M. Young, of Quincy, on the bench. The men indicted by the grand jury for these murders were: Col. Levi Williams, a Baptist preacher, Thos. C. Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, Jacob C. Davis, State senator, Mark Aldrich and Wm. N. Grover. They were held to bail, with themselves as sureties, in the sum of \$1,000 each, to make their appearance in the court each day of the term. To secure a suitable jury to answer their purpose, the accused had recourse to an extraordinary proceeding. They made two affidavits asking for the array of jurors to be quashed on the ground that the county commissioners, the sheriff and his deputies, in impaneling the jury had the design to hurt and prejudice the trial and thus endanger

the lives of the accused. The lawyers on both sides argued the question; but the judge ruled that the panel should be quashed, and that the county commissioners, the sheriff and his deputies be discharged and elisors be appointed for the purpose of choosing another jury. Two men were appointed by the court as elisors, and they selected the jurors. Out of the 96 men who were summoned to act in this capacity 12 were found who were satisfactory to the defense.

The guilt of the prisoners was clearly shown to the court and bystanders by the prosecuting attorney, but despite the evidence brought against them they were "honorably acquitted" by the jury, May 30, 1845. This result had been anticipated by the Saints. A vote of the city council had been taken, in the previous month of July, to the effect that when the law failed to atone for the blood of the Prophet and Patriarch, they would refer the case to God for a righteous judgment. One of the lawyers for the accused, Calvin A. Warren, stated in his remarks, that, "if the prisoners were guilty of murder, then he himself was guilty. He alleged that it was the public opinion that the Smiths ought to be killed, and public opinion made the laws; consequently it was not murder to kill them!"

During these days President Young and others of the Apostles had to conceal themselves to avoid being arrested. Constables and other officers from Carthage frequently came to Nauvoo with writs, but they were not successful in serving them. The charges on which these writs were issued were groundless; the Twelve

Apostles were innocent of the wrongs laid to their charge; but the design in issuing legal process against them was to harass and annoy them, to get them into the power of the mob, that they might be killed as Joseph and Hyrum had been.

In the morning of May 24, 1845, President Young and his fellow Apostles came forward from their hiding places to lay the capstone of the Temple. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

In a letter written by Governor Ford to President Young, under date of April 8th, 1845, he stated that the impression on the public mind everywhere was that the leaders of the Latter-day Saints were impostors and rogues, and that the others were dupes and fools. This was the reason he assigned for their considering and treating the Saints as enemies and outcasts, as men to be cherished and trusted in nothing, because, in their estimation, some of them were deluded and others designing in matters of religion. Said he:

"If you can get off by yourselves, you may enjoy peace; but surrounded by such neighbors I confess that I do not foresee the time when you will be permitted to enjoy quiet. I was informed by General Joseph Smith last summer that he contemplated a removal west; and from what I learned from him and others at that time, I think if he had lived he would have begun to move in the matter before this time. I would be willing to exert all my feeble abilities and influence to further your views in this respect if it was the wish of your people.

"I would suggest a matter in confidence. California now offers a field for the prettiest enterprise that has been undertaken in modern times. It is but sparsely inhabited, and by none but the Indian or imbecile Mexican Spaniards. I have not inquired enough to know how strong it is in men and means; but this we know that if conquered from Mexico, the country is so physically weak and morally distracted that she could never send a force there to reconquer it. Why would it not be a pretty operation for your people to go out there, take possession of

and conquer a portion of the vacant country and establish an independent government of your own, subject only to the laws of nations? You would remain there a long time before you would be disturbed by the proximity of other settlements. If you conclude to do this, your design ought not to be known, or otherwise it would become the duty of the United States to prevent your emigration. But if you once cross the line of the United States' territories, you would be in no danger of being interfered with."

This course was suggested by others as well as Governor Ford, and leading men in the nation thought it the only possible solution of what they called the "Mormon question." They were willing to promise the Saints any amount of land belonging to Mexico, and some were even in favor of letting them have a portion of Oregon to settle upon. But the Saints did not accept Governor Ford's suggestion in establishing an independent government of their own. They loved their country, its institutions, its constitution and laws; and though they had suffered persecution and violence, their leaders had been killed, and they had been driven from their homes by mobs, they were still willing to contend for their rights in the government and not outside of it; and therefore made no attempts to set up an independent government when they settled in the Great Salt Lake Valley.

At this crisis the Twelve Apostles called on Elders Orson Spencer and Samuel Brannan to visit Gov. Ford, which they did, and were received politely. The governor introduced them to ex-Governor Reynolds, and they had a lengthy interview with the governors, who chatted freely in relation to the prejudice entertained by the people through the State against the Latter-day Saints. The governors were requested to use

their influence officially and personally to allay prejudice. They urged the necessity of ceasing to gather in one place, and opposed Elder Spencer's proposition to buy out the anti-Mormons in Hancock County. They said that it was the political influence of the Saints which exasperated the people against them. Ex-Governor Reynolds said he had tried, in public speaking, to lessen the supposed faults of the Saints, but the people had rudely resisted him and accused him of being a "Mormon." Governor Ford said that he could not trust the best militia in the State to defend the "Mormons;" that they would go over to the side of the mob in the event of a collision; he could not even trust General Hardin. He further stated that the conduct of Governor Boggs, of Missouri, towards Joseph Smith was unlawful and barbarous; and pledged himself never to re-enact the drivings and expulsions experienced by the Saints at the hands of the State of Missouri. He also renewed a former pledge that he would never demand the leaders of the Church on criminal writs and expose them to assassination as Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been; he stated, however, that his official influence was only *nominal*.

Elder Spencer informed Governor Ford that it was the intention of the Saints, so soon as the Temple was finished, to colonize distant parts of the country, and that they were ready to sell their property as soon as practicable and commence removals, if their neighbors would purchase their property.

The report which Elder Spencer made to his brethren was indeed a sorrowful one. It contained the testimony of two governors that relig-

ious freedom—so far as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was concerned—was at an end in Illinois.

President Brigham Young and his brethren of the Twelve Apostles met in council and deliberated upon the trying position in which the Saints in Hancock County were placed. The constitution and laws of Illinois, through the lack of faithful ex-executors, being powerless for their protection, they deemed it wisdom to write as follows to the President of the United States and to the governor of every State in the Union except Missouri:

“NAUVOO, April 24, 1845.

*“His Excellency James K. Polk, President of the United States:*

“Honorable Sir.—Suffer us, sir, in behalf of a disfranchised and long-afflicted people to prefer a few suggestions for your serious consideration, in hope of a friendly and unequivocal response, at as early a period as may suit your convenience, and the extreme urgency of the case seems to demand.

“It is not our present design to detail the multiplied and aggravated wrongs that we have received in the midst of a nation that gave us birth. Most of us have long been loyal citizens of some one of these United States over which you have the honor to preside, while a few only claim the privilege of peaceable and lawful emigrants designing to make the Union our permanent residence.

“We say we are a disfranchised people. We are privately told by the highest authorities of this State, that it is neither prudent nor safe for us to vote at the polls; still we have continued to maintain our right to vote, until the blood of our best men has been shed, both in Missouri and Illinois, with impunity.

“You are doubtless somewhat familiar with the history of our extermination from the State of Missouri, wherein scores of our brethren were massacred; hundreds died through want and sickness occasioned by the unparalleled sufferings, some millions of our property were destroyed, and some fifteen thousand souls fled for their lives to the then hospitable and peaceable shores of Illinois; and that the State of Illinois granted to us a liberal charter, for the term of perpetual succession, under whose provi-

sion private rights have become invested, and the largest city in the State has grown up, numbering about twenty thousand inhabitants.

“But, sir, the startling attitude recently assumed by the State of Illinois forbids us to think that her designs are any less vindictive than those of Missouri. She has already used the military of the State with the Executive at their head to coerce and surrender up our best men to unparalleled murder, and that too under the most sacred pledges of protection and safety. As a salvo for such unearthly perfidy and guilt she told us through her highest executive officers, that the laws should be magnified and the murderers brought to justice; but the blood of her innocent victims had not been wholly wiped from the floor of the awful arena, where the citizens of a sovereign State pounced upon two defenceless servants of God—our Prophet and our Patriarch—before the senate of that State rescued one of the indicted actors in that mournful tragedy from the sheriff of Hancock County and gave him an honorable seat in her hall of legislation, and all who were indicted by the grand jury of Hancock County for the murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith are suffered to roam at large watching for further prey.

“To crown the climax of those bloody deeds, the State has repealed all those chartered rights by which we might have lawfully defended ourselves against aggressors. If we defend ourselves hereafter against violence, whether it comes under the shadow of law or otherwise (for we have reason to expect it both ways), we shall then be charged with treason and suffer the penalty; and if we continued passive and non-resistant we must certainly expect to perish, for our enemies have sworn it.

“And here, sir, permit us to state that General Joseph Smith, during his short life, was arraigned at the bar of his country about fifty times charged with criminal offences, but was acquitted every time by his country, his enemies, or rather his religious opponents, almost invariably being his judges. And we further testify that as a people we are law-abiding, peaceable, and without crime, and we challenge the world to prove the contrary; and while other less cities in Illinois have had special courts instituted to try their criminals, we have been stripped of every source of arraigning marauders and murderers who are prowling around to destroy us, except the common magistracy.

“With these facts before you, sir, will you



write to us without delay as a father and friend, and advise us what to do. We are members of the same great confederacy. Our fathers, yea some of us, have fought and bled for your country, and we love her constitution dearly.

"In the name of Israel's God, and by virtue of multiplied ties of country and kindred, we ask your friendly interposition in our favor. Will it be too much for us to ask you to convene a special session of Congress and furnish us an asylum where we can enjoy our rights of conscience and religion unmolested? or will you in a special message to that body, when convened, recommend a remonstrance against such unhallowed acts of oppression and expatriation as this people have continued to receive from the States of Missouri and Illinois? or will you favor us by your personal influence and by your official rank? or will you express your views concerning what is called the "Great Western Measure" of colonizing the Latter-day Saints in Oregon, the northwestern Territory, or some location remote from the States, where the hand of oppression shall not crush every noble principle and extinguish every patriotic feeling?

"And now, honored sir, having reached out our imploring hands to you, with deep solemnity, we would importune with you as a father, a friend, a patriot and the head of a mighty nation; by the constitution of American liberty, by the blood of our fathers who have fought for the independence of this Republic, by the blood of the martyrs which have been shed in our midst, by the wailings of the widows and orphans, by our murdered fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children, by the dread of immediate destruction from secret combinations now forming for our overthrow, and by every endearing tie that binds man to man and renders life bearable, and that too, for aught we know, for the last time, that you will lend your immediate aid to quell the violence of mobocracy, and exert your influence to establish us as a people in our civil and religious rights where we now are, or in some part of the United States, or in some place remote therefrom, where we may colonize in peace and safety as soon as circumstances will permit.

"We sincerely hope that your future prompt measures towards us will be dictated by the best feelings that dwell in the bosom of humanity, and the blessings of a grateful people and of many ready to perish shall come upon you.

"We are, sir, with great respect, your obedient servants,

BRIGHAM YOUNG,  
WILLARD RICHARDS,  
ORSON SPENCER,  
ORSON PRATT,  
W. W. PHELPS,  
A. W. BABBITT,  
J. M. BERNHISEL.

"Committee, in behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Nauvoo, Illinois.

"P. S. As many of our communications, post-marked at Nauvoo, have failed of their destination, and the mails around us have been intercepted by our enemies, we shall send this to some distant office by the hand of a special messenger."

The others to the governors were the same as the above with slight requisite alterations.

President Young received a respectful answer from Governor Thomas S. Drew in reply to the communication to him as governor of Arkansas, alleging his inability to protect the Saints in the State of Arkansas, and suggesting the propriety of the "Mormons" settling Oregon, California, Nebraska, or some other country where they would be out of the reach of their persecutors. He was the only governor in the United States who deigned to reply to the appeal of the committee in behalf of the Church.

Governor Drew referred the Saints to the patriarchal proposition of Abraham to Lot, about separating and choosing the portion of the land which suited him, and concluded with the following paragraph:

"Should the Latter-day Saints migrate to Oregon, they will carry with them the good will of philanthropists and the blessings of every friend of humanity. If they are wrong, their wrongs will be abated with many degrees of allowance; and if right, migration will afford an opportunity to make it manifest in due season to the whole civilized world."

The following appeared in the *New York Sun*:

"The spiritual concerns of the Mormons

are governed by a council of twelve, composed of the following persons: Brigham Young—The Lion of the Lord. Heber C. Kimball—The Herald of Grace. Parley P. Pratt—The Archer of Paradise. Orson Hyde—The Olive Branch of Israel. Willard Richards—The Keeper of the Rolls. John Taylor—The Champion of Right. Wm. Smith—The Patriarchal Jacob's Staff. Wilford Woodruff—The Banner of the Gospel. George A. Smith—The Entablature of Truth. Orson Pratt—The Guage of Philosophy. John E. Page—The Sun-dial. Lyman Wight—The Wild Ram of the Mountains. The only property owned in common is the Temple. The Mormons are industrious, good farmers, raise wheat plentifully, and are about to engage in manufactures. The whole community may be considered in their peculiar tenets singular and remarkable, and in after ages their Temple, like the ruins of Palenque, may strike the beholder with wonder, and history may be unable to explain what race worshipped there."

In August, 1845, President Young met with his brethren in council, when it was decided that three thousand able-bodied men should be selected to prepare themselves to start in the spring for Upper California, taking their families with them.

Early in the month of September commenced the memorable house-burning in Hancock County. The successful prosecution of the building of the Temple and the rapid strides made in erecting the Nauvoo House, seemed to tempt the cupidity of the neighbors of the Saints. The anti-Mormons realizing also that the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum were acquitted, that the city charter of Nauvoo was repealed, and the Saints, in a manner, placed outside the protection of the law, did not hesitate to commit any outrage. At Lima and Yelrome they set fire to buildings and stacks of grain, and fired upon Brother Clark Hulet and the children of Brother Durfee.

When the news of the proceedings reached Nauvoo, the Apostles sent

word to those places, advising the people to offer their property for sale to the mob, and remove the women and children to Nauvoo as quickly as possible; the men were advised to remain quietly and watch the movements of the mob. In a letter to the President of the Yelrome Branch, President Young stated that "the object of our enemies is to get opposition enough to raise popular excitement, but we think it best to let them burn up our houses, while we take care of our families and grain."

In accordance with his counsel the citizens of Yelrome proposed to the mob to sell them their landed property and improvements, reserving only the crops on which they were dependent for their bread, and take in payment cattle, wagons and such things as they could use in removing their families. But still the persecutions continued, with the most diabolical persistency. Volunteers were called for in Nauvoo to go with their teams and assist in bringing in the families of the Saints from the isolated settlements where the mobbing was most violent, to that place, in response to which 135 teams were sent forthwith.

During this time J. B. Backenstos, Esq., sheriff of the county, who on more than one occasion had proved himself a friend of the Saints, and disposed to maintain the peace, was doing all he could to quell the inclination to mob, which had become so prevalent. He even went to Warsaw and tried to raise a *posse* to stop the burning, but was unable to get a single man to assist him.

About this time Bishop George Miller was arrested at Carthage on a charge of treason. An officer, with

writs against President Young and the Twelve also, visited Nauvoo. The charges were for aiding and abetting Joseph Smith in treasonable designs against the State, for being officers in the Nauvoo Legion, for building an arsenal, for keeping cannon in times of peace, for holding a private council in Nauvoo and for holding correspondence with the Indians. He, however, left without making any arrest.

Sheriff Backenstos wrote to President Young from Carthage Sept. 15, 1845, advising him to organize 2,000 well armed men, and hold them in readiness for immediate service when he might call upon them; and stated that he could not reasonably expect support from those citizens called "Jack-Mormons." The term "Jack-Mormons" was in those days applied to persons who did not belong to the Church, but were friendly to its members.

The course of President Young had been to suppress excitement among the people, that they might not be led to commit acts of aggression, for he wished the world at large to see who the real aggressors were. He was willing, for the sake of preserving peace, and as a means of gaining security and order for the time being, to agree with the mob to leave the State in the spring. At the same time the Saints had observed the law, magnified the Constitution and done more towards developing the resources of the State than any or all the rest of its inhabitants.

Notwithstanding the perilous condition of the Saints and the continued depredations of their enemies in the adjoining districts, in Nauvoo the people continued their labors

upon the Temple, determined to rear it at all hazards.

The persecutions of the mob were not confined to the members of the Church; they were also felt by those who were favorable to them, and who wished them to have their rights. Sheriff Backenstos rode into Nauvoo on the 16th of September, in great haste and appearing much excited. On the previous day he had been driven by the mob from his home in Carthage; from which place he had gone to Warsaw, and sought refuge for the night. There he learned that the mobbers were very much enraged at him for trying to stop the burning of property, and that they were determined to take his life if possible, and, in fact, that they had planned to waylay and kill him on his way to Nauvoo. On starting the next morning, he got a man to accompany him a portion of the way. Soon after they parted company, the sheriff saw a party of the mob pursuing him on horseback, and though he drove his horse as fast as he could, he riding in a buggy, they gained upon him in the chase, and one of them who rode the swiftest horse would likely have overtaken him had his horse not fallen and thrown him. The mob now took a cut-off to intercept him, and gained on him so rapidly that they were within two hundred yards of the sheriff when he came up with O. P. Rockwell and John Redden, who were engaged in removing sick families into Nauvoo from the burnt district. They, seeing the sheriff coming down the hill towards them at such a frightful speed, called to him and asked what was the matter. He told them he was pursued by the mob, and commanded them in the name of the

State, to protect him. They replied that they would do so, as they were well armed. The sheriff, encouraged by this, turned to the approaching mob and commanded them to stop, but as they paid no attention to the order, and continued to advance, apparently reckless and blood-thirsty, and raising their guns to fire at him, he ordered O. P. Rockwell to fire. Aiming at the clasp of the belt on the foremost man, the latter fired, and simultaneously with the report of the gun the man fell from his horse. His comrades then stopped and cared for him, leaving the sheriff to proceed on his way.

It was very evident that Rockwell had saved the life of the sheriff, as there was no doubt that the blood-thirsty mobbers who followed him were determined to kill him. Had he refused to comply with the demand of the sheriff for protection, he would, to say the least, have proved himself an arrant coward. It was soon afterwards ascertained at Nauvoo that the man whom Rockwell had thus shot and killed was named Franklin A. Worrell, one of the most bitter and implacable enemies to the Saints in the country. This same Worrell was officer of the guard at Carthage jail when the Prophet and Patriarch, Joseph and Hyrum, were murdered, and afterwards a witness when the case of their murder was under examination. He was asked at that time, among other questions, whether the fire-arms of the guard under his charge at the jail were loaded with blank cartridges only, or bullets. He refused to answer the question, and assigned, as a reason, that he could not do so without criminalizing himself; thus proving by his own confession that if not actually

engaged in the murder he was indirectly a party to it.

The suffering of the Saints during the persecutions and troubles through which they were now passing was extreme. Many of those who had their homes destroyed and were thus rendered destitute of nearly all the comforts and many of the necessities of life were sick, and unable to offer any resistance had they been disposed to. Neither were the more strong and healthy generally in a condition to make a very able defense against the attacks of such a merciless mob. Many of them were unacquainted with the use of fire-arms, never having been brought into action before and their fire-arms were few and of an inferior character.

Sheriff Backenstos, after reaching Nauvoo, immediately issued his second proclamation to the citizens of Hancock and surrounding counties, in which he recounted the nefarious and bloody acts of the mob throughout Hancock County, detailed his narrow escape from the infuriated men who had followed him, commanded the mobbers and rioters to disperse and cease their violence, and ordered all able-bodied men throughout the county to arm themselves in the best possible manner and defend their lives and property. As a postscript to this proclamation, he added:

"It is proper to state that the Mormon community have acted with more than ordinary forbearance—remaining perfectly quiet, and offering no resistance, when their dwellings, other buildings, and stacks of grain, etc., were set on fire in their presence, and they have forborne, until forbearance is no longer a virtue.

"The notorious Colonel Levi Williams, who is at the head of the mob, has ordered out the militia of this brigade, comprising Hancock, McDonough and Schuyler Coun-

ties; but it is to be hoped that no good citizen will turn out and aid him or others in the overthrow of the laws of our country, and it is certain that no good citizen will cross the Mississippi River with a design to aid the rioters."

The First Presidency also urged upon the people the necessity of being vigilant, that the mob might not come upon them unawares, and of moving their women and children and substance into Nauvoo as quickly as possible, if unable to protect themselves. In Nauvoo a committee of five men were appointed to wait upon the mob, and petition for peace, promising them if they would retire and cease their mobbings, lawless litigations and other persecutions, and allow the Saints the necessary time and peace to prepare to remove, that they would leave the State in the spring. A proclamation was then issued, signed by the Apostles and a number of the leading Elders of the Church, and addressed to Colonel Levi Williams, and the mobbing party of which he was the supposed leader, announcing the names of the men appointed as a committee from Nauvoo, and making known their proposition to leave the State, and asking for an answer to be returned in writing or by the committee who should wait on them. Two days after this was sent, A. B. Chambers, editor of the *Missouri Republican*, arrived in Nauvoo from Warsaw, and stated that his purpose was to save the destruction of property and individual suffering that evidently must occur unless conciliatory measures were adopted. He brought with him the names of Levi Williams and six others appointed as a committee by the anti-Mormons of Warsaw and vicinity to negotiate for peace. It seemed that many who had read the

proposition to compromise addressed to the mob were satisfied with the proposals therein made, while many others were equally embittered and opposed to its stipulations, on account, as they claimed, of being addressed as a mob. They thought to accede to this would be to virtually acknowledge that they were among those who had been engaged in burning and destroying property.

On the evening of the 16th, Sheriff Backenstos, feeling anxious for the safety of his family and others at Carthage, raised an armed force and proceeded to that place to rescue them from the power of those threatening. On this point we quote his own language:

"On entering the town we were fired upon by some of the mobbers, who instantly fled. My heart sickens when I think of the awfully distressed state in which I found my family, in the hands of a gang of black-hearted villains, guilty of all the crimes known to our laws. . . . The families which I designed to rescue had all fled, with the exception of Mrs. Deming, the widow of the late General Deming, who was of the opinion that she might escape their vengeance, inasmuch as the recent death of her husband it was thought would have appeased their wrath against that family.

"After we had entered the town, persons were seen running about the streets with firebrands. Anticipating their intention of firing their own buildings in order to charge the same upon the *posse comitatus* under my command, we immediately took steps to prevent this, by threatening to put to the sword all those engaged in firing the place."

Almost every hour brought news to Nauvoo of new and cruel depredations by the lawless and blood-thirsty mob in the suffering districts. The postmasters of Warsaw and Carthage and the treasurer and assessor of Hancock County, living at Carthage, were driven from their homes by force of arms, the first having but half a minute's time allowed him to

prepare to leave. These men were not members of the Church, but the rioters were displeased with them because they were opposed to the mobocratic spirit. They were men of good character, and had, up to the time the persecutions commenced, been generally respected by all classes. A spirit of desperation and frenzy seemed to have taken possession of a great portion of the people known as anti-Mormons, and they would scarcely hesitate at committing any act of outrage to wreak vengeance on the Latter-day Saints and effect their wicked ends. That the deeds they were committing were unlawful, they well knew, and hence they tried to elude detection in most instances. Generally, when engaged in house-burning, they kept horses stationed close at hand, on which they could make their escape if necessary.

When Sheriff Backenstos had seen his family safely started for Nauvoo, he and his small force of men proceeded towards Warsaw, but learning on the road that the mob were engaged in burning houses at a place known as Bear Creek, they directed their course towards where they saw the smoke arising. On nearing the scene of burning, the sheriff's party divided, and attempted to surround the men engaged in the work of destruction, but in doing so they were discovered by the latter, who made off as fast as their horses could carry them. The sheriff gave his men orders to pursue and arrest them if possible, and if they would not submit to arrest, to fire upon them. His orders were obeyed, and the result was, two of the fleeing party were killed and others thought to be wounded.

This was, as stated in a proclamation by the sheriff of the county, the first effort at open resistance to mob violence in that section. It now became apparent that a united effort must be made by the peaceable citizens at quelling those who seemed so determined on the destruction of life and property. The mob were reported in large bodies in different parts, and very threatening.

The sheriff raised a company of 200 men and again set out for the southwestern part of the county, which had up to this time suffered most heavily from mob violence. When out about six miles from Nauvoo he sent back to that place for a heavy reinforcement of men and two cannons, and stated that he wished to attack the mob in their stronghold, and prevent their crossing the river by stationing men at the crossings. President Young immediately wrote to him, remonstrating against the course he was about to pursue, and advised him not to attempt to prevent them from crossing the river, nor hem them in there, and compel them to fight, as it would doubtless result in much bloodshed, but instead, to allow them to cross the river to Missouri if they wished to, and then, by placing men at the passes of the river, prevent their return.

Several small parties were sent from Nauvoo to different parts of the county to protect isolated places, and in the meantime an answer from the sheriff was awaited. All public work in Nauvoo was now suspended, except the building of the Temple, which President Young was determined should not cease, even though, as he stated, the workmen should find it necessary to carry the sword

in one hand while they worked with the other. It had been decided that a cannon should be fired in Nauvoo, as a signal for the assembling of the citizens in case of emergency, and all possible preparations were made by the people for the protection of themselves and their friends in the surrounding districts. President Young instructed them in their duties, and urged them not to molest the property of the mobbers, in case they should run away and leave their homes.

At the time when the call for reinforcements was received from the sheriff, the signal gun was fired and the citizens of Nauvoo assembled on the square, carrying such fire-arms as they happened to have in their possession, and expecting to have to march and meet the enemy. The men were reduced in strength by sickness and the hardships they had undergone, and were not in a fit condition for such service; so it was decided that they should remain where they were until further orders were received.

The next news from the sheriff was to the effect that he had concluded to act upon the advice of President Young, and save the shedding of blood if possible. He had learned that about eight hundred of the mob had fortified themselves in the vicinity of Warsaw, near the Mississippi River, who were well armed and had one piece of artillery. He now wanted 400 armed men to be sent out in wagons, to assist him. In his letter to President Young he asked him to pray that the blessings of Heaven might rest upon him and his men in their campaign, that their enemies might not fall upon them in ambuscade. Mr. Backen-

stos was not a member of the Church, but it was evident from this that he was not without faith in President Young's favor with the Lord.

The 400 men called for were sent; the sheriff marched a part of them to Carthage and ordered them to surround the town, that he might arrest a number of men against whom he had writs, for being engaged in the house-burning. On searching the town, he found that all for whom he held writs had fled except one. The sheriff then addressed a communication to the mob assembled in the southwestern portion of the county, commanded by Colonel Levi Williams, in which he reminded them of the crimes they had committed; called upon them to cease their mobbing and burning and deliver themselves up into his hands, to be dealt with according to law. He also demanded of them the public arms in their possession, and stated that he would await a reply, which, if they failed to send, their silence would be considered as a refusal, and they must suffer the consequences.

This determined course taken by Sheriff Backenstos had the effect of producing fear among the mob. Not only those of Carthage for whom he held writs, but also many guilty ones in other places fled from the county and State with all possible haste.

While awaiting a reply to his communication to the assembled mob, the sheriff directed his men at Carthage to collect from the citizens of that place all arms, ammunition, etc., belonging to the State, in their possession. While they were thus engaged an incident occurred, which we relate, as it shows that the sheriff was a man of justice and fine feelings. Two of the men collecting the

arms either misunderstood or wilfully acted in opposition to his order, by taking possession of three guns, the private property of individuals; one man also quarreled with a lady and used ungentlemanly language in her presence. For their conduct, the sheriff ordered these men under arrest, placed a guard over them and sent them home in disgrace, while the guns were returned to their owners.

Sept. 20, 1845, four citizens of Macomb, the capital of McDonough County, Illinois, arrived at Nauvoo as a committee from their city to ascertain whether the Latter-day Saints still intended to leave the State in the spring, according to their former proposition to the mob under command of Levi Williams. They were replied to by the Apostles, who met in council, to the effect that the Saints were under no obligation to leave, according to the stipulations of that proposition, as the terms of it were not acceded to by the mobbing party; still, they would not hesitate to leave, as proposed, if the people of the surrounding counties would by their influence assist them in disposing of their property, and staying the unwarranted and vexatious lawsuits which were continually being brought against them. If the Saints could have the assurance of peace for a short time, they would devote their time to preparing to remove, and they would not only leave the State, but remove so far away that their peculiar religious tenets need not furnish the people of Illinois any pretext for further complaint. They stated also that they were willing to buy out the citizens who were opposed to them; if that would suit them, and the Saints and

their friends could be left in full and peaceable possession of the county. A. W. Babbit, Daniel H. Wells and E. A. Bedell were then appointed a committee to return home with those from Macomb and confer with the citizens of that place in regard to the terms proposed.

After waiting from the 18th to the 20th for a reply from the assembled mob commanded by Levi Williams, the sheriff and a part of his force started for the place where they were encamped, determined to arrest or rout them. They had not proceeded far, however, when they learned that the whole force of the mob had fled and crossed the Mississippi to Missouri.

Since the party engaged in burning property at Bear Creek were fired upon, no cases of house-burning had occurred; yet it was evident that the mob were not content with what they had done, for they were reported in different parts, trying to rally their forces to commit further outrages.

Sept. 28rd, 15 of the leading Elders of the Church were summoned to appear at Carthage for trial, on the charge of treason. The next day they proceeded to Carthage, accompanied by President Young and others. The witness against them, on whose testimony the warrant was issued, was a Dr. Backman, who, on being sworn in court, stated that he was not acquainted with the prisoners, and that he, personally, knew nothing against them; but that he made affidavit on the strength of the rumors in circulation, and that he believed them guilty. It was clearly evident that there was no foundation for the charge, except in rumor, and the prisoners were discharged. This



is a fair sample of the charges for arrest and trial by which the Saints were being continually harassed. A person, as in this case, totally unacquainted with the men against whom he made oath, except by false rumors, believed that they were guilty of treason, and on his making affidavit to this effect, 15 of them must be arrested and appear for trial.

The committee sent to Macomb to attend the meeting of the citizens of that place, returned without accomplishing much. On their arrival there, they found the people excited and hostile in the extreme. They were threatened with violence until it was not considered prudent for them to venture out of doors. Such was the feeling of animosity, towards, not only the Saints, but also those who were thought to favor them; for two of the members of this committee—Daniel H. Wells and E. A. Bedell—were not at that time connected with the Church. They were unable to confer with the people in mass meeting, but watched from an upper window the movements and heard the threats of the rabble below. They were finally advised by a committee that their only safety depended on their immediate departure from the town. They accordingly returned without accomplishing the object for which they were sent.

The people of the State were now fairly aroused to a sense of what was transpiring in Hancock County and the surrounding districts. The citizens of Quincy, the county seat of Adams County, who had on a previous occasion shown much friendship for the Saints, held a public meeting to consider what should be done, and appointed delegates to

wait upon the citizens of Nauvoo and learn the facts in relation to their proposition to leave the State. The delegates from Quincy arrived at Nauvoo on the 24th. A council was called, composed of the leading men of the city, and propositions were submitted similar to those given the committee from Macomb. The committee from Quincy acknowledged that the propositions, if carried out in full faith, ought to be satisfactory to all concerned. Yet they thought, all things considered, that something more unconditional would have to be offered by the Saints before peace could be secured for them.

The committee from Quincy, after receiving the propositions in writing, returned home, promising to present them to the citizens of Quincy, who would assemble in mass meeting for their consideration.

Sept. 25, 1845, Sheriff Backenstos issued his fifth proclamation, in which he detailed many of the cruel and atrocious acts of the mob, and stated that though they had not returned to commit further outrage in the county, they were "brawling about the adjoining counties, the State of Missouri and Iowa Territory, circulating all kinds of falsehoods and misrepresentations, for the purpose of getting aid in order to recommence burning and mobbing." He also stated that many complaints had been made to him by "Mormons" and anti-Mormons of cattle and other property having been stolen from them. He had exerted himself to ferret out the truth in regard to these cases, and though rumors were abundant that the Saints were guilty of these deeds, he had invariably found that they were the

sufferers and not the depredators. Of this he said:

"Every one of those persons who report property stolen, who are not Mormons, are by no means regarded as enemies by them; but on the other hand, they have all denounced this mobbing and burning as most infamous. It is nothing more than reasonable to suppose that men who will burn houses, barns, grain and other property, and will drive and exterminate the United States postmasters and other officers from their offices and homes with force of arms, under the penalty of death, are none too good to steal cattle, horses and sheep too. Men who are guilty of such damnable outrages, are hardened against all the tender feelings of human beings; the savages would shrink with horror at such base and cowardly acts as are characteristic of this mob faction. Again, why is it that the stealing of cattle and horses is confined in nearly every instance to those who are opposed to the mobocrats? If the Mormons are guilty of these depredations complained of, is it not a remarkable circumstance that not a single hoof of all the cattle and horses that are alleged to have been stolen, were taken from any of those engaged in the mobbing; in every case, so far as I can learn, they were taken from persons opposed to this wicked proceeding of the mob party."

The sheriff also denounced Thos. C. Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*, as a villain of the worst dye, and the statements of proceedings in the county published by him in the *Signal* as infamous falsehoods. This same Sharp was without doubt one of the worst enemies the Saints had in those days. All the time during their troubles the columns of the *Signal* were replete with the most glaring falsehoods concerning the acts of the Saints, and the editor through this medium did much towards urging on the mobbers to commit their deeds of crime. Many of the statements made by him as also many of the rumors in circulation against the Saints gained credence even with many honest persons who were not personally acquainted with the facts. In fact, the popular prejudice against

the Saints was so strong that no amount of argument was required to convince thousands of such persons that the "Mormons" were guilty of every imaginable crime.

Families were now constantly arriving in Nauvoo from La Harpe and other isolated places for protection, and in Nauvoo arrangements were being made for emigrating. Companies were being organized and committees appointed for deciding on what outfit would be required by those who should sally forth for the region west of the Rocky Mountains.

Governor Ford ordered that all bodies of troops in the State should be discharged except a small force to be commanded by General J. J. Hardin; and accordingly, on Sept. 28th the small force of militia left at Carthage by the sheriff to maintain peace were ordered home.

On the 30th, General Hardin with 400 troops, arrived in Nauvoo and awaited on the public square an interview with President Young, the Twelve Apostles and leading men of the city. Judge Stephen A. Douglas and Sheriff Backenstos, who also came with General Hardin, waited on President Young and informed him that it was hard to convince the public that the "Mormons" were not really the persons who had been doing the house-burning in Hancock County, and that on this point they wished him to talk to General Hardin. He accordingly visited the general, who was surrounded by his troops and staff officers on the square. General Hardin read his orders from Governor Ford, which were to the effect that he was to keep peace in Hancock County, even if it was necessary to place it under martial law to do so. He also

stated that he wished to search for the dead bodies of two men who were last seen in Nauvoo, and who were supposed to have been murdered there. President Young assured him that he was welcome to search for dead bodies or anything else if he chose to. The general then inquired if he knew anything concerning them, or of any crimes having been committed in Nauvoo. President Young replied that he knew of nothing of the kind, but that he had reliable information that some hundreds of houses had been burned and other property destroyed in the southern part of the county, and that if he would go there he would probably find the perpetrators. He tendered the general the hospitality of the city and invited him to stay at his house. The general, however, did not accept the invitation, but answered that he always stayed in camp.

The Temple, the Masonic Hall, the Nauvoo House and the stables of the Mansion House were then searched by General Hardin and his troops, for the ostensible purpose of finding the dead bodies spoken of. They found in the Masonic Hall, not dead bodies, but—about forty barrels of wild grape wine, which they fondly lingered about and devoted considerable attention to. While searching the stables of the Mansion House, they found where a quantity of blood had been spilled, and immediately summoned the landlord and demanded an explanation. He readily explained that a sick horse had been bled there, and showed them the horse. The general and Judge Douglas then thrust their swords into the manure, as if they expected to find dead bodies buried

there. A. W. Babbitt, who stood by at the time, asked ironically if they thought the people of Nauvoo were so foolish as to bury dead bodies in the manure, when they could so easily throw them into the Mississippi River, which was but a few rods distant.

After the general and his troops had given up the search, they marched out and encamped on the south side of the city. Shortly afterwards a citizen named Caleb Baldwin was arrested and taken to the camp to be questioned in regard to crimes committed. Most of the questions asked him seemed to indicate that the officers were very anxious to learn where the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum were buried. This would go to prove, as was doubtless the case, that one object of their visit to Nauvoo was to really find out the place of their burial.

Oct. 1, 1845, General J. J. Hardin, Judge Stephen A. Douglas and J. A. McDougal, attorney-general for the State, met in council with the leading men of Nauvoo. They conversed freely on the subject of the proposed removal, and Vancouver's Island and Oregon were suggested by the visitors as suitable places for the Saints to remove to. These officials afterwards requested by letter that the propositions be made out in writing that they might lay them before the governor and people of the State. In reply the council in Nauvoo sent them a copy of the propositions submitted to the committee from Quincy, and added, that preparations were being made to remove previous to the late disturbances, and that companies had been organized for that purpose; but they were hindered in their opera-

tions by the mobbing; that they were determined to go to some place so far distant that they should neither infringe nor be infringed upon; they would not sacrifice their property, nor give it away, nor suffer it to be illegally wrested from them, though they should not find purchasers. In conclusion they said: "If all these testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy any people that we are in earnest, we will soon give them a sign that cannot be mistaken—we will leave them."

General Hardin received a communication from Governor Ford, in which he said:

"I wish you to say to the Mormons for me, that I regret very much, that so much excitement and hatred against them should exist in the public mind. Nevertheless, it is due to truth to say that the public mind everywhere is so decidedly hostile to them that public opinion is not inclined to do them common justice. Every bad report against them is greedily swallowed, whilst nothing can be heard in their favor; under these circumstances I fear that they will never be able to live in peace with their neighbors of Hancock and the surrounding counties. There is no legal power in the State to compel them to leave, and no such power will be exercised during my administration."

"The spirit of the people, however, is up and the signs are very evident that an attempt will be made by the surrounding counties to drive them out. Such an attempt may fail once or even twice, but if undertaken in earnest and persevered in, it must finally succeed. Those who may think it wrong to drive out the Mormons cannot be made to fight in their defense, and indeed the people of the State will never tolerate the expense of frequent military expeditions to defend them. The Mormons may think themselves strong enough to defend themselves; but do they want to live in a state of continued war? They may overcome their enemies; but those enemies will rally again, and murders will be committed and mischief done from this time out, as each party may find itself able."

"I desire that you will impress these facts upon the Mormons, and that you will coun-

sel and promote peaceable means of accommodation whereby the Mormons may be induced to leave the State. It is acknowledged by me that the State has no power to insist upon their removal, that it is a great hardship on them to remove from their comfortable homes and the property which they have accumulated by years of toil; but is it not better that they should do so voluntarily than to live in a state of continual war?"

General J. J. Hardin, under date of Oct. 1, 1845, wrote to President Young, requesting him to have a list made out in schedule form of the property of different kinds and its valuation, belonging to the Saints, which had been destroyed by the mob. A communication was also received by the council in Nauvoo from J. J. Hardin, Stephen A. Douglas, W. B. Warren and J. A. McDougal, stating that a meeting had been held in the State by the delegates from nine counties, the day previous, for the purpose of considering the case of the Latter-day Saints. At this meeting, they had understood, the proposition of the Saints to remove in the spring had been accepted. They stated that they were convinced that affairs had reached such a crisis that it was impossible for them to remain in the country. They confidently hoped and expected that the whole community would remove; but should they fail to do so, they added, "We are satisfied, however much we may deprecate violence and bloodshed, that violent measures will be resorted to, to compel your removal, which will result in most disastrous consequences to yourselves and your opponents, and that the end will be your expulsion from the State."

In the Quincy *Whig* (a paper published in Quincy) of Oct. 1st, a number of resolutions passed by a mass meeting of citizens in that city were

published, which were to the effect that they were willing to accept the proposition of the Saints to remove from the State in the spring; that they believed the Saints to be a persecuted people, but that they considered their grievances "to be the legitimate consequences of their own conduct;" that it was too late to attempt to settle the difficulties in Hancock County except by causing the Saints to remove from the State; that in their opinion the desired progress could not be made in preparing the way for the removal of the "Mormons" while J. B. Hackenstos remained sheriff of the county, and that he ought to resign his office; that the people generally should be advised to suspend all legal prosecutions for alleged offenses during the state of excitement, which then existed; that in order to manifest their sympathy for the poor and suffering, a committee should be appointed in Quincy with a treasurer to receive subscriptions from all citizens disposed to help with their means, to aid the Saints in removing; that they should expect the old offending citizens of Hancock County to be allowed to return to their homes in peace without being arrested by the sheriff and prosecuted for their crimes, etc.

From this it will be seen that though the people of Quincy doubtless entertained more real friendship for the Saints than did those of any other city of the State opposed to them, they did not possess that determination to see justice maintained and innocence vindicated that they should have done. In fact they took the very course to encourage the enemies of the Saints to re-enact their bloody deeds on the first prov-

ocation. Notwithstanding the troubles through which the Saints were passing, they felt generally remarkably cheerful and united. They felt that they were in the hands of God, and they were willing to leave the State and journey forth into the wilderness, as they should be led, though they knew not where they should go to.

About this time Elder Orson Pratt issued two messages from New York to the Saints in the Eastern and Middle States, announcing the end of American liberty, as indicated in the movement to expel the Saints from Illinois, enumerated their sufferings and fervently appealed to all connected with the Church in those parts to gather out and assist in the defense of their brethren and sisters, and in relieving their sufferings.

On the 5th of October the Temple in Nauvoo was so far completed as to admit of a meeting being held in it. Just five and a half years had elapsed since the corner stone of the structure had been laid, during which time the Saints in their poverty had accomplished a most marvelous work in rearing it. No general conference of the Saints had been held for three years, the Prophet Joseph Smith having ordered that there should be no more baptisms for the dead until the ordinances could be attended to in the font of the Lord's House, and that the Church should not hold another general conference until they could do so in that house.

The Saints were now overjoyed at the prospect of meeting in conference on the morrow, and the Temple, so far as completed, was dedicated to the Lord as "a monument of the Saints' liberality, fidelity and faith."

The next day (Oct. 6th) the Saints assembled in general conference in the Temple. It was continued for three days, during which time much good instruction was given, the Saints were stimulated to prepare for their removal and the necessary steps to organize in companies for traveling. In presenting the names of the authorities of the Church to the people for their acceptance, William Smith as one of the Twelve Apostles and Patriarch was objected to by Elder Parley P. Pratt, who felt that he could not sustain him while he continued in the course he had lately been taking. William Smith was a very aspiring man and not very sincere withal. Though his brethren connected with him in the Priesthood had done all in their power to encourage him in remaining steadfast in the faith, he had persisted in trying to create disunion in their midst, and by advancing false doctrine had caused many to be disaffected. In fact his conduct for some time previous had been anything but such as a Saint's and especially an Apostle's should be. The motion to sustain him in his office was put to the assembly and no one could be found to vote for him. His office was therefore by unanimous vote taken from him, and on the following Sunday, proof having been received in the meantime of certain acts of his, he was cut off from the Church. (See page 45.)

President Brigham Young was continued as President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the others of the Apostles, namely: Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John E. Page, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, George A.

Smith and Lyman Wight were each presented and sustained, with the exception of Lyman Wight, whose case was laid over until some of his actions could be investigated.

During this conference Lucy Smith, the aged mother of the Prophet and Patriarch, addressed the assembled multitude, and when she recounted the trials and persecutions she and her family suffered at the hands of their enemies, those who heard her were forced to shed tears. Especially was this the case when she related the account of a scene in Missouri when her son, Joseph Smith the Prophet, was condemned to be shot in fifteen minutes. For some time previous to this, Mother Smith, as she was familiarly called, had been opposed to removing with the Saints, and had stated that she preferred to remain where her husband and sons were buried. During the conference, however, she felt extremely fervent on the subject of the removal and expressed her willingness to go and her wish that her whole family might go and remain united with the Church. This caused a general feeling of rejoicing among the Saints, who by vote expressed their willingness to bring her remains back to Nauvoo, whenever she should die, and deposit them with those of her family buried there, according to her wish.

President Young informed the people that the Prophet had once said: "If I fall in battle in Missouri, I want you to bring my bones back and deposit them in that sepulchre—I command you to do it in the name of the Lord." The sepulchre spoken of was one the Prophet had prepared for that purpose on the Temple square, in Nauvoo. This expressed

wish had not been complied with by the Saints, because his widow had opposed it. President Young further said: "We are determined also to use every means in our power to do all that Joseph told us. And we will petition Sister Emma, in the name of Israel's God, to let us deposit the remains of Joseph according as he commanded; and if she will not consent to it, our garments are clear."

We may here remark that Emma Smith, the Prophet's widow, never did consent to have this command of his carried out, though the Saints did all that they could reasonably to induce her to.

While the people were assembled in conference on the afternoon of the 7th of October, they were startled by receiving the intelligence that a body of armed men had just entered the city, and fearing that they might be a party of the mob come to create a surprise and disturbance, the meeting was adjourned till the next day, and the people were ordered to be ready to act on the defensive. It was soon afterwards ascertained that the party who had arrived were under command of Major Warren, and had come, as they said, to search the city for stolen property—though it was strongly suspected, and with good reason too, that such was not the real object of their visit. The alarm soon subsided, and those who had by this time sallied out with their fire-arms to defend themselves, returned peaceably to their homes. After searching about town a short time the party left, and a letter was shortly afterwards sent to Major Warren by the council of authorities in Nauvoo, explaining the slight excitement noticeable on their arrival

in the city as being due to the surprise they had given the citizens, and requesting him to give notice by letter or otherwise when he wished to make another such visit. In conclusion they added:

"In regard to searching for stolen property in Nauvoo, we have not the least objection to it, providing it be done in a legal manner, and we pledge ourselves to aid any legal officer in a lawful search any time; but we are opposed to men coming into our houses and taking away our individual property, which we have bought and paid for honestly, without either describing the property professed to be stolen or presenting lawful process, all of which we consider to be unconstitutional and oppressive, and calculated to put us to much unnecessary trouble and expense, as well as to defeat us in our efforts to move away next spring."

After the conference adjourned, President Young addressed a circular to the Saints scattered throughout the United States, calling upon them to gather up and assist in completing the Temple in Nauvoo, and receive their endowments there, a privilege for which the faithful Saints had so long and fervently prayed. He called upon them to dispose of their property not suitable to remove, and supply themselves with teams and such other property as they would need in commencing their long journey in the spring.

The Saints were not wholly unprepared for the opposition and persecution they had to meet, for it was only in fulfilment of the words of the Prophet. Joseph Smith had predicted that the persecutions should continue, and they should be forced to remove to the West. So that their enemies by persecuting them and compelling their removal, though it was not at all creditable to them, were literally fulfilling the words of the Prophet.

Affairs in the county now remained in a very unsettled condition. It was expected that Sheriff Backenstos would be tried at Quincy for the killing of the desperado Worrell, or rather for ordering him killed. The willingness of the sheriff to submit to trial was evinced in a letter he wrote to Nauvoo, in which he stated ironically: "I expect to go to Quincy for the purpose of paying my respects to Judge Purple and having a great man discharge me from the awful crime of killing one of our best citizens (?), to wit, Lieut. Worrell. What an unpleasant loss to this great republic! Had he lived, might he not have excelled even L. W. Boggs, of Missouri?" Backenstos afterwards went to Quincy and underwent his examination, when he was bound over for trial at the next session of court.

During all this time the organizing of companies was progressing, and preparations were being made by the Saints for bravely facing the hardships they would have to encounter on their journey. The food they were counseled to take with them did not consist of any great luxuries, but on the contrary, plain, strong food, calculated to sustain life and keep up their strength on their journey.

The feeling in Nauvoo at this time was not one of safety by any means, so far as the power and disposition of the enemy was considered, for it was currently reported that General Hardin had pledged himself to the mob to go to Nauvoo with his troops and arrest several of the citizens there, or "unroof every house in Nauvoo" in trying it. Also that 300 men from Quincy had volunteered to help him, and they ex-

pected to be joined on the road by others.

October 21, 1845, Judge Purple held court in Carthage, and displayed so much prejudice against the Saints and favor for the mobbers, that Sheriff Backenstos expressed himself in speaking of his doings as being thoroughly disgusted with such "judicial humbugs." One case brought up for trial was that of two brethren, Jesse P. Harmon and John Lyttle, charged with being engaged in destroying the press and fixtures of the *Expositor*, the contemptible libelous paper formerly published in Nauvoo. A man named Rollison was the principal witness against them. He professed to know all about the proceedings of abating the nuisance and described the manner in which it was done. When asked whether it was Appleton M. Harmon or Jesse P. Harmon who was guilty, he replied that it was the policeman, and on being informed that they were both policemen, he became confused and said he could not tell which it was. He was then asked which of the brothers Lyttle—John or Andrew—was the guilty one. He replied again, it was the policeman, and on being informed that they were both policemen, he said it was the blacksmith. It happened that they were both blacksmiths, so that he could not fix the crime upon either of them, and the jury acquitted them. This was in accordance with the prediction of the Prophet Joseph, who said, when it was reported to him that the policeman had abated the nuisance, that not one of them should be harmed for what they had done in the matter.

On the night of October 23rd one of the men under command of Ma-



jor Warren was shot under the following circumstances:

A man by the name of Nathan Bigelow, who lived at Camp Creek, was ordered by a party of the mob to leave his house, as they were coming to burn it down. He sent his son to Nauvoo for help, from which place he went to Carthage and informed Major Warren of the facts. Major Warren replied that he had no men to send, and that the young man had better return to his father and tell him to defend his house as best he could, and call upon his neighbors to assist him. Soon after the son started on his return, however, Major Warren did dispatch five men to assist Bigelow in the defense of his house. They arrived at the place about 11 o'clock at night, in advance of the son, and immediately attempted to force an entrance at the door without knocking. Bigelow, supposing the mob had come to attack him, asked repeatedly who were there and what was wanted, but received no reply from the men outside. He then warned them that he would shoot if they opened the door. The men still, seemingly regardless of the consequences, continued to force at the door till they effected an entrance, when Bigelow discharged a pistol and musket at the leading man, Lieutenant Edwards, taking effect in his hip and breast. The men then, when too late, informed Bigelow that they were the governor's troops and had come to assist him. Of course, sorrow was then expressed at the occurrence, and the wounded man was well cared for. Though Bigelow could scarcely be blamed for what he did, as he acted with as much caution as the circumstances would

warrant, he was arrested and taken to Carthage for trial.

Before Judge Purple, whose court was being held at Carthage, the Saints could not hope to obtain redress for their wrongs, as he utterly refused to hear any evidence in their favor. Governor Ford, General Hardin and other State officers, having promised that justice should be administered in the case of those whose property had been destroyed, and who had otherwise suffered from the depredations of the mob, quite a number of the brethren left their families destitute and journeyed to Carthage to give in their testimony as witnesses against the house-burners. The grand jury refused to hear their testimony or to admit any of them into the jury room, thereby adding insult to injury, for notwithstanding the promises made, their claims for justice were wholly ignored. Thus the men who were guilty were shielded, while many of them were in the ranks of the State troops at Carthage, and others roaming at large, still threatening the lives of peaceable citizens and burning houses and other buildings wherever they had opportunity of doing so and escaping.

In view of the threatening aspect of the mob, and the apparent indifference of the State officers to protect the Saints, a number of men from Nauvoo were stationed at certain distances apart between that place and Carthage, to express news of any hostile demonstrations on the part of the mob to Nauvoo.

On the 25th Major Warren, Judge Purple, J. B. Backenstos and Judge Ralston, with a body of troops, arrived in Nauvoo, and Major Warren immediately demanded an explana-

tion of the movements of the expressmen, several of whom he saw on the prairie while he was on his way to Nauvoo. President Young mildly informed him why they had been sent out, when Major Warren became enraged and declared that he would issue a manifesto and place the county under martial law. His language aroused the indignation of Elder John Taylor, who listened to him, and who had scarcely recovered from the severe wounds he had received at the time when Joseph and Hyrum were assassinated. He replied to Major Warren in a very forcible manner, telling him that the treachery of the State officers in the past towards the Saints had caused them to be suspicious of their pretended protection, and they had placed the expressmen out there to communicate at once the news of any hostile movements, that the citizens might be better able to defend themselves in case of attack, as well as to help those of their brethren who were at Carthage being tried. In conclusion he said:

"We lack confidence in the governor's troops under your command, and while hundreds of murderers, robbers and house-burners roam at large, unwhipped of justice, we shall take measures to protect ourselves. I, sir, have been shot all to pieces under the protection of the governor's troops. Our leading men have been murdered in Carthage, and we shall not trust ourselves unprotected again until the State gives some evidence, more than it has done, of its justice and humane intentions to enforce its laws."

Judge Purple begged of him not to talk on such an exciting topic. Elder Taylor then changed the subject by ordering wine for the company, of which all partook except Major Warren.

The officers and troops did not tarry long in Nauvoo, and after they

left, the council of authorities dispatched E. A. Bedell, Esq., and Bishop George Miller with a communication to his Excellency Thomas Ford, governor of the State, in which they informed him of the threat of Major Warren to declare martial law, and implored him to dismiss the troops under his command, as the Saints had more to fear from them than from the mob at large, although the latter still continued their depredations.

Bishop George Miller and Mr. Bedell traveled day and night to reach Springfield and present to Governor Ford the petition from the council in Nauvoo, for the removal of the armed forces from the county. The governor received them kindly, and after perusing the communication of which they were the bearers, he read to them a number of letters he had received from individuals in Hancock County and other parts of the State, urging the necessity of keeping a force stationed there all winter. He deplored the condition of the country, and stated that he considered the people of the State generally a mob, and that he could not trust them to act in any emergency where the Saints as a community were a party. He was willing to acknowledge that justice had not been done to the Saints, but he was afraid to exercise the power which by virtue of his office belonged to him, because, as he said, if he should exert the executive influence in behalf of the Saints as he ought to do, it would result in his own overthrow as well as that of the Saints. He finally promised to go to Hancock County and endeavor to pacify the mob and maintain order until the Saints could leave in the spring; and after that,

bring those who were guilty of murdering, mobbing and house-burning to justice.

After Major Warren and his troops had left Nauvoo on the occasion of his threatening to place the county under martial law, it was ascertained that among his party was a deputy marshal from Iowa, who had come to Illinois with a demand on the governor for the Twelve Apostles of the Church. A certain Dr. Abiathier Williams, who had the unenviable reputation of being a counterfeiter, had been before one of the judges of Iowa and sworn that the Twelve Apostles had made "bogus" money in his house. On his testimony an order was issued for their arrest, and the deputy marshal was sent to Nauvoo for that purpose. The real intention of Major Warren in making his visit to Nauvoo with his troops, was to assist in making these arrests, but they were deterred from doing so by the animated speech of Elder John Taylor.

The authorities of the Church had been harassed so much with trumped-up charges which, like this, had no foundation in truth, that they were not surprised at it. However, as it was reported that a larger force was being obtained, with which the officers would again visit Nauvoo and make the arrests, the accused men secreted themselves where they were not likely to be found, to save themselves the vexation of arrest, trial and probable incarceration, such as they had undergone before on false charges.

On the evening of the 27th Major Warren sought and obtained an interview with President Young and the Twelve Apostles. His feelings towards the Saints seemed to have

changed somewhat. He acknowledged that the object of his last visit to Nauvoo with his troops was to make the arrests spoken of, but he now considered it unjust to serve the writs, as it would hinder the arrangements of the Saints to remove. As a proof of his sincerity, he stated that he was going to Springfield the next day, and one part of his business there was to induce his relatives and friends to remove to Nauvoo and purchase farms from the Saints.

From the encouragement the mob had received in being allowed to go free of punishment after the committal of their many crimes, it was not to be expected that they would cease their deeds of violence. At Camp Creek about thirty of them surrounded the house of Samuel Hicks at midnight, called Mr. Hicks out of his bed and stated that they were the governor's troops direct from Carthage. Without allowing him to clothe himself they forced him away; after which, though both his wife and child were at the time sick with the ague, they were allowed scarcely time to get out of the house and remove a few of their household goods, when the house was fired. After the flames had burst through the roof and made such progress that it was not possible for him to quench them, Hicks, chilled through with the cold night air, and shaking with the ague, was set at liberty by the mob, and allowed to return to the smoking ruins of his house, while the mob went their way. Another house was also fired in the same vicinity, about the same time. The statement of the mob that they were the governor's troops was probably not true, as a number of them were recognized as old mobbers.

Shortly afterwards a party of them appeared at midnight in the Green plains precinct, and set a straw stack, the property of Solomon Hancock, on fire, and then concealed themselves near by. When the owner of the stack and a number of others rallied to the scene to extinguish the fire, the mob shot at them and killed Elder Edmund Durfee, an old member of the Church, and one of the most inoffensive men in the country. Though the bullets flew thick and fast around the others, none of them were hurt in the least. Some of the mob engaged in the tragic affair, afterwards boasted that they had shot Durfee in order to win a wager of a gallon of whisky, that the stack had been set on fire to cause an alarm and draw the men out, and that by killing him they had won the whisky.

News of the actions of the mob was immediately sent to Major Warren, and his interference requested. He evinced considerable energy in hunting up the guilty parties, and actually followed one man into Missouri to arrest him. Notwithstanding the governor's boast that the troops were saving the Saints from total destruction, Major Warren acknowledged to Sheriff Backenstos that the killing of Durfee never would have occurred had the troops not been in the county. Though no evidence was wanting to convict the men who were guilty of the deed, as several of the brethren who were witnesses of the scene were summoned and appeared at the court at the examination of the case to give in their testimony, and the affidavits of others were sent, in accordance with a previous request of the State attorney, the trial resulted in just such a farce as the many previous

ones had done, where the Saints were the injured parties. Their testimony was unheeded and the case was dismissed without even a grand jury having been summoned.

The labors of the Saints about this time were mainly for the accomplishment of two objects: the finishing of the Temple and preparing to remove in the spring. Wagon-shops were established all over the city, and every available wheelwright, as well as carpenters and cabinet-makers, and a great many others who had never worked before at either business, were employed at making wagons. Green timber in large quantities was cut and hauled into the city, where it was "seasoned" ready for being made up by being boiled in salt water or dried in kilns. Iron was obtained from all parts of the country to fit them up, and blacksmiths were engaged day and night working at them. Many of the wagons made were rude affairs, not so nicely painted and ironed as those now in common use; in fact, but very little iron, so necessary an element in their manufacture, was used in the construction of many of them, it being so exceedingly scarce. Many were actually made without iron for tires, hoops of wood being used instead.

After the strenuous and unremitting exertions of the Saints for upwards of five years to build the Temple in Nauvoo, they were highly gratified at having a portion of the house so far completed as to admit of the holy ordinances of the Church being administered in it. During the month of December, 1845, a great many persons received their endowments there.

The efforts of the Saints to find

purchasers for their property were generally unavailing. Quite a number of delegates from Catholic churches of different cities and other associations visited Nauvoo, and talked strongly of purchasing or leasing the Temple and other public buildings, and most of them expressed their admiration of the Temple, the beautiful city and its surroundings. But their visits generally terminated with a promise on their part to further consider the question of purchase, and, though the terms offered by the Saints were liberal, only one half the valuation of like property similarly situated in other parts of the country being asked, the agents or delegates seldom went farther in the matter than to examine the property and talk of purchasing or leasing.

Some little excitement was caused at Nauvoo, in the early part of December, 1845, by the receipt of news from Washington that the Secretary of War and several other Cabinet officers at the Capital were determined to prevent, if possible, the Saints from moving westward. They fancied they could do so on the plea that it was contrary to law for an armed force to remove from the United States to the dominion of any other government. The rumor then was that the Saints would probably locate in California or Oregon, the territory of which at that time belonged to the dominion of Mexico. President Young told the people that they would go in spite of all the efforts of officers and others to prevent them, as he felt that the Lord would deliver the Saints in the future as He had done in the past.

Conciliatory letters were written from Nauvoo to Stephen A. Douglas

and several other members of Congress to secure their influence in opposition to this movement to prevent the removal of the Saints. Several times during the month of December, officers visited Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting President Young and members of the Twelve Apostles, but those brethren managed to elude them, and in order to do so were forced to disguise themselves on several occasions. On the 23rd of December the famous "Bogus Brigham" arrest was made concerning which President Young subsequently related the following:

"By the time we were at work in the Nauvoo Temple, officiating in the ordinances, the mob had learned that 'Mormonism' was not dead as they had supposed. We had completed the walls of the Temple, and the attic story from about half way up of the first windows, in about fifteen months. It went up like magic, and we commenced officiating in the ordinances. Then the mob commenced to hunt for other victims; they had already killed the Prophets Joseph and Hyrum in Carthage jail, while under the pledge of the State for their safety, and now they wanted Brigham, the President of the Twelve Apostles, who were then acting as the Presidency of the Church.

"I was in my room in the Temple; it was in the southeast corner of the upper story. I learned that a *posse* was lurking around the Temple and that the United States Marshal was waiting for me to come down, whereupon I knelt down and asked my Father in Heaven, in the name of Jesus, to guide and protect me that I might live to prove advantageous to the Saints. I arose from my knees and sat down in my chair; there came a rap at my door. I said, 'Come in;' and Brother George D. Grant, who was then engaged driving my carriage and doing chores for me, entered the room. Said he, 'Brother Brigham, do you know that a *posse* and the United States Marshal are here?' I told him I had heard so. On entering the room Brother Grant left the door open. Nothing came into my mind what to do, until looking directly across the hall I saw Brother William Miller leaning against the wall. As I stepped towards the door I beckoned to him; he came. Said I to him, 'Brother William, the marshal is here for

me; will you go and do just as I tell you? If you will, I will serve them a trick.' I knew that Brother Miller was an excellent man, perfectly reliable and capable of carrying out my project. Said I, 'Here take my cloak;' but it happened to be Brother Heber C. Kimball's; our cloaks were alike in color, fashion and size. I threw it around his shoulders and told him to wear my hat and accompany Brother George D. Grant. He did so. I said to Brother Grant, 'George, you step into the carriage and look towards Brother Miller, and say to him, as though you were addressing me, 'Are you ready to ride?' You can do this and they will suppose Brother Miller to be me, and proceed accordingly, which they did.

"Just as Brother Miller was entering the carriage the marshal stepped up to him and placing his hand upon his shoulder, said, 'You are my prisoner.' Brother William entered the carriage and said to the marshal, 'I am going to the Mansion House, won't you ride with me?' They both went to the Mansion House. There were my sons Joseph A. and Brigham jun., Brother Heber C. Kimball's boys, and others who were looking on, and all seemed at once to understand and partake of the joke. They followed the carriage to the Mansion House and gathered around Brother Miller, with tears in their eyes, saying, 'Father, or President Young, where are you going?' Brother Miller looked at them kindly, but made no reply; and the marshal really thought he had got 'Brother Brigham.'

"Lawyer Edmonds, who was then staying at the Mansion House, appreciating the joke, volunteered to Brother Miller to go to Carthage with him and see him safe through. When they arrived within two or three miles of Carthage, the marshal with his posse stopped. They arose in their carriages, buggies and wagons, and, like a tribe of Indians going into battle, or as if they were a pack of demons, yelling and shouting, they exclaimed, 'We've got him; we've got him! we've got him!' When they reached Carthage the marshal took the supposed Brigham into an upper room of the hotel, and placed a guard over him, at the same time telling those around that he had got him. Brother Miller remained in the room until they bid him come to supper. While there, parties came in, one after the other, and asked for Brigham. Brother Miller was pointed out to them. So it continued, until an apostate Mormon by the name of Thatcher, who had lived in Nauvoo, came in, sat down and asked the landlord where Brigham Young was. The land-

lord, pointing across the table to Brother Miller said, 'That is Mr. Young.' Thatcher replied, 'Where? I can't see any one that looks like Brigham.'—The landlord told him it was that fat, fleshy man eating. 'Oh, h—ll!' exclaimed Thatcher, 'that's not Brigham, that is William Miller, one of my old neighbors.' Upon hearing this the landlord went and, tapping the sheriff on the shoulder, took him a few steps to one side and said, 'You have made a mistake, that is not Brigham Young, it is William Miller, of Nauvoo.' The marshal, very much astonished, exclaimed, 'Good heavens! and he passed for Brigham.' He then took Brother Miller into a room, and turning to him said, 'What in h—ll is the reason you did not tell me your name?' Brother Miller replied, 'You have not asked me my name?' 'Well,' said the sheriff, with another oath, 'What is your name?' 'My name,' he replied, 'is William Miller.' Said the marshal, 'I thought your name was Brigham Young. Do you say this for a fact?' 'Certainly I do,' said Brother Miller. 'Then,' said the marshal, 'Why did you not tell me this before?' 'I was under no obligations to tell you,' replied Brother Miller, 'as you did not ask me.' Then the marshal, in a rage, walked out of the room, followed by Brother Miller, who walked off in company with Lawyer Edmonds, Sheriff Backenstos and others, who took him across lots to a place of safety; and this is the real pith of the story of 'Bogus Brigham,' as far as I can recollect."

Dec 27, 1845, a United States deputy marshal appeared to again search for the Twelve and others. He was allowed to search every part of the Temple, in viewing which and the city from the tower he expressed his gratification with what he saw. He, however, had to leave without effecting the object of his search, as those for whom he sought knew from past experience that the easiest and cheapest way to secure justice for themselves was to keep out of the power of officers whose chief aim was to convict and punish the Saints, whether cause of complaint against them existed or not, and they accordingly kept out of their way.

Jan. 4, 1846, Governor Ford wrote a lengthy letter to Sheriff Backen-

stos, in which he made a great effort to impress the idea that he had not instituted the late attempt to arrest the Church authorities in Nauvoo, nor aided in it by furnishing troops to accompany the marshal. He stated that it was purely a U. S. government affair in which he took no official part, and that he refused, when requested by the marshal, to furnish troops. He expressed his belief that the government would prevent the removal of the Saints westward of the Rocky Mountains, as they would be sure to "join the British" and be more trouble to the United States than ever. He indulged in forebodings and speculations as to the result of the Saints being brought into collision with the government, and thought it not unlikely that the leaders of the Church would have to separate from the people and become fugitives in the earth, or submit to a trial on their indictments.

Jan. 20, 1846, the High Council of the Church issued from Nauvoo a circular to the members of the Church generally and others, in which was announced the intention of the authorities to send out a company of young, hardy men as pioneers, early in the month of March, to make their way westward, until they could find a location in some valley in the region of the Rocky Mountains, where they could plant seed and raise a crop, build houses, and prepare for the reception of the families who were to start as early in the spring as the grass would be grown sufficiently to sustain the teams and stock that would be taken. The place they should select would be made a resting place for the Saints until a permanent location

could be decided upon. The statement that had been circulated, to the effect that the Saints had become alienated from their country and dissatisfied with the form of government of the United States, was denied; and it was stated that:

"Should hostilities arise between the government of the United States and any other power, in relation to the right of possessing the territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the United States Government to that country. It is geographically ours; and of right no foreign power should hold dominion there: and if our services are required to prevent it, those services will be cheerfully rendered according to our ability."

At that time settlements were being made in Oregon by the United States, and it was thought probable that the government would establish a line of forts along the route from the Missouri River to those settlements. In case this should be done, the Saints hoped to have the work of building to do, as they would probably be near the route, and on that account be able to do it to better advantage than others; and the proceeds of their employment would relieve their necessities.

It was decided that those able to start and owning teams and other things required should do so as early as possible, and A. W. Babbitt, Jos. L. Heywood, John S. Fullmer, Henry W. Miller and John M. Bernhisel were appointed a committee to dispose of the property of the Saints. As fast as sales of property could be made, the means obtained were to be devoted to helping out those who, for the lack of the necessary outfit to leave with, would remain.

During the month of January the probability that the Saints would encounter trouble in leaving seemed to grow stronger every day. The

rumor reached Nauvoo from Washington that the officers of the government would intercept them on their way and take all their firearms, so that if they were determined to go they might go defenseless. President Young counseled those of the people who were prepared to leave to keep themselves in readiness to start on a few hours' notice.

Elder Samuel Brannan, having chartered the ship *Brooklyn*, set sail from New York for California Feb. 4, 1846, with about 280 souls on board, mostly Saints. (See *The Ship Brooklyn*.)

The work of administering the holy ordinances in the Temple continued almost incessantly, day and night, up to the 7th of February, the people being so anxious in this respect that they seemed almost unwilling to have President Young and the Twelve depart, as in that case their privileges would cease. A few days, previous the removal of the Saints was commenced. (See *Journeys in the Wilderness*.) President Brigham Young and others, with their families, left Nauvoo Feb. 15, 1846.

During the month of February, 1846, while those who had started from Nauvoo on their westward journey were encamped on Sugar Creek, news reached them of a movement in New York, set in operation for the purpose of swindling them out of the homes they expected to acquire on reaching their destination in the west. According to letters received from Samuel Brannan, who had been acting as agent for the Church in New York, it appeared that a number of men, among whom were Amos Kendall, formerly Postmaster-

General of the United States, and A. G. Benson, had conspired to raise the impression that the government had the power and right, and would exercise the same, to disarm the Saints, prevent their movement westward and cause them to disperse. They had convinced Brannan that this was really the case, and also that they possessed the necessary influence to avert the calamity, and were willing to do so on certain conditions. The conditions were that if the Saints should be allowed to pursue their journey without molestation from the government, they, on reaching their destination, should deed one half of their landed possessions—every alternate lot or section—to this combination of men, among whom, as they represented, was the President of the United States, though his name was not to be used in the matter. Elder Brannan, in his zeal and anxiety to save the Church from trouble, allowed these men to draw up an article of agreement, containing the above stipulations, which he signed on the part of the Church, and A. G. Benson for the other party, and then forwarded it to Nauvoo to have it sanctioned by the leading men of the Church, in order to have it ratified.

This effort to defraud the Saints was so transparent that President Young, and the prominent men of the camp, to whom the matter was submitted, readily saw through it; and notwithstanding that Elder Brannan seemed so sanguine that the intentions of the schemers were honest, and had in good faith attached his signature to it, the authorities of the Church were not so credulous, and accordingly the document never received their sanction.



President Young and a few others of the camp returned to Nauvoo on the 18th of February and remained there during the following Sunday to preach to and encourage those who remained in the city. During the meeting considerable excitement was caused by the floor of the Temple, in which they were assembled, settling a little, with a cracking sound. The consternation which ensued was intense, and two men—apostates—who were in the assembly, were so overcome by fear that they actually jumped out of the window, which resulted in one of them breaking his leg and the other his arm, besides smashing the glass of the window in making their hasty exit. President Young tried in vain to allay the fears of the people and explain to them the cause of alarm, and finally adjourned the meeting to the grove near by, though the snow covered the ground to the depth of a foot.

Preparations for the removal westward continued. The work on the Temple was also prosecuted, and the greatest anxiety of the Saints seemed to be to complete that edifice as far as possible, and prepare an outfit for their journey. There were a great many apostates there who continued to do all in their power to create disunion, but their influence was limited. The Saints generally were united in trying to carry out the counsel given them by President Young previous to starting. Quite a number of men who had formerly been prominent in the Church and turned away through transgression were endeavoring to create schisms. John E. Page, formerly one of the Twelve Apostles, was very bitter in his denunciation of the authorities of the Church, and in a public speech

to the people of Nauvoo advised them to accept J. J. Strang, another apostate, as their leader. Strang had succeeded in raising quite a number of followers, and indeed a certain class of persons who had been members of the Church and who had not the Spirit of God, were ready to listen to and believe the false doctrines of any person who might start out with a pretended new revelation from God to lead them. In illustration of this it may be mentioned that about the time of which we write, a man named C. W. Wandell wrote an article purporting to be a revelation from God to J. J. Strang and sent it to one of his followers to see what effect it would have among those of his class. This man read it in a public meeting, and testified that he knew it was from the Lord, and it was immediately accepted by the others as a direct revelation from the Lord; but Wandell, seeing the credence it gained, informed them that he was the author of it, that Strang never saw it, and that the Lord had nothing to do with it.

Wandell was very much to blame for this deception. His attempt to deceive the people by the false use of the name of the Lord was sinful and blasphemous. He, himself, soon after lost the Spirit of the Lord and fell into darkness, and though some years afterwards he renewed his covenants and went on missions, he again lost his standing and was, the last we heard of him, an opponent to the Church.

Luke Johnson, formerly one of the Twelve Apostles, who had for some time been out of the Church, confessed his error about this time, in a public meeting in Nauvoo, and ex-

pressed a desire to again connect himself with the Church, and journey with them in the wilderness. He accordingly renewed his covenants. (See page 43.)

Apostle Orson Hyde continued to labor in Nauvoo after the other members of his quorum had left for the wilderness. The care and responsibility which rested upon him at that time were very great. The Saints were surrounded by enemies who only wanted the least pretext to pounce upon and mob and murder them. Many of them were very poor, and were anxiously trying to dispose of what little property they had for means to buy them an outfit. Under these circumstances it required great diligence, wisdom and vigilance on his part, as well as on the part of the Elders associated with him, to attend to the necessary public duties and to avoid difficulty. Then there was the Temple to complete, so that it could be dedicated to the Lord and be accepted by Him. He had commanded that it should be built, and until it was built the baptisms for the dead, performed elsewhere, were to be acceptable unto Him. But if, after the Saints had had sufficient time to build a house to the Lord, they did not fulfil this commandment, they were to be rejected as a Church, with their dead. In the revelation which was given upon this subject, the Lord explained how the labors of His servants and people—even when they did not complete a Temple which He might command them to erect—might be acceptable to Him. He said:

“Verily, verily I say unto you, that when I give a commandment to any of the sons of men, to do a work unto my name, and those sons of men go with all their might, and with all they have, to perform that work,

and cease not their diligence, and their enemies come upon them, and hinder them from performing that work; behold, it becometh me to require that work no more at the hands of those sons of men, but to accept of their offerings; and the iniquity and transgression of my holy laws and commandments I will visit upon the heads of those who hindered my work, unto the third and fourth generation, so long as they repent not, and hate me, saith the Lord God. Therefore for this cause have I accepted the offerings of those whom I commanded to build up a city and a house unto my name in Jackson County, Missouri, and were hindered by their enemies, saith the Lord your God: and I will answer judgment, wrath, and indignation, wailing and anguish, and gnashing of teeth upon their heads, unto the third and fourth generation, so long as they repent not, and hate me, saith the Lord your God. And this I make an example unto you, for your consolation concerning all those who have been commanded to do a work, and have been hindered by the hands of their enemies, and by oppression, saith the Lord your God.” (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 124, Verses 49-53.)

The Saints could possibly have excused themselves by this revelation for not doing any more work on the Temple, after their enemies had come upon them and by violence compelled them to promise to leave their homes. But this was not the feeling of President Young and his brethren. They were determined to do all in their power to finish the house. From the time of their return to Nauvoo, after the death of the Prophet Joseph, until they were compelled to leave there, they had worked unceasingly on the Temple. The labor that was performed on that building in fifteen or sixteen months after their return was marvellous, when the means are considered with which it had to be done. Within that space of time the greater part of the walls were built, the roof was put on, the tower was erected, the upper rooms were finished, and many of the Saints received their en-

dowments therein. But not satisfied with this, though they had to leave Nauvoo themselves, instructions were given to prosecute the work of finishing the house, and all the means that could be spared was devoted to that object. Elder Orson Hyde had the pleasure of announcing to President Young by letter, that on the evening of April 30, 1846, the Temple was privately dedicated. (See *Nauvoo Temple*.)

Soon after this the mobbers renewed their hostile operations against the remnant of the Saints who still lingered at Nauvoo. A number of unsuccessful attempts were made upon the city, which could scarcely muster 123 efficient men, but after several days' bombardment, the mob succeeded, on the 16th and 17th of September, 1846, in driving the people, helpless and destitute of nearly everything, across the Mississippi River into Iowa. (See *The Battle of Nauvoo*.)

Language can scarcely convey a correct idea of the sufferings endured by these fugitives from Nauvoo in their hurried flight to escape the tortures of the mob, who seemed so bent on disregarding the stipulations of the unjust treaty that had been forced upon them. Many camped across the river on the opposite bank from Nauvoo and others scattered off in different directions, sheltering themselves as best they could; some forming rude tents with quilts or blankets, and others being only able to cover themselves with a bower made of brush. To add to their misery what little clothing they possessed was, for a great portion of the time, drenched with rain, and instances have been related by persons living who passed through those

scenes of their having for days watched at the bedside of the dying while they could only afford a partial shelter to the prostrate form by holding milk-pans over it, to catch the falling rain as it dripped through the thin wagon cover. Some of the most influential men among them visited cities in the adjoining States and asked aid from the able and generous, for those of their brethren and sisters whose sufferings they tried to depict. By this means partial relief was obtained for some, but the majority of the sufferers were unable to better their condition until they had slowly worked their way into Iowa or Missouri and obtained employment of some kind, or were helped by teams sent back by those who had previously left Nauvoo.

The condition of the Saints at Nauvoo strongly excited the sympathies of the Camp of Israel at Winter Quarters (see *Journeyings in the Wilderness*), and teams and means were freely contributed and sent back to aid them. A number of these teams arrived on the bank of the Mississippi River, opposite Nauvoo, Oct. 7, 1846, and on the 9th the camp of the poor was organized and started for the West. Previous to this a number had scattered up and down the river, some going to St. Louis and others to Burlington, but all who wished to move westward had the opportunity offered them, and they were brought on to the main camp by the teams which had been sent back.

During the time when the Saints were suffering privation and exposure after their final expulsion from Nauvoo, they were visited by the late General Thomas L. Kane, who was impressed with the condition of

the Saints and the injustice of the acts of their enemies. A more true and striking picture in language could hardly be drawn than that given by him in a historical address some years afterwards, of the scenes he there witnessed. We quote a portion of it:

"A few years ago, ascending the Upper Mississippi in the autumn, when its waters were low, I was compelled to travel by land past the region of the Rapids. My road lay through the Half-breed Tract, a fine section of Iowa, which the unsettled state of its land-titles had appropriated as a sanctuary for coiners, horse-thieves and other outlaws. I had left my steamer at Keokuk, at the foot of the Lower Falls, to hire a carriage, and to contend for some fragments of a dirty meal with the swarming flies, the only scavengers of the locality.

"From this place to where the deep water of the river returns, my eye wearied to see everywhere sordid, vagabond and idle settlers, and a country marred, without being improved by their careless hands. I was descending the last hill-side upon my journey, when a landscape in delightful contrast broke upon my view. Half encircled by a bend of the river, a beautiful city lay glittering in the fresh morning sun; its bright new dwellings, set in cool green gardens, ranging up around a stately dome-shaped hill, which was crowned by a noble marble edifice, whose high tapering spire was radiant with white and gold. The city appeared to cover several miles, and beyond it, in the background, there rolled off a fair country, chequered by the careful lines of fruitful husbandry. The unmistakable marks of industry, enterprise and educated wealth everywhere, made the scene one of singular and most striking beauty. It was a natural impulse to visit this inviting region. I procured a skiff, and rowing across the river, landed at the chief wharf of the city. No one met me there. I looked and saw no one. I could hear no one move; though the quiet everywhere was such that I heard the flies buzz, and the water-ripples break against the shallow of the beach. I walked through the solitary streets. The town lay as in a dream, under some deadening spell of loneliness, from which I almost feared to wake it; for plainly it had not slept long. There was no grass growing up in the paved ways: rains had not entirely washed away the prints of dusty footsteps.

"Yet I went about unchecked. I went

into empty workshops, rope-walks and smithies. The spinner's wheel was idle, the carpenter had gone from his work-bench and shavings, his unfinished sash and casing. Fresh bark was in the tanner's vat, and the fresh-chopped lightwood stood piled against the baker's oven. The blacksmith's shop was cold, but his coal heap and ladling pool and crooked water horn were all there, as if he had just gone off for a holiday. No work-people anywhere looked to know my errand.

"If I went into the garden, clinking the wicket-latch loudly after me, to pull the marigolds, heartsease and lady-slippers and draw a drink with the water-sodden well-bucket and its noisy chain, or, knocking off with my stick the tall, heavy-headed dahlias and sunflowers, hunted over the beds for cucumbers and love-apples—no one called out to me from any opened window, or dog sprang forward to bark an alarm.

"I could have supposed the people hidden in the houses, but the doors were unfastened, and when, at last, I timidly entered them, I found dead ashes white upon the hearths, and had to tread a-tiptoe, as if walking down the aisle of a country church, to avoid arousing irreverent echoes from the naked floors.

"On the outskirts of the town was the city graveyard; but there was no record of plague there, nor did it in anywise differ much from other Protestant American cemeteries. Some of the mounds were not long sodded; some of the stones were newly set, their dates recent, and their black inscriptions glossy in the mason's hardly dried lettering ink. Beyond the graveyard, out in the fields, I saw, in one spot hard by where the fruited boughs of a young orchard had been roughly torn down, the still smouldering embers of a barbecue fire, that had been constructed of rails from the fencing around it. It was the latest sign of life there. Fields upon fields of heavy-headed yellow grain lay rotting ungathered upon the ground. No one was at hand to take in their rich harvest.

"As far as the eye could reach, they stretched away—they, sleeping too, in the hazy air of autumn. Only two portions of the city seemed to suggest the import of this mysterious solitude. On the eastern suburb the houses looking out upon the country showed, by their splintered woodwork and walls battered to the foundation, that they had lately been the mark of a destructive cannonade. And in and around the splendid Temple, which had been the chief object of my admiration, armed men

were barracked, surrounded by their stacks of musketry and pieces of heavy ordnance. These challenged me to render an account of myself and why I had had the temerity to cross the water without a written permit from a leader of their band.

"Though these men were generally, more or less, under the influence of ardent spirits, after I had explained myself as a passing stranger, they seemed anxious to gain my good opinion. They told the story of the Dead City; that it had been a notable manufacturing and commercial mart, sheltering over 20,000 persons; that they had waged war with its inhabitants for several years, and had finally been successful only a few days before my visit, in an action fought in front of the ruined suburb; after which, they had driven them forth at the point of the sword. The defense, they said, had been obstinate, but gave way on the third day's bombardment. They boasted greatly of their prowess, especially in this battle, as they called it; but I discovered they were not of one mind as to certain of the exploits that had distinguished it, one of which, as I remember, was, that they had slain a father and his son, a boy of fifteen, not long residents of the fated city, whom they admitted to have borne a character without reproach.

"They also conducted me inside the massive walls of the curious Temple, in which they said the banished inhabitants were accustomed to celebrate the mystic rites of an unhallowed worship. They particularly pointed out to me certain features of the building, which, having been the peculiar objects of a former superstitious regard, they had, as a matter of duty, sedulously defiled and defaced. The reputed sites of certain shrines they had thus particularly noticed, and various sheltered chambers, in one of which was a deep well, constructed, they believed, with a dreadful design. Besides these, they led me to see a large and deep-chiselled marble vase or basin, supported upon twelve oxen, also of marble, and of the size of life, of which they told some romantic stories. They said the deluded persons, most of whom were emigrants from a great distance, believed their Deity countenanced their reception here of a baptism of regeneration, as proxies for whomsoever they held in warm affection in the countries from which they had come. That here parents 'went into the water' for their lost children, children for their parents, widows for their spouses, and young persons for their lovers; that thus the Great Vase came to be for them associated with all

dear and distant memories, and was therefore the object, of all others in the building, to which they attached the greatest degree of idolatrous affection. On this account, the victors had so diligently desecrated it, as to render the apartment in which it was contained too noisome to abide in.

"They permitted me also to ascend into the steeple, to see where it had been lightning-struck on the Sabbath before; and to look out, east and south, on wasted farms like those I had seen near the city, extending till they were lost in the distance. Here, in the face of pure day, close to the scar of the divine wrath left by the thunderbolt, were fragments of food, cruises of liquor, and broken drinking vessels, with a bass drum and a steamboat signal bell, of which I afterwards learned the use with pain.

"It was after nightfall when I was ready to cross the river on my return. The wind had freshened since the sunset, and the water beating roughly into my little boat, I headed higher up the stream than the point I had left in the morning, and landed where a faint glimmering light invited me to steer.

"Here, among the dock and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them and the sky, I came upon a crowd of several hundred human creatures, whom my movements roused from uneasy slumber upon the ground.

"Passing these on my way to the light, I found it came from a tallow candle, in a paper funnel shade, such as is used by street vendors of apples and peanuts, and which, flaring and guttering away in the bleak air off the water, shone flickeringly on the emaciated features of a man in the last stage of a bilious, remittent fever. They had done their best for him. Over his head was something like a tent, made of a sheet or two, and he rested on a but partially ripped open old straw mattress, with a hair sofa cushion under his head for a pillow. His gaping jaw and glazing eye told how short a time he would monopolize these luxuries; though a seemingly bewildered and excited person, who might have been his wife, seemed to find hope in occasionally forcing him to swallow, awkwardly-measured sips of the tepid river water, from a burned and battered bitter-smelling tin coffee-pot. Those who knew better had furnished the apothecary he needed. A toothless old bald-head, whose manner had the repulsive dullness of a man familiar with death scenes—he, so long as I remained, mumbled in his patient's ear a monotonous and melancholy prayer, between the pauses of which I heard the hiccup and sobbing of

two little girls, who were sitting upon a piece of driftwood outside.

"Dreadful, indeed, was the suffering of these forsaken beings; bowed and cramped by cold and sunburn, alternating as each weary day and night dragged on, they were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospital, nor poor-house, nor friends to offer them any. They could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick; they had not bread to quiet the fractious hunger-cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grand parents, all of them alike, were bivouacked in tatters, wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shiver of fever was searching to the marrow.

"These were Mormons, famishing in Lee County, Iowa, in the fourth week of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1846. The city—it was Nauvoo, Ill. The Mormons were the owners of that city, and the smiling country around. And those who stopped their plows, who had silenced their hammers, their axes, their shuttles and their workahop wheels; those who had put out their fires, who had eaten their food, spoiled their orchards, and trampled under foot their thousands of acres of unharvested bread; these were the keepers of their dwellings, the carousers in their Temple, whose drunken riot insulted the ears of their dying.

"I think it was as I turned from the wretched night-watch of which I have spoken, that I first listened to the sounds of revel of a party of the guard within the city. Above the distant hum of the voices of many occasionally rose distinct the loud oath-tainted exclamation, and the falsely intonated scrap of vulgar song; but lest this requiem should go unheeded, every now and then, when their boisterous orgies strove to attain a sort of ecstatic climax, a cruel spirit of insulting frolic carried some of them up into the high belfry in the Temple steeple, and there, with the wicked childishness of inebriates, they whooped and shrieked, and beat the drum that I had seen, and rang in charivarie unison their loud-tongued steamboat bell.

"They were, all told, not more than 640 persons who were thus lying on the river flats. But the Mormons in Nauvoo and its dependencies had been numbered the year before at over 20,000. Where were they? They had last been seen, carrying in mournful trains their sick and wounded, halt and blind, to disappear behind the western horizon, pursuing the phantom of another

home. Hardly anything else was known of them; and people asked with curiosity, 'What had been their fate—what their fortune?'"

At the time the Saints were forced to leave Nauvoo, those who took part with them, or were friendly with them, and who were termed by the mob "Jack-Mormons," also had to leave. Immediately after their expulsion, this class of persons appealed to Governor Ford to use his influence to reinstate them in their possessions. The governor all at once grew valiant, summoned a *posse* of 140 men, and marched into and took possession of Nauvoo. Whether he did this from a desire to see justice meted out to at least a portion of the innocent citizens of Nauvoo, or with a view to display his authority in an ostentatious manner, and hoping to make it appear to the public that he was not, nor ever had been, remiss in attending to his duties, we will not say; but he certainly did not act with becoming dignity while in Nauvoo, for he spent a great portion of his time carousing with the leading members of the mob party there. But though he might have been in favor of and on friendly terms with them, the mob forces generally did not feel so well towards him, for the favor he had shown the "Jack-Mormons." The mob held a meeting in Carthage, at which resolutions were passed to the effect that as soon as the governor's troops should leave Nauvoo the "Jack-Mormons" should be again expelled and even "less tenderly than they were before." These resolutions were published in their organs, the *Warsaw Signal* and the *Quincy Whig*. A few days subsequently the mob held a meeting in Nauvoo and warned the "Jack-Mormons" that they must

sell out their property to them at some agreed valuation and then leave the city, or they would again expel them. The "Jack-Mormons," however, did not seem disposed to accept the terms, but preferred running the risk of being driven. Ten women, representing themselves as a "committee of the anti-Mormon women of Hancock County," waited upon Governor Ford, and presented him with a package, which, when opened, proved to contain a petticoat, expressive of the contempt in which they held him. The action of the governor did not make matters any better for the sale of the property of the Saints in Nauvoo, for the disposal of which A. W. Babbitt, J. L. Heywood and J. S. Fullmer remained in Nauvoo. Though they had still some hopes of being able to sell or lease the Temple and some other property, there was poor encouragement for them to stay there longer, when they saw how little influence for good the governor wielded, and the still rapid disposition of the mob.

#### The History of Hancock County says:

"After those people (the Saints) left, an entire new class of citizens appeared from all parts of the country and from Europe. \* \* \* In the year 1848, M. Etienne Cabet, a distinguished French communist, conceived the idea of establishing in America an experimental colony of their sect. Accordingly a number of them were landed at New Orleans, who proceeded to establish in Texas what he termed an Icarian Community. But Texas not being deemed suitable, it was decided to remove and settle at Nauvoo. In the spring of 1849, a company of them, to the number of 75 or 100, settled in that city, and during the ten years that followed, continued their organization there, under the presidency and management of their eminent leader. During their stay in that city they increased by accessions to between 500 and 600.

"Without undertaking to state correctly the principles of their organization, we may say that their chief tenet seemed to be a community of property and interests. While their family relations were kept up, each maintaining a separate household, all were required to eat at the same table, and to contribute of his and her labor to the common fund. The children were regarded rather as the wards of the Community than of the parents, and were required to be taught in the same school and with the same care and attention.

"They purchased the Temple Block and the remains of the structure,\* and were about to repair it, so as to make it habitable, when a storm blew it down. Afterward, from its ruins, they constructed a long, low stone building, which was used for the school. The Community is said to have been composed mainly of intelligent, moral and industrious men and women, and were well esteemed by their neighbors. They carried on many branches of business, such as farming, the manufacture of flour and lumber, and the various mechanical trades. They also ran a distillery for a period.

"Soon after establishing, they issued a weekly newspaper called the *Popular Tribune*, under the editorship of M. Cabet. This was afterward changed to the *Revue Icarienne*, and was printed partly in French and partly in English. While President Cabet was in Europe, the paper was left in charge of M. Piquenard, a young man who has since been conspicuous as architect of the new State House at Springfield.

"But the Community could not hold together; dissatisfaction arose; and in or about 1857 a considerable body left. In 1859 the concern broke up, most of the members leaving; but a remnant, consisting of less than a hundred persons, held together and re-established in Adams County, Iowa, where the colony still exists.

"These people were nearly all French. On leaving the Community a number of them settled in the county at various points, and are generally regarded as good citizens.

"At the time the Mormons were leaving Nauvoo, a great many persons, influenced by the hope of obtaining cheap property, settled in and around the city. A large portion of those in the city soon afterward left, and their places became gradually filled by foreigners, most of whom came to establish permanent homes, and still remain, a class of industrious, frugal and peaceable citizens. These people brought their Europ-

\*The Temple was burned Nov. 19, 1848.

can habits and customs with them, and Nauvoo to-day (1880) is perhaps more of a German town than any in the country. Beer, the national beverage, flows like water; and the latter, though pure and good, has gone out of fashion.

"The business of grape-growing and wine-making is quite extensively followed by these people, and the city and suburbs are thickly dotted with well-planted and neatly kept vineyards. The business, however, it may be observed, has met with its disappointments, and the golden anticipations of many who entered into it have not been realized."

In the spring of 1849, which was about two years and a half after the last of the Saints left, Nauvoo was again incorporated as a city. From that time until the present, eighteen different men have held the office of mayor. Chancy Robison, the first mayor, is still alive. M. M. Morrill, who took part in the famous battle of Nauvoo, in September, 1846, fighting in the ranks of the defenders, has held the office of mayor at various times for 9½ years. Following is a list of names of all the mayors of the city, with the length of their terms of office from 1849 to 1889, a period of upwards of forty years:

Chancy Robison, -	1849 to 1850
J. J. Brent,	1850 to 1851
W. M. Cosgrove, -	1851 to 1852
M. S. Carey, -	1852 to 1853
S. M. Chapman, -	1853 to 1854
R. W. McKinney, -	1854 to 1856
Ethan Kimball, -	1856 to 1857
M. M. Morrill, -	1857 to 1859
J. B. Icking,	1859 to 1860
M. M. Morrill (2nd term)	1860 to 1863
J. B. Icking (2nd term)	1863 to 1864
J. H. Lienhard, -	1864 to 1865
M. M. Morrill (3rd term)	1865 to 1866
Henry Wiegand, -	1866 to 1869
C. Knaust, -	1869 to 1870
August Beger, -	1870 to 1871
M. M. Morrill (4th term)	1871 to 1872
H. Wiegand (2nd term)	1872 to 1873
John G. Bratz, -	1873 to 1874
August Beger (2nd term)	1874 to 1875
H. Wiegand (3rd term)	1875 to 1877
John U. Bechtold, -	1877 to 1880
John Tanner, -	1880 to 1883
W. D. Hibbard, -	1883 to 1884
J. N. Datin, -	1884 - 6 months
M. M. Morrill (5th term)	1884 to 1887
J. N. Datin (2nd term)	1887 to 18-

The author of this article, who visited Nauvoo in October, 1888, fully coincides with the views often expressed by other Elders, who of late years have seen the place where once stood a flourishing and beautiful city, but now an unimportant village, without railway connections or any of the modern improvements of the day. No enterprise has ever prospered in Nauvoo since the enemies of the Saints drove them across the Mississippi River in the hope of expatriating them. Neither the "Jack-Mormons," the Icarians or the present German population have been able to revive that industry and thrift which made the place so famous when the Saints dwelt there.

In conclusion we quote the following from the pen of B. H. Roberts:

"The city of Nauvoo, in its palmy days, was the largest in the State of Illinois, and its prospects under the control of the Saints were the most promising, \* \* \* With a people of industry and enterprise, its future greatness was but a matter of time. Had the Saints been permitted to remain there in peace, none can doubt but that Nauvoo would to-day have been a formidable rival of Chicago, and would have affected the commerce of Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Louis and other river towns.

"But in the absence of such a population its history, since the Saints left, has been one of decline. The best houses to be seen there at the present time are those built by its founders over forty years ago. As an indication of the almost total lack of commerce and consequent shrinkage of values, it is told that a two-story brick house costing, at the time the Saints were building the city, upwards of \$2,000, was sold last year (1885), with the lot it stands upon, for \$300. Thus under the reign of her spoilers has the beautiful city crumbled to insignificance and decay, from which it may never be redeemed, until it is purged from the stain of guilt which they have put upon it. While the people who once made it the abode of peace are thriving in other lands, made rich and fruitful by their industry, this languishing city awaits their return to recover the lost glory that won for her the proud name, 'Nauvoo the Beautiful.'"



## PAPERS AND PERIODICALS,

PUBLISHED IN THE INTEREST OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

The Church was about two years and two months old when its first monthly paper, the *EVENING AND MORNING STAR*, was commenced in Independence, Jackson Co., Mo. Two volumes, or 24 numbers, containing altogether 884 pages, were published, partly in Independence and partly in Kirtland, Ohio. It was printed with small type, the printed matter on each page measuring 8½ by 4½ inches. (See page 31.) In connection with it a weekly newspaper called the

*UPPER MISSOURI ADVERTISER* was published at Independence, Mo., but we have been unable to ascertain how long it existed.

With the September, 1834, number of the *Evening and Morning Star*, that paper was suspended, and in its stead the

*Latter-day Saints'*

*MESSENGER AND ADVOCATE*

was commenced. The first number of this monthly periodical was dated Kirtland, Ohio, October, 1834, and it was continued regularly for three years, the last number, bearing date of September, 1837. Three volumes, or 36 numbers, containing altogether 576 pages (16 pages to the number), were published. The size of the printed matter on each page was 8½ by 4½ inches—a trifle smaller than the *Evening and Morning Star*. The subscription price was \$1 per annum. The first eight numbers were edited by Oliver Cowdery and published by F. G. Williams & Co. The next ten numbers were edited by John Whitmer; F. G. Williams & Co. continuing as publishers. After this, Oliver Cowdery again resumed his editorial labors, commencing with No. 7, Vol. 2, and he also became the publisher; but after a short time, when others associated themselves with him, the paper was published by Oliver Cowdery & Co. This latter arrangement continued until Feb. 1, 1837, when Oliver Cowdery & Co. dissolved partnership, and Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon became the proprietors of the paper and printing office. Warren A. Cowdery was then appointed editor. Only two num-

bers (Nos. 5 and 6, Vol. 3) had been issued under this arrangement, when the paper, through legal process, passed into the hands of Wm. Marks & Co., of Portage, Alleghany Co., New York, who then, by power of attorney, appointed Smith and Rigdon their agents. After this change the paper was continued until September, 1837, W. A. Cowdery having charge of the editorial department until the periodical was suspended. The

*NORTHERN TIMES*

was a weekly newspaper, edited by F. G. Williams in Kirtland, Ohio, in favor of Democracy. It was commenced in February, 1835, but we do not know how long it continued.

The *Messenger and Advocate* being discontinued, a new monthly paper was commenced in Kirtland in its stead called the

*ELDERS JOURNAL.*

It was the same size as its predecessor, the printed matter on each page (two columns) measuring 8½ by 4½ inches. The first number was dated October, 1837. It was "edited by Joseph Smith, and published by Thomas B. Marsh," but Don Carlos Smith, the youngest brother of the Prophet, took immediate charge of the printing establishment. The subscription price was \$1 per annum. After the November (1837) number had been issued, the printing office in Kirtland was destroyed by fire, in consequence of which the publication of the *Journal* ceased for the time being, and it was not until July, 1838, that No. 3 made its appearance at Far West, Mo. Only one more number, dated August, 1838, was published at Far West, as the paper was suspended in consequence of the persecutions. On the night that Far West was surrounded by General Lucas' mob militia, the type was buried in Brother Dawson's yard in Far West, and there it remained until the spring of 1839, when it was dug up and removed to Commerce, Hancock County, Ill., afterwards to be used for the publication of the *Times and Seasons*. Thus only four numbers of the *Journal* (3 in Kirtland, Ohio, and 2 in Far West, Mo.) were published.

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# THE HISTORICAL RECORD.

Devoted Exclusively to Historical, Biographical, Chronological and Statistical Matters.

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"What thou seest, write in a book." Rev. 1, 11.

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## THE BATTLE OF NAUVOO.

In the summer of 1846, while many of the Saints who had started westward from Nauvoo were pursuing their toilsome journey; while others were engaged in establishing temporary settlements and making farms in the wild and unreclaimed districts of the western frontiers (now parts of Iowa and Nebraska) for the accommodation of their brethren who should follow; while five hundred of their most able and serviceable men were responding to the call of the government and leaving their families destitute to march as soldiers to Mexico; and while all were suffering from the hardships and exposure which they, from their circumstances, were forced to endure, hostilities were renewed against those of the Saints who were left behind at Nauvoo. They were generally of the poorest class—persons who had not sufficient means to furnish themselves with teams and the necessary outfit to commence the journey, although they were all anxious to go and their labors were constantly directed to effect that end. Their enemies knew this, and knew also that by continuing their violence the Saints would be retarded in their

preparations to leave. As if this fact stimulated them to be more determined in their vile efforts than ever, they sought by every means in their power to harass them and cause them to abandon their homes without receiving any compensation for their property, or means with which to migrate. In commenting upon the state of affairs which there existed, the *Hancock Eagle*, a paper published in Nauvoo at that time, used the following language:

"In calmly reflecting upon the condition to which this country has been reduced by a gang of ruffians, who style themselves 'Regulators,' one is almost forced to the conclusion that we are living in a land over which a free government has not shed its blessed influence. Here, in one of the most fertile regions that the sun ever shone upon—in a district of country that has been settled for twenty years, and in the midst of an enlightened community, the families of worthy and respectable American citizens are as much harassed by the terrors of violence, as if they resided in a wilderness and were daily subject to an assault from savages."

Nor were the Saints the only ones who suffered from the annoyance and persecutions of the self-styled "Regulators." The new citizens—those who had recently purchased property and settled in Nauvoo, especially those who were at all friend-

ly to or sympathized with the Saints, were subjected, more or less, to the same threats of extermination and the same jeopardy of life and property.

July 11, 1846, while John Hill, Archibald N. Hill, Caleb W. Lyons, James W. Huntsman, Gardiner Curtis, John Richards, Elisha Mallory and J. W. D. Phillips were engaged in harvesting wheat in a field about 12 miles from Nauvoo, they were surrounded by an armed mob, who completely hemmed them in, thereby preventing their escape, and then ransacked their wagons for their fire-arms. After taking from them every weapon they had, the mob sent to the woods for some long hickory switches. Then taking the defenseless men one at a time they forced them to assume a stooping posture in a ditch, while each of them received 20 lashes across the back with the switches wielded by one of the mob party. As there were but eight of the brethren, they were so completely in the power of these merciless creatures they could not do otherwise than submit to the torture. The mob then smashed four of their guns to pieces over a stump and returned the fragments to them, while they retained the rest of the guns and pistols. The brethren were then ordered with an oath to get into their carriages and drive for Nauvoo, and not look back, and the mob fired a parting shot at them as they did so.

Several of the mob engaged in the affair were recognized, and two of them named McAuley and Brattle were soon afterwards arrested. Following this movement, and in retaliation for the arrest of these men, five of the brethren—Phineas H. Young, Brigham H. Young, Richard

Ballantyne, James Standing and James Herring—were pounced upon by a party of the mob while near Pontoosuc, a town situated about eleven miles northeast of Nauvoo, and forcibly taken into custody. When asked by what authority they acted, the mob replied, pointing their guns at their prisoners, that their weapons constituted their authority. It was sufficient offense for them to be "Mormons." They were taken into the town of Pontoosuc, where they were met by fifty more armed men. There they were informed that they were accused of no crime, but that they would be held as hostages for the safety of McAuley and Brattle, who had been arrested by the citizens of Nauvoo for lynching the brethren, as before described.

Some of the men engaged in making this last arrest were also engaged in the lynching affair, and as if their guilty consciences were smiting them for their evil deeds, they were continually imagining that the friends of their prisoners were on their track. They accordingly hurried them from one place to another, traveling a great deal in the night. Sometimes, when halting for a short time, fear would come upon them, and they would again take up their hurried flight, through woods, thickets and marshes, urging their prisoners on at times by goading them with the points of their bayonets, and this too when they were almost fainting from sickness and fatigue. Once the mob were on the point of shooting their prisoners, and had even cocked and pointed their guns at them, when the alarm was sounded by one of their party that the "Mormons" were on their trail and

it would not do to make a noise, when they again took up their flight. At another time, when the prisoners asked for water to quench their thirst, the mob tried to poison them by giving them liquor containing poison, of which, however, only one of their number, Brigham H. Young, drank. From the effect it immediately had upon him, the brethren were convinced that he was poisoned, but after having laid their hands upon his head and invoked the blessing of God upon him, he was soon sufficiently recovered to resume his march with a little assistance from the others. The mob evidently believed that all of their prisoners had partaken of their drugged liquor, as they afterwards expressed their impatience at their tenacity of life so loudly that the brethren overheard them. After openly consulting upon and attempting one or two other plans of disposing of their prisoners without boldly facing and shooting them, it was finally decided to adopt the latter plan, and the brethren were ordered to form in line to be shot. At this juncture Phineas H. Young plead with the mob to spare the lives of his brethren, and offered his own life if they would only do so. The delay occasioned by this appeal saved their lives, as just then one of the mob party came riding up and reported the "Mormons" 350 strong coming upon them; and again the prisoners were hurried off. After being held captive for twelve days, with very little food, and suffering from exposure and sickness, the brethren grew desperate and determined on attempting an escape, however great the hazard, if their guard could not be prevailed upon to let them go. They made a final appeal,

and the guards were sufficiently moved by it to allow them to go and even aid them in getting back to their homes.

When it was learned at Nauvoo that the above-named brethren had been kidnapped, writs were issued and a call made for a *posse* to go and arrest the kidnappers and rescue the prisoners. This company was under the command of William Anderson and William L. Cutler. They succeeded in arresting 15 of the kidnappers, and found some of the property belonging to the men who had been kidnapped, but could not find them. Another company was raised at Nauvoo for the same purpose, and put under the command of William E. Clifford. These movements excited the mob, and they circulated all manner of false rumors throughout Hancock and the adjoining counties respecting the intentions of the "Mormons," and used all their influence to get the surrounding counties to help them to drive the "Mormons" and "Jack Mormons," as they called those who were friendly to law and order, from the State.

"Another cause of excitement in the county," writes George Q. Cannon, "was the part taken by the Saints residing there, in the election. When the Twelve Apostles left Nauvoo they gave particular counsel that the Saints should take no part in politics or interfere in the elections, as such a course would have a tendency to exasperate the mob, and cause them to commence hostilities upon the defenceless and poor who were left behind, and to stop the sale of property by preventing the influx of new citizens into Nauvoo to make purchases. This counsel was neglected, and its neglect, besides

producing bad feeling, was productive of no good result, for the opposite party beat the party for which the Saints voted in the county by a majority of several hundreds. It is said, however, that this was done by making false returns.

"Levi Williams, who led the mob which murdered the Prophet Joseph and his brother Hyrum at Carthage Jail, and who professed to be a Baptist minister, was very active in instigating the mob and giving them all the aid in his power. The mob succeeded in getting out writs for several new citizens who were objectionable to them, and tried to get them in their power for the purpose of murdering them, but failed to do so. The new citizens of Nauvoo held a meeting August 12, 1846, at which a report was made by the committee who waited upon the mob that had gathered at the house of Levi Williams, at Green Plains, to induce them to return peaceably to their homes. This committee stated that the utter recklessness and want of courtesy exhibited by the anti-Mormons precluded all hopes of treating with them. Several speeches were made and a committee of five appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. These resolutions set forth the threats of the mob to the effect, that if the new settlers of Nauvoo did not drive the Saints from said city across the Mississippi on or before the 10th of September following, they themselves would do so with their own hands in the most violent manner; also that the new settlers would not acknowledge the right of the anti-Mormon party to interfere with them or with their policy, also that they (the new settlers) still contin-

ued to place implicit confidence in the 'Mormon' people and the pledges given by them relative to their departure for the West that season.

"A man by the name of John Carlin was illegally appointed a constable by a justice of the peace, and he tried to raise a *posse* to go to Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting, upon illegally-issued writs, certain new citizens who had been wrongfully accused of crime. This was a mere pretext for the purpose of creating difficulty and driving the Saints from the city. Mr. William E. Clifford, who was president of the trustees of the town of Nauvoo, but was not a Latter-day Saint, wrote and sent a letter by express to Governor Ford for assistance to protect the town against the mob. The governor sent Major James R. Parker, of the Illinois militia, to Nauvoo, and gave him instructions, that, in case of an attack on the city, he was to take command of such volunteers as might offer themselves, free of cost to the State, to repel it and to defend the city. In some correspondence between Parker and Carlin, the latter said that he would treat him and his officers as a mob, if they attempted to molest him. In the meantime he was doing all in his power to raise an armed force to aid him in executing his pretended writs. Parker issued several proclamations, in one of which he declared Hancock County in a state of civil war. In this proclamation he said:

"'Nothing is more absurd than the idea that an armed force is necessary to execute civil process in Nauvoo. I hold myself in readiness to aid in executing warrants issued for the apprehension of any person in this place, or in any other part of the coun-

ty, so soon as [the armed force now assembled under pretence of a constable's posse shall have been disbanded.]

"General James W. Singleton, of Brown County, took the chief command of the mob. He was assisted by J. B. Chittenden, of Adams County; N. Montgomery, of McDonough County; James King, of Schuyler County; J. H. Sherman, of Hancock County; and Thomas S. Brockman, of Brown County. Major Parker wrote to Singleton, the mob commander, for the purpose of effecting a compromise; to which Singleton replied. Parker again wrote, stating that the conditions were under consideration, and soliciting an interview with such persons as Singleton might name to agree upon the articles of settlement. Articles of agreement were drawn up, requiring all the Saints to leave within 60 days, and were signed in behalf of the anti-Mormons by some of the parties above named, and by Major Parker, Mr. Smith, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Edmonds of Nauvoo. Instead of Parker defending the city and resisting the attack of the mob, as he should have done, he treated them as his equals, and made a treaty with them, agreeing to their terms and signing the agreement in his official capacity.

"But the mob were not satisfied with these terms. Sixty days were too long for them to wait. Besides it was not the removal of the Saints they wanted—it was their blood. They wanted an opportunity to murder, to rob and to indulge in general violence. Singleton, when he found what a temper his officers and men were in, resigned his position as their leader; Chittenden also resigned. Singleton wrote to Smith,

Reynolds and Parker, stating that the mob had rejected the articles they had signed, which he thought were as fair as any reasonable or feeling man could ask the "Mormons" to do, and they must therefore consider him no longer connected with the mob camp in its future proceedings.

"Carlin immediately appointed Thomas S. Brockman, of Brown County, to be leader of his party, who made "a soul-stirring speech to them," and gave orders to march. The mob themselves reported their number to be seven hundred, with many baggage wagons and every way prepared for a campaign; but it was believed they numbered over a thousand. Many of the new citizens of Nauvoo, feeling the danger was fast approaching, and expecting a general massacre, left the city for other parts. The remaining citizens, what few were fit for duty, prepared for the worst; but the larger proportion of those belonging to the Church were sick and destitute and included many women and children.

"'Old Tom,' as Brockman called himself, no sooner had taken command, than he gave orders for marching. At about half-past 9 on the morning of September 10th, the watchmen, posted on the tower of the Temple, discovered the mob approaching Nauvoo on the Carthage road. The instruction of the governor of the State to Major Parker had been to organize the people of Nauvoo to defend themselves. Four companies of volunteers had been organized. When it was known that the mobbers under Brockman were marching towards the city, these companies were ordered to march out and meet them. By noon they

had reached a copse of timber on the Carthage road, when John Wood, Esq., mayor of Quincy, Major Flood, Dr. Conyers and Messrs. Joel Rice and Benjamin Clifford, jun., also of Quincy, arrived at Nauvoo. The governor had given a commission to Major Flood to raise forces in Adams County for the protection of Nauvoo. These gentlemen were all indignant at the villainous conduct of the mob towards an oppressed and defenceless community. They were anxious, however, to avert the shedding of blood, and Mayor Wood proposed that they proceed to the mob camp and learn if there was any prospect of a compromise. Accordingly they repaired there in a carriage, and had an interview with Carlin and Brockman. That the reader may have a correct idea of the feelings and aims of the scoundrels composing the mob, we will give the proposals of Carlin and Brockman in full:

“September 10, 1846.

“It is proposed, on behalf of the anti-Mormon forces assembled, camped in the vicinity of Nauvoo, by the officers in council:

“1st—That the writs in the hands of John Carlin shall be served, if the individuals against whom they exist, can be found.

“2nd—The Mormons shall all give up their arms to some gentleman, to be agreed on by the parties, and any gun or other weapons shall be returned to the owner, whenever the owner of said gun has *bona fide* left the State with his goods and chattels.

“3rd—The anti-Mormon forces shall be permitted to march peaceably through the city, we pledging ourselves to molest neither person nor property, unless attacked, in which case we will defend ourselves as best we can.

“4th—The Mormons shall leave the State in thirty days.

“5th—The anti-Mormons shall station a force at their discretion in the city, to see that the above terms are complied with.

“JOHN CARLIN,

“THOMAS S. BROCKMAN.

“In behalf of the officers in camp.”

“Carlin had been illegally appointed as a special constable to serve a writ on a supposed criminal. This was the only service it was claimed that he had to perform. But what a change had now taken place! He had become a dictator and claimed the exercise of more despotic power than any king could wield. He had not only called out soldiers by the hundreds from Hancock, the only county in which he could pretend to any jurisdiction as a constable, but from all the surrounding counties. Majors, colonels and other officers were summoned by him. And all this for the purpose of forming a posse to serve a constable's writ in Hancock. At the head of these forces which he had thus summoned he dictated terms to a city, threatening the people with his vengeance unless they complied with them. A so-called constable demanding the arms of the people under pains and penalties, and insisting on expelling them from their homes and from the State, because, forsooth, they were ‘Mormons!’ This was one of the most outrageous proceedings ever attempted.

“Carlin, ‘Old Tom’ and their mob manifested but little respect for the Quincy gentlemen, after giving them the terms upon which they would make a compromise, for, as they returned to Nauvoo the mob fired several cannon balls over their heads. Major Flood had seen enough to satisfy him probably that it would be unpopular with the mob to defend or protect Nauvoo, so he declined to accept the commission of the governor to raise forces in Adams County for that purpose, but as he was empowered to transfer the commission to some citizens of Adams County,

he did so, and it was accepted by Benjamin Clifford, jun., of Quincy. Clifford then took command of the volunteers. Under him Charles M. Johnson continued to act, as he had under Parker, as colonel of the volunteers. Wm. L. Cutler acted as lieutenant-colonel and Wm. Anderson as aide-de-camp. The first, second, third and fourth companies were under Captains Andrew L. Lamoreaux, Alexander McRae, Hiram Gates and Curtis E. Bolton. The next day William Anderson, having received permission, proceeded to choose a band of select men for flankers and sharpshooters. They were called the Spartan Band and were principally armed with repeating rifles. They organized at President D. H. Wells', who was then known as Esquire Wells, because of his being a magistrate, and who took a very active and prominent part in the defence of Nauvoo. Wm. Anderson was chosen first and Alexander McRae second captain. Curtis E. Bolton also joined this band.

"The mob had artillery, and seemed to be well supplied with ammunition of all kinds. For the want of other enemies to fire at, they, in passing corn-fields on both sides of the road, fired their grape and canister shot into them; they made great havoc in cutting down cornstalks. There was no artillery in Nauvoo and it was felt to be greatly needed. Two steamboat shafts, which had lain for years on the banks of the Mississippi River, were found. These shafts were hollow, and it suggested itself to some of the citizens that by cutting them in two, and plugging up one of the ends of each piece with iron fastened in its place by wrought-iron bolts and made

tight by filling up with spelter, a rude but effective kind of cannon might be manufactured. The plan was deemed feasible, and four of this kind of cannon were soon made ready for service. There were probably some fears felt as to whether they would answer the purpose or not, and the first discharge from them was doubtless watched with considerable interest. They might, after all the trouble, burst upon the first discharge. It was no time, however, for nervousness. The mob forces were at the people's doors, and they had to defend themselves against their attacks with such means as were at their command. But the shafts did good service. They stood the fire excellently, and they were the means of intimidating the mob and keeping them at bay. They had expected to make Nauvoo an easy prey, for they knew there was no artillery there. When, therefore, they heard the cannon, they did not know what the sound meant. The "Mormons" were better prepared for defence than they imagined them to be.

"Major Flood did not show his commission to 'Old Tom' Brockman when he was at the mob camp. Mayor Wood and Joel Rice, therefore, walked out there again and read the commission that Brockman might know that he was fighting forces which had been raised by the governor's order. But neither he nor his forces cared for the governor or his orders. They were resolved to drive the people from Nauvoo, and they drew nearer and nearer, advancing in solid columns against the city. There was naturally great anxiety felt by the people of the city. Major Parker, when he left, gave them



reasons to hope that recruits would be sent, by the governor, to their relief. But no reinforcements came, and it became evident that they must rely upon their own resources."

Friday, Sept. 11, 1846, the mob steadily but cautiously advanced towards the city, taking great care to select the places of marching, as they were afraid of secret mines. Their cannon loaded with grape and canister were fired at the companies of volunteers who were endeavoring to check their advance. They fired three rounds at Esquire Wells' house, where his family was at the time. One of the shot tore up some brick at his well; another struck near his barn, and the third passed over his house, just missing a young man who was sitting there watching their movements. William Gheen and his party, who had charge of a cannon, succeeded in checking their advance somewhat, and though the mob made several attempts to outflank the volunteers they were unsuccessful. The missiles which were fired from Captain Gheen's cannon, as well as the others, consisted principally of old irons and bar lead, cut and put into small sacks. At one or two points the mob forces were repulsed and driven back. Several families (some of whose members were sick), living in the east part of the city of Nauvoo, had to vacate their premises hastily, for the mob cannon balls passed their doors and struck in their lots. They fled and left everything in their houses. In the evening, after the firing had ceased, they returned with teams to their dwellings, and removed their clothes, etc.; but their furniture was mostly left.

On Saturday, the 12th, a flag of

truce was brought into the city with the following communication:

*"To the Commander of the Mormon forces in Nauvoo:*

"SIR—The forces under my command, assembled as a *posse comitatus*, now encamped within half a mile of your city, are determined to enter the same by force unless a surrender be immediately made.

"From motives of humanity I am prompted to give you an opportunity to save the destruction of life and property.

"You can surrender on the following terms.

"1st—Deliver up your arms to our charge, to be returned as soon as your people shall have left the State.

"2nd—The army under my command to enter the city without molestation—for the purpose of making arrests, the men having pledged themselves to me individually and severally, not to destroy life or property unless under my command; and I pledge myself to you that, if you surrender, no property shall be destroyed or life taken, unless absolutely necessary in self defence.

"If you see proper to surrender you can signify the same by nine o'clock this morning; if not, the consequences be upon your own head.

"THOMAS S. BROCKMAN,  
Commander-in-chief of posse assembled by  
JOHN CARLIN, Hancock County, Ill."

To which the following reply was made and sent back in about two hours:

"HEAD QUARTERS, ILL. VOL. CAMP,  
NAUVOO, Sept. 12th, 9½ a. m.

*"To Thomas S. Brockman,  
Commander of Forces near this place:*

"SIR—Your communication of the 12th inst., sent in my camp this moment under flag of truce, is before me; and after due deliberation I reply; inasmuch as there is no commander here of Mormon forces, I take the liberty to answer your letter.

"I am commissioned by the governor and commander-in-chief of the Illinois militia to disperse your forces in the name of the people of Illinois.

"Your proposition, directed to the commander of the Mormons, can not be complied with. While I deprecate the shedding of blood, even in upholding the laws of our State, I am determined to carry out the instructions of the Executive of the State of Illinois. So far I have acted on the defensive, and for the sake of humanity, if for no other purpose, I hope you will at once see

the propriety and justice of dispersing your forces. The armed force under your command is not necessary for any lawful purpose in this city or county.

"There are a number of highly respectable gentlemen in this city from abroad, who are desirous that there should be no bloodshed. Among them I would name the Honorable John Wood, mayor of the city of Quincy, and J. P. Eddy, Esq., merchant of St. Louis, Mo. They will be the bearers of this communication.

"Any proposition which you may be pleased to make, tending to avoid the taking of life, will be considered.

"I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN CLIFFORD, JUN.

Major Commander Ill. Militia."

The citizens of Nauvoo had remained during the night at the points most likely to be attacked, and had occupied the time in erecting breast-works. Major Clifford occupied Beach's tavern as his headquarters; and Colonel Johnson, who commanded in the field, being sick, the command in the field devolved upon Lieut. Colonel Wm. E. Cutler, with Daniel H. Wells as his aid. After the mob had received Clifford's reply, they commenced the attack with a good deal of vigor, and cannonading, and firing on both sides was very brisk. Captain Anderson, of the Spartan Band, who had displayed great bravery throughout the entire fight was shot in the breast by a musket ball. He lived fifteen minutes, and his last words were those of encouragement to his men. He exclaimed as he was hit, "I am wounded; take my gun and shoot on." His son Augustus L. Anderson was struck by a cannon ball, which hit him in the side and broke his arm. He lived only a few moments. He was aged fourteen years, and was the first person shot while fighting, as he previously remarked he would do, for his mother. The

command of the Spartan Band, after the death of Captain Anderson, devolved upon Captains Alexander McRae and Almon L. Fullmer. Hiram Kimball was slightly wounded on the head by a splinter. David Norris was killed by a cannon ball, which passed through his shoulder, Benjamin Whitehead was shot in the leg, and John C. Campbell in the foot. Curtis E. Bolton was also hit by a bullet, which, however, did not penetrate the flesh.

Doctors Berry and Charles, of Warsaw, who were surgeons in Mr. Brockman's Camp, reported twelve mobbers wounded in the engagement, namely, "John Kennedy, of Augusta, in the shoulder; Jefferson Welsh, of McDonough County, in the thigh; Mr. Rogers, of Adams County, thigh and hip; Uriah Thompson, of Fountain Green, in arm; Mr. Humphreys, of Hancock County, in the thigh severely, and died ten hours afterward; George Wier, Warsaw, in the neck; Captain Robert F. Smith, who commanded the First Regiment, slightly in the neck; Mr. Crooks, of Chili, in the head slightly; Mr. Winsor, of Nauvoo, in the back, while loading; Mr. Denny, of Green Plains, at camp guard; Dr. Geiger, of Nauvoo, in camp; and Mr. Stinson, of Brown County, in the thigh."

The Warsaw *Signal*, a bitter mobocratic paper, said that the mobbers' reason for retreating was that their cannon balls were exhausted, and their commander deeming it imprudent to risk any further advance without these, ordered the men to be drawn off; but, if their cannon balls had held out ten minutes longer they believed they would have taken the city. They stated that they had about five hundred men and four

pieces of artillery engaged in the action; and they thought there was not on record an instance of a longer continued militia fight than occurred on that day. The *Signal* gave the "Mormons" the credit of having stood their ground manfully. Considering how few there were to defend Nauvoo, and the character of the artillery which they had manufactured, the defence was very remarkable. The success which attended the efforts of the citizens to repulse the enemy was due to their bravery and the energy and zeal of their commanders, as well as to the fear which the mob had of the "Mormons."

On Sunday, the 13th, there was considerable skirmishing, and the *Warsaw Signal* reported one anti-Mormon badly wounded. After dusk the citizens of Nauvoo advanced with two of their cannon and fired into the mob camp and caused them to scatter. At the second discharge one of the cannon, as the steamboat shafts were called, burst into thirteen pieces without injuring anyone.

On the 14th there was some cannonading during the day, and the people of Nauvoo repaired and extended their batteries.

On the 15th the Spartan Band and the "kill-devils," as a band composed principally of new citizens was called, kept so strict a watch on the movements of the mob that they could not go to water their horses without being saluted by rifleshots. Occasionally a few rounds from the cannon were fired that day.

Several gentlemen from Quincy were in the tower of the Temple, in Nauvoo, watching the progress of the fight on Saturday the 12th. Immediately after the battle, Mayor

Wood and Mr. Rice started for Quincy, called a meeting of the people, and gave an account of what had taken place in Nauvoo. It was decided that a committee of one hundred citizens of Quincy should go to settle the difficulties in Hancock County. They arrived in Nauvoo on the 15th. The ostensible object in coming was to prevent the shedding of blood; but their friendship for the citizens of Nauvoo was not real. They were the strongest anti-Mormons that could be found in Adams County. On that account Messrs. Wood and Rice, with several others, refused to act as members of that committee. These people brought their fire-arms with them, which they took great pains to conceal, and it was understood that if they did not succeed in making the compromise, they intended to join the mob. Only a part of them came into Nauvoo, as sub-committees were appointed to transact the business.

On the 16th the mob commenced cannonading. A compromise was, however, in progress. A lengthy correspondence was going on between the sub-committees of the Quincy committee, the mob camp, Major Clifford and the Church trustees, which resulted in the following:

"Articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, made and entered into this 16th of September, A. D. 1846, between Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Heywood and John S. Fullmer, trustees-in-trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, of the one part—Thomas S. Brockman, commander of the *posse*, and John Carlin, special constable and civil head of the *posse* of Hancock County, of the second part—and Andrew Johnson, chairman of the citizens of Quincy, of the third part—

"1st—The city of Nauvoo will surrender. The force of Colonel Brockman to enter and take possession of the city to-morrow, the 17th of September, at three o'clock p. m.

"2nd—The arms to be delivered to the Quincy Committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river.

"3rd—The Quincy Committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence, and the officers of the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.

"4th—The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.

"5th—The Mormon population of the city to leave the State, or disperse as soon as they can cross the river.

"6th—Five men, including the trustees of the Church (William Pickett not one of the number), to be permitted to remain in the city, for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

"7th—Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy Committee to enter the city in the execution of the duty as soon as they think proper.

"We, the undersigned, subscribe to ratify and confirm the foregoing articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, the day and year above written.

"ANDREW JOHNSON,  
Chairman of the Committee of Quincy.  
THOS. S. BROCKMAN, Commanding Posse.  
JOHN CARLIN, Special Constable.  
A. W. BABBITT, } Trustees-in-trust for the  
J. L. HEYWOOD, } Church of Jesus Christ  
J. S. FULLMER, } of Latter-day Saints."

When many of the volunteers learned that articles of agreement had been agreed upon between the trustees and the mob for the surrender of the city, that the mob forces were to occupy it, the "Mormons" to deliver up their arms and leave as soon as they could cross the river, they felt very enraged. In discussing the affair at Beach's tavern, Squire Wells, who overheard their remarks, expostulated with them, and said:

"There is no use in the small handful of volunteers trying to defend the city against such an overwhelming force. What interest have the Saints to expect from its defence? Our interests are not identified with it, but in getting away from it. Who could urge the propriety of exposing life to defend a place for the purpose of vacating it? I have been in the councils of Joseph and Hyrum and the Twelve, and I know they

were desirous that the Saints should leave the State and go westward. Have not the Twelve and most of the Church gone, and is not their counsel for us to follow? Have not they told us that our safety was not in Nauvoo, but in our removal westward?

"The trustees have no means with which to carry on the defence; they are already involved. Major Parker, who was sent by the governor to aid us, when he left, promised to raise men and return immediately to our assistance, but he has forsaken us, and is it not well known that the Quincy Committee was prepared to join the mob, if a treaty was not effected? Under these circumstances, I have thrown in my influence with the trustees for the surrender of Nauvoo upon the best terms we could get, and as being the best and only wise policy left for us to pursue.

"Brethren, reflect, we have nothing to gain in defending Nauvoo, but everything to lose; not only property, but life also, is hourly in peril."

Esquire Wells had but recently joined the Church; but he had been a prominent man in the affairs of Nauvoo from the time of the organization of the city, and had been intimate with the Prophet Joseph, President Young and the Twelve Apostles. This, and his distinguished gallantry in helping to defend the city, gave him influence among the people, and his counsels and words had great weight with them.

Mr. Brayman, agent of the governor of Illinois, upon hearing the treaty read, declared that it surpassed anything of the kind that he had ever read or heard of. He knew the volunteers were acting under the orders of the governor, and yet they were overpowered by the mob and forced to agree to terms of banishment to save the lives of themselves and their families. There were women and children also there, some of whose husbands and fathers were in the United States army, and had started for California on foot, over pathless deserts and mountains,

to plant their country's flag in distant lands. To see their wives, children and friends driven from their homes by a bloodthirsty mob, caused Mr. Brayman to shed tears. There were others also from different parts of the Union who were eyewitnesses of these outrages, who were similarly affected at the sight.

As soon as the treaty was effeted, the volunteers were disbanded, and made preparations to vacate the city. Some went up the river, others down, while a few crossed over to Iowa as fast as they could. About 8 o'clock on the 17th of September the mob forces, numbering over fifteen hundred, marched into the city. They camped at the foot of the hill near Parley Street. Speeches were made to them, and some of them screamed and yelled like savages. The chairman of the Quincy Committee took possession of the keys of the Temple; but the mob paid no attention to the treaty, and the Quincy Committee, had they been so disposed, had not the force to compel them to regard it. No sooner had they encamped than a company was dispatched to search the wagons that were on the bank of the river, and they took all the guns and pistols they could find. The houses of Brothers Fullmer and Heywood were entered, and everything in the shape of arms and ammunition was seized, and their families threatened. Parties of armed men roamed around town ordering families to leave at short notice. Even the sick were treated with cruelty, and families were molested while burying their dead. The mob went through the Temple, up to the dome of the tower, and rung the bell, yelling and shouting, some of them inquiring, "Who

is the keeper of the Lord's House now?" A preacher, who was in the mob, ascended the top of the tower, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "Peace! Peace! Peace! to the inhabitants of the earth, now the Mormons are driven!"

The mob forces held their headquarters at the Temple. They established a sort of a court at which the right of several of the inhabitants, who were not "Mormons," to citizenship was tried. Some of these people, with their families, were ordered forth in two hours. This mob company went from house to house plundering cow-yards, pig-pens, hen-roosts, bee-stands, bursting open trunks and chests, and taking everything they wanted without stopping to inquire whether the plunder belonged to the "Mormons" or not. Several of the Saints, including Charles Lambert, Daniel Davis, Silas Condit and some others, were seized by the mob and baptized in the river. The mobbers thus engaged used the most blasphemous language, while their companions stood swearing and yelling on the bank. They also seized Colonel C. M. Johnson, led him to the Temple, tried him by court-martial and passed sentence of death upon him; but they disagreed about the manner of his execution, and finally ordered him to leave the city. W. E. Clifford, in alluding to what had occurred in Nauvoo, wrote:

"When the mob marched into and took possession of Nauvoo, I proceeded to Burlington. I returned to Montrose in ten days, and remained two weeks, not being permitted to enter Nauvoo. I find cases of suffering and destitution at which I shudder. The poor, the sick and the infirm on the banks of the Mississippi; some with nothing but God's canopy for a shelter, no food but what they received at the hands of

charity, and this, too, in a government that is called republic, the constitution of which guarantees to every one his just and equal rights."

Several articles appeared in the St. Louis papers describing, in eloquent and heart-touching language, the condition of the Saints, on the bank of the Mississippi River. The St. Louis *Reveille* said they were literally starving under the open heavens, with not even a tent to cover them. Women and children, widows and orphans, the bed-ridden, age-stricken, and the toilworn and pauper remnant of a large community; and that paper called upon the people to help them.

The condition of the exiled Saints was indeed wretched, and had it not been for a providential flight of quails in large flocks, they would have endured much greater suffering. But it seemed as though the Lord had special compassion for His people in their deep distress, for He sent them a supply of food, in the shape of quails which settled in such numbers

about their tents and wagons that many caught them with their hands. The people praised God that in their persecutions and wanderings in the wilderness, His goodness and mercy were manifested towards them as strikingly and in a similar manner to what they had been to the Children of Israel, while Moses was leading them on their dreary march through the wilderness to the Promised Land.

The arms which the mob took from the brethren's wagons were never returned to them. If there was a good rifle taken, some anti-Mormon would be sure to appropriate it to his own use, and if anything was left in its place, it would be a poor gun, of little or no value to anybody.

After camping for several days on the banks of the Mississippi River, opposite Nauvoo, this last remnant of the Saints were enabled to remove to Winter Quarters, from whence teams had been sent for the relief of the poor. (See page 888.)

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## THE NAUVOO TEMPLE.

Soon after the Saints commenced to gather at Commerce, Hancock County, Ill., the authorities of the Church began to talk upon the subject of building a Temple at that place. Several councils were held and a place selected whereon to erect such a building. The place selected was the most elevated piece of ground within the Nauvoo town survey, being also centrally located on what afterward became Block 20 of the Wells Addition. The Temple site overlooks the Mississippi River, the landscape on the Iowa side and all the surrounding country for miles.

The matter of building a Temple was laid before the general conference held at Commerce, Oct. 6, 1840, when the Church voted to commence the work immediately. On this day also the conference appointed Alpheus Cutler, Elias Higbee and Reynolds Cahoon as a committee of three to carry the business into operation and to oversee the work. During the conference, which lasted three days, the Prophet Joseph explained to the Saints the law of tithing and the plan upon which the building of the Temple was to be conducted.

Several building plans for the Temple were made and submitted by various individuals, but the only one which was satisfactory to the Prophet was the one drawn and presented by William Weeks.

April 12, 1849, the brethren commenced the opening of a quarry from which to obtain stone for the building. Brother Elisha Everett struck the first blow on the works.

The committee contracted with Daniel H. Well, Esq., for the land whereon to build the Temple, and on Jan. 19, 1841, the Lord gave a revelation approving the selection of the Temple site, and commanding the erection of the sacred structure upon the spot. (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 124.)

In February, 1841, Elder Alpheus Cutler, assisted by Elder Reynolds Cahoon and others, laid out the foundation of the Temple. On the 18th of that month the brethren began to dig the cellar. As it was the wish of President Smith that the corner stones of the Temple should be laid on the 6th day of April next, the corners for the foundation were first excavated; and about the 1st day of March the cellar walls were commenced.

Feb. 22, 1841, the committee organized the city of Nauvoo into Wards and called upon the brethren to come forward and labor every tenth day. By this means they were enabled to rush on the work so rapidly that by the 6th day of April the walls were sufficiently high at the corners to admit of the laying of the corner stones. And notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the Church, the labor moved on quickly and the prospects seemed very cheering and pleasing.

"April 6, 1841," says an editorial in

the *Times and Seasons*, "at an early hour the several companies comprising the Nauvoo Legion, with two volunteer companies from Iowa Territory, making sixteen companies in all, assembled at their several places of rendezvous, and were conducted in due order to the ground assigned for general review. The appearance, order and movements of the Legion, were chaste, grand and imposing, and reflected great credit upon the taste, skill and tact of the men comprising said Legion. We doubt whether the like can be presented in any city in the western country.

"At half past 7 o'clock a. m., the fire of artillery announced the arrival of Brigadier-Generals Law and Don Carlos Smith, at the front of their respective cohorts; and, at 8 o'clock, Major-General Bennett was conducted to his post, under the discharge of cannon, and took command of the Legion.

"At half past 9 o'clock a. m., Lieutenant-General Smith, with his guard, staff and field officers, arrived at the ground, and were presented with a beautiful silk, national flag, by the ladies of Nauvoo, which was respectfully received and hailed by the firing of cannon, and borne off by Colonel Robinson, the cornet, to the appropriate position in the line; after which, the lieutenant-general with his suite, passed the lines in review.

"At 12 m., the procession arrived upon the Temple ground, enclosing the same in a hollow square, with Lieutenant-General Smith, Major-General Bennett, Brigadier-Generals Wilson Law and Don Carlos Smith, their respective staffs, guard, field officers, distinguished visitors, choir,

band, etc., in the centre, and the ladies and gentlemen, citizens, surrounding in their interior. The superior officers, together with the banner, architects, principal speaker, etc., were duly conducted to the stand at the principal corner stone, and the religious services were commenced by singing from page 65 of the new Hymn Book. \* \* \*

(Sidney Rigdon then addressed the assemblage at some length, after which a hymn was sung under page 205, and another prayer was offered.)

"The architects then, by the direction of the First Presidency, lowered the first (S. E. corner) stone to its place, and President Joseph Smith pronounced the benediction as follows:

"This principal corner stone, in representation of the First Presidency, is now duly laid in honor of the Great God; and may it there remain until the whole fabric is completed; and may the same be accomplished speedily; that the Saints may have a place to worship God, and the Son of Man have where to lay his head.

"President Sidney Rigdon then pronounced the following:

"May the persons employed in the erection of this house be preserved from all harm while engaged in its construction, till the whole is completed, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Even so. Amen.

"The meeting was then adjourned for one hour.

"The Saints assembled according to adjournment, and proceeded to lay the remaining corner stones, according to previous order.

"The second (S. W. corner) stone, by the direction of the President of the High Priesthood, with his Council and President Marks, was lowered to its place, when the President of the High Priesthood pronounced the following:

"The second corner stone of the Temple now building by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in honor to the Great God, is duly laid, and may the same unanimity, that has been manifested on this occasion, continue till the whole is completed; that peace may rest upon it to the laying of the top stone thereof, and the turning of the key thereof; that the Saints may participate in the blessings of Israel's God, within its walls, and the glory of God rest upon the same. Amen.

"The third (N. W. corner) stone, superintended by the High Council, was then lowered to its place, with the benediction of Elias Higbee, as follows:

"The third corner stone is now duly laid: may this stone be a firm support to the building, that the whole may be completed as before purposed.

"The fourth (N. E. corner) stone, superintended by the Bishops, was then lowered to its place, and Bishop N. K. Whitney pronounced the following:

"The fourth and last corner stone, expressive of the Lesser Priesthood, is now duly laid; and may the blessings before pronounced, with all others desirable, rest upon the same for ever. Amen.

"The services were then declared closed, and the military retired to the parade ground, and were dismissed with the approbation and thanks of the commanding officers. The military band, under the command of Captain Duzette, made a conspicuous and dignified appearance, and performed their part honorably. Their soul-stirring strains met harmoniously the rising emotions that swelled each bosom, and stimulated us onward to the arduous, but pleasing and honorable duties of the day. The choir also, under the direction of B. S. Wilber, deserve commendation. \* \* \*

"In conclusion we will say, we never witnessed a more imposing spectacle than was presented on this



occasion, and during the session of conference. Such an almost countless multitude of people, moving in harmony, in friendship, in dignity, told with a voice not easily misunderstood, that they were a people of intelligence and virtue, and order; in short, that they were *Saints*; and that the God of love, purity and light was their God, their exemplar and director; and that they were blessed and happy."

In speaking upon the proper order of laying corner stones of Temples, Joseph said on the same occasion:

"If the strict order of the Priesthood were carried out, in the building of Temples, the first stone will be laid at the southeast corner, by the First Presidency of the Church. The southwest corner should be laid next. The third or northwest corner next; and the fourth or northeast corner the last. The First Presidency should lay the southeast corner stone, and dictate who are the proper persons to lay the other corner stones.

"If a Temple is built at a distance, and the First Presidency are not present, then the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles are the persons to dictate the order for that Temple; and in the absence of the Twelve Apostles, then the Presidency of the Stake will lay the southeast corner stone; the Melchisedec Priesthood laying the corner stones on the east side of the Temple, and the Lesser Priesthood those on the west side."

After the corner stones were laid and the conference was over, the work upon the Temple seemed to progress more rapidly. There were about eighteen stone-cutters engaged to dress the rock for the building. Up to that time the work performed was nearly all done by tenth days' labor. But after that the Saints began to bring in some provisions, property and money; and the committee was enabled to employ a number of stone-cutters and keep them constantly at work. The tithing la-

bor also increased through the continued immigration of Saints from abroad.

When the winter season set in toward the close of the year 1841, the walls on the south side were built up to the water table, a part of which also was laid. On the north side the walls were only about two feet high. In this state the structure remained until the spring of 1842.

During all this time there had been no general tithing record opened. The money and other property contributed had all been paid over to the committee, and receipts were issued to the several donors. Elias Higbee kept the books and work accounts, and generally wrote the receipts for tithing, all of which occupied nearly the whole of his time. Elders Cahoon and Cutler hired the laborers, superintended the work and kept an oversight of the entire business.

Sept. 25, 1841, Elders Alpheus Cutler and Peter Haws started for the pine country to obtain lumber for the Temple and Nauvoo House. They took with them Tarlton Lewis, Jabez Durfee, Hardin Wilson, Wm. L. Cutler, Horace Owens, Octavius Pauket, Blakely B. Anderson, James M. Flack, Nathaniel Child, Brother Child's wife and daughter, and Peter W. Conover. These brethren spent the winter in the pine forests, and toiled diligently in their appointed work. They suffered some because of the cold in that northern region, but they made good progress. By the following July, they had succeeded in making up and bringing to Nauvoo a large raft of first-rate pine timber. By this means the prospect of the work was much brightened.

Dec. 13, 1841, the Prophet Joseph appointed Apostle Willard Richards to be recorder for the Temple and scribe for the private office of the President. The recorder opened his office in the counting room of President Smith's new brick store on Water Street, and he immediately began to record the tithings on the "Book of the Law of the Lord," page 27. The first record was made under date of Dec. 1, 1841. It was one gold sovereign, valued at \$5.00, to the credit of John Sanders, late from Cumberland, on the borders of Scotland, Europe.

A few months previous to this (Jan. 30, 1841), Joseph had been appointed "Sole trustee-in-trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints;" and, consequently, it became his prerogative to receive all the donations for the Church and the Temple. Late in the evening of Dec. 11, 1841, the trustee-in-trust instructed Brigham Young, President of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, to visit the members of the building committee and inform them more fully regarding their duties—to notify them not to accept any more tithes and consecrations, except such as were received from him. On the morning of the 13th, this message was delivered by Brigham to the committee, in the presence of Elders Kimball, Woodruff and Willard Richards.

When this order was understood by the Saints, the business of the recorder (Willard Richards) increased rapidly, and having many important matters crowding upon him, he found it necessary to appoint Saturday of each week as the time for receiving and recording the tithings of the brethren. He published a notice

under date of Jan. 12, 1842, informing the Saints of this regulation; and it was subsequently carried into effect. But the business increased so rapidly that he could not keep pace with the work. He therefore counseled with his brethren of the Twelve; and, having received permission from President Smith, he called Elder William Clayton, who had lately arrived from England, to assist him. Elder Clayton accordingly entered the recorder's office Feb. 10, 1842, and continued therein from that time forward.

In the revelation given Jan. 19, 1841, the Lord says:

"For there is not a place found on earth that He may come and restore again that which was lost unto you, or which He hath taken away, even the fullness of the Priesthood.

"For a baptismal font there is not upon the earth, that they, my Saints, may be baptized for those who are dead.

"For this ordinance belongeth to my house, and cannot be acceptable to me, only in the days of your poverty, wherein ye are not able to build a house unto me.

"But I command you, all ye my Saints, to build a house unto me; and I grant unto you a sufficient time to build a house unto me, and during this time your baptisms shall be acceptable unto me." (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 124, Verses 28, 29, 30 and 31.)

In the summer and fall of the year 1841, in conformity with the foregoing item of law, the brethren entered into measures to build a baptismal font in the cellar floor near the east end of the Temple. President Smith approved and accepted a draft for the font, made by Brother Wm. Weeks; and on August 18, 1841, Elder Weeks began to labor on the construction of the font with his own hands. He labored six days and then committed the work to the carpenters. August 11th Brother Weeks began carving the oxen, twelve in number, upon which the

font was to stand. After carving for six days, he consigned this branch to Brother Elijah Fordham, the principal carver, who continued until they were finished.

Nov. 8, 1841, at 5 o'clock in the evening, the font was dedicated by Joseph Smith. "The baptismal font," writes the Prophet, "is situated in the centre of the basement room, under the main hall of the Temple; it is constructed of pine timber, and put together of staves tongued and grooved, oval shaped, sixteen feet long east and west, and twelve feet wide, seven feet high from the foundation, the basin four feet deep. The moulding of the cap and base are formed of beautiful carved work in antique style. The sides are finished with panel work. A flight of stairs in the north and south sides, leading up and down into the basin, is guarded by side railing. The font stands upon twelve oxen, four on each side, and two at each end, their head, shoulders, and fore legs projecting out from under the font; they are carved out of pine plank, glued together, and copied after the most beautiful five-year-old steer that could be found in the country. \* \* \* The oxen and ornamental mouldings of the font were carved by Elder Elijah Fordham, from New York City. The font was enclosed by a temporary frame building sided up with split oak clapboards, with a roof of the same material, and was so low that the timbers of the first story were laid above it. The water was supplied from a well thirty feet deep in the east end of the basement. This font was built for the baptisms for the dead until the Temple shall be finished, when a more durable one will supply its place."

Elder Wm. Clayton writes:

"After the dedication of the font Reuben McBride was the first person baptized, under the direction of the President. Brother Samuel Rolfe, who was seriously afflicted with a felon upon one of his hands, was present. President Smith instructed him to wash in the font and told him that the hand would be healed. The doctors had told him that he could not recover before spring, and had advised him to have his hand cut. He dipped his hand in the font, and within a week he was perfectly healed.

"After this time baptisms were continued in the font, and many Saints realized great blessings—both spiritually and bodily.

"I will here state that on Sept. 25, 1841, a deposit was made in the southeast corner stone of the Temple.

"It was late in the spring of 1842, when work was opened upon the walls, and little was done until Brother William W. Player came in June. He had just arrived from England, and had come with the full intention of working on the Temple. Commencing to labor about the 8th of June, he spent some time in regulating the stone work already set which had not been done very well. About the 11th of the same month he set the first plinth on the southwest corner of the south side. During the summer he lost two weeks of work, having to wait for Elder Cahoon's sons' plinths, which they were cutting, they playing in the stone shop much of their time.

"The work progressed but slowly during this season, as there was but one crane; but the delay arose through the stones not being cut fast enough. By the fall, however, Brother Player had got all the rock-work laid around as high as the window sills, together with all the window sills, including that of the large east Venetian window. He had also two courses of pilaster stones on the plinths all around.

"During the greater part of the time in the fall, and especially toward the season when the work ceased, and winter set in. Brother Player was very sick. He nearly lost the use of his hands and feet, and several times he fell, through weakness, while on his way home. He considered that his sickness was caused by the change of climate, and by his having drunk bad water while coming up the river."

Willard Richards, the recorder, having in the early part of June, 1842, obtained permission from the President to go to the East to get

his family, made preparations to depart upon this journey. June 29th he transferred the "Law of the Lord" and books belonging to the Temple to the care and charge of William Clayton. One or two days later Elder Richards started away.

About 9 o'clock on the evening of Saturday, Sept. 3rd, President Smith was at Bishop N. K. Whitney's house, but was about to leave that place to go to Edward Hunter's. He called William Clayton to him and said: "Brother Clayton, I want you to take care of the records and papers; and from this time I appoint you Temple recorder; and when revelations are to be transcribed, you shall write them."

This was done because Elder Richards had more work than he could attend to, he being engaged upon the Church History, which the President was anxious should progress as fast as possible.

"While President Smith was concealed at the house of Father Taylor," writes Elder William Clayton, "Reynolds Cahoon and some other brethren went to visit him. He gave them many glorious instructions, and in his conversation requested Brother Cahoon, as soon as he should return home, to call upon the Saints to put a temporary floor in the Temple, that we might be enabled to hold our meetings within its sacred walls.

"Accordingly, on Sunday, Oct. 23, 1842, the committee laid before the Saints the President's request and called upon them to begin work on the morrow to accomplish this object. The following day the brethren began their labor on this temporary floor; and on Friday, the 28th, the floor was laid and seats were fixed ready for meeting.

"On Sunday, the 30th, the Saints held the first meeting in the Temple, and were addressed by Elder John Taylor, one of the Twelve Apostles. It was expected that the President would be there himself; but he was sick and unable to attend.

"This movement added a new stimulus to the work; and the hearts of all the Saints seemed to be filled with joy and gratitude for this privilege.

"The Prophet, before he went up the river, had called upon the members of the Temple Committee to come together to have a settlement. On Saturday, Oct. 1st, they met at the President's house, he being sick. The recorder and Bishop N. K. Whitney were present. Some reports had been circulated to the effect that the committee was not making a righteous disposition of property consecrated to the building of the Temple, and there appeared to be some dissatisfaction among the laborers on account of these reports. After carefully examining the books and making inquiry into the entire proceeding of the committee, President Smith expressed himself as being perfectly satisfied with the committee and its work.

"The books were balanced between the trustee-in-trust and the committee, and also each individual account was carefully examined. The wages of the trustee-in-trust, the members of the committee and the recorder were also fixed by the President; and it was agreed that each should receive \$2 per day for his services.

"The President remarked that he was amenable to the State for the faithful discharge of his duties as trustee-in-trust, and that the Temple

Committee was accountable to him and to no other authority; and that no notice must be taken of any complaint unless it was properly brought to him, when he would make things right if any change were needed.

"The parties separated perfectly satisfied, and the President said that he would have a notice published, stating that he had examined the accounts and was satisfied. This notice appeared in the *Times and Seasons* of Oct. 15, 1842.

"At this counsel it was also agreed that the recorder's office should be removed to the Committee House near the Temple for the better accommodation of the business. Accordingly, the committee built a small brick office for the recorder; and on Wednesday, Nov. 2, 1842, the recorder moved his records, books, paper, etc., to the new office and began business there forthwith.

"Brother James Whitehead was called into the office June 11, 1842, to assist in keeping the books; and from this time forward the business continued to increase and contributions came in plentifully.

"After the work ceased upon the walls of the Temple, in the fall of 1842, the rock-cutters continued their labor with the intention of having a goodly number of the stones ready for the spring.

"Some time in the month of November, a feeling against the committee arose among the stone-cutters, who finally presented a charge to the First Presidency against Elders Cahoon and Higbee for oppressive and unchristianlike conduct, and against the committee for an unequal distribution of provisions, iron, steel, tools, etc.; also alleging that favors were shown by the committee

to the sons of its members. The trial began about 11 o'clock in the day and continued until 9 at night. Henry G. Sherwood made a plea on the side of justice, and the Patriarch Hyrum on the side of mercy. The decision was given by the President. He decided that the members of the committee should retain their standing and gave much good instruction to all parties, correcting the errors of each in kindness. The decision was marked by judgment and wisdom and cannot fail to produce a good effect.

"On Sunday, May 21, 1843, President Smith preached in the Temple.

\* \* \* In the afternoon of that day the ordinance of partaking of bread and water, as the sacrament, was administered to the Saints for the first time in this Temple.

"The work on the building was delayed considerably this spring on account of the necessity for fixing runways for the crane. Brother Player had been sick during the entire winter, and he continued in a very feeble state until the time when he commenced again to lay the stone on the walls, which was on April 21, 1843. From this time the work progressed steadily but slowly. There was no other hindrance until the next winter set in, which was rather early, and at which time the walls were up as high as the arches of the first tier of windows all around. In this state the building was left through the winter and until the spring of 1844.

"Early in the morning of June 8, 1843, Elder Elias Higbee, one of the Temple committee, died after an illness of only five days. His death was unexpected and deeply lamented by all his brethren. He had proved

himself a worthy man, and was much respected by all who knew him.

"After this event several applications were made by men to be appointed to fill the vacant place of Elder Higbee. Elder Jared Carter was very anxious to have the appointment, and, for some cause or other, claimed it as his right. But the Spirit whispered that it would not be wisdom to appoint him. After some delay and consultation on the subject, the Patriarch Hyrum Smith was appointed by the trustee-in-trust, with the consent of the other members of the committee; and on the morning of Oct. 28, 1843, he entered upon the duties of his office, amidst the greetings and good feelings of the workers universally.

"Oct. 6, 1843, the special conference was held in the Temple. This was the first time a conference was held in the building. \* \* \*

"On this occasion the President proposed to the people to place under bonds all agents who were sent out to collect funds for the Temple and Nauvoo House. He showed that some of the Elders, when they were away, received contributions to the Temple; but as they sometimes devoted a portion of the money in other channels, they did not make proper returns at Nauvoo and the accounts did not, therefore, accurately balance. He stated that the Twelve Apostles were now about to go East to raise means for the Temple and also for the Nauvoo House. He suggested that they give bonds to the amount of \$2,000 each; and that this rule be enforced upon all the Elders from this time forward. An action was taken by the conference and it was decided by unanimous vote to carry this proposition

into effect. The Twelve gave bonds in the required amount previous to their going East, which bonds were filed in the office of the trustee-in-trust.

"Thus the Twelve were the first agents who were ever placed under bonds, when sent to collect funds for the Church. The wisdom of this order was soon manifest; for, although it was well understood and universally believed that the Twelve would invariably make correct returns, there were others who might not be so careful or scrupulous. And, inasmuch as members of this first quorum were required to give bonds, no other man could justly complain if he were brought under the same rule.

"At this conference the Saints again voted to renew their exertions and double their diligence in order that the Temple might be speedily finished. \* \* \*

"Some time in the winter or spring of the year 1844, Patriarch Hyrum Smith made a proclamation to the women of the Church, asking them to subscribe in money one cent each per week, for the purpose of buying the glass and nails for the Temple. He represented to them that by this means he would be able to meet all the requirements in this regard. He also gave a promise that all the sisters who would comply with this call should have the first privilege of seats in the Temple when it was finished. He opened a record of these contributions, which he kept, with the aid of Sister Mercy R. Thompson, until his death. Afterwards Brother Cutler was appointed to receive these offerings, assisted by Sister Thompson. There was soon a great anxiety manifest among the

sisters to pay their portion, and nearly all paid a year's subscription in advance. Since that time many have given the donation for the second year; and there has been already realized nearly \$2,000, which will do much towards accomplishing the desired object. These contributions yet continue to come in each day.

"Early in the spring of 1844, the committee commenced the construction of a second crane, in order to expedite the work, the labor having all been performed with but one crane up to this time. During the month of March the new crane was rigged, and immediately after the April conference (April 11th) Brother Player again began work on the walls."

During the excitement incident to the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, the work on the Temple ceased for two weeks, all the hands having to watch and stand on guard night and day. The work was suspended about June 20, 1844. On the second Sabbath after the murder (July 7th) the subject of the Temple was brought into consideration, and the Church voted to commence work again and finish the building as speedily as possible.

Consequently, on July 8, 1844, the laborers resumed their work, although the committee had not so much as a bushel of meal, nor a pound of flour, nor a pound of meat to feed the hands with; but the Saints seemed determined to go to work and trust in God for the means.

A few days previous (July 5th) a large raft of pine lumber, containing 87,732 feet, was landed at Nauvoo for the Temple. The brethren turned out liberally with their teams to haul it to the Temple, where it was se-

cured in a few days. Shortly afterwards another raft, containing 67,952 feet of lumber, was received and hauled to the Temple.

About the middle of July, 1844, the sisters of the branches of La Harpe and Macedonia sent word to the Temple committee and stated their anxiety to see the building progress still more rapidly. They proposed if the committee would build another crane, they would furnish the means to build it with, and seemed wishful to go ahead with it immediately. The committee and recorder counseled on the subject, and it was decided to comply with the wishes of the sisters. Sister Clark, wife of Raymond Clark, was authorized to collect the contributions. She immediately started, and returned on the 29th with money and other property, amounting in the whole to \$194, which was more than sufficient to build a new crane.

The committee immediately set the carpenters to work, and on the 3rd of August the crane was put in operation under the management of Joshua Armstrong, the setter, and Horace Owens to back up, and W. W. Dryer, Wm. Austin and Archibald Hill to attend to the crane.

They commenced work on the north side and very soon satisfied the Saints of the utility of the movement. The works now progressed rapidly.

After the return of the Twelve Apostles to Nauvoo in August, 1844, and their acceptance by the Saints as the presiding quorum of the Church, the Saints were more united and better feelings prevailed. The work on the Temple moved on with astonishing rapidity, and on Sept. 23, 1844, the first capital was put

up. The stone weighed about two tons, and when it was at its height, and the men were attempting to draw it to the wall, the crane gave way at the foot of the wing or angle, which circumstance caused considerable danger. By great care the stone was safely landed and set without any further accident.

"On Wednesday, Sept. 25th," writes Wm. Clayton, "as the brethren were beginning to raise one of the capitals, having neglected to fasten the guys, the crane fell over with a tremendous crash, breaking it considerably. As soon as it was perceived that the crane was falling, the hands fled to get out of the way. One of the brethren, Thomas Jaap, running directly in the course of the falling crane, barely escaped being killed. The crane struck the ground and was within a foot of striking his head. This circumstance hindered the workmen some; but in a few days the crane was mended and reared, and the brethren again went to work on it.

"About this time, Ira T. Miles came down from Lyman Wight's company, who were then in the north, having left the city, as was supposed, through cowardice, as they expected we should be routed and the city destroyed. About the same time, Jacob Morris came down from the same company and stated that Miles had come with the intention of setting fire to the lumber, that the building might be hindered, as Lyman Wight had said the Temple never would be built.

"Whether this was the intention of Brother Miles or not, we could not learn satisfactorily. However, enough was known to induce the authorities of the Church to advise the

committee to have some of the old police guard the lumber and the Temple night and day. \* \* \*

There has since that been many threats thrown out from the Rigdonites and other sources that the Temple never should be built, and no doubt an attempt would have been made to set fire to it, if it had not been well guarded all the time.

"The workmen continued raising the capitals until December, 1844, when, on the 6th of that month, the last one was safely deposited in its place; which was a source of great joy to the Saints. Many fears had been entertained that Brother Player would not be able to finish them before winter set in, but it seemed as though the Lord held up the weather until this important piece of work was accomplished. About two hours after the capital was set, it commenced snowing very briskly, and at night the ground was covered about four inches, and it froze very keenly.

"There were then twelve of the capitals without the trumpet stones; and they remained in this state until the following spring. The cost of each of the capitals was about \$300. The first and last of the capitals were cut by Charles Lambert and Harvey Stanley.

"I will further say that when the hands were raising the last capital, and had got it about half way up, one of the block shives in the tackle broke and rendered it impossible in the situation either to raise or lower the stone. This circumstance presented a great difficulty, but after some consultation the hands fastened the rope below the tackle, so that it could not slip, and left the stone suspended while they



took down the blocks, put in a new shive and fixed the blocks again. The stone was then raised without further difficulty, and was set precisely at 20 minutes before 1 o'clock. This was the heaviest stone among the whole number.

"When the Twelve returned home, after the death of President Joseph Smith and Patriarch Hyrum Smith, they held a council and appointed Newel K. Whitney and George Miller, the two presiding Bishops, trustees-in-trust. This was done on the 9th of August; and a few days afterwards, the trustees entered upon the duties of their office.

"In the early part of December (1844) the trustees and Twelve held a council to talk on the propriety of employing a suitable number of carpenters this winter to prepare the timber works for the Temple, so as to have it all ready when the stone work was finished. It was decided to employ fifteen persons as steady carpenters; and the architect was authorized to select such men as he had confidence in—men who were well qualified to do the work that was wanted. It was also concluded to fix up a shop in the Temple for the carpenters to work in. Accordingly the south side of the lower story of the Temple was weather-boarded around. A very good shop was made by this means, which was completed on the following Saturday; and on Monday, the 16th, the men selected went to work in their new shop. Their names were as follows: Truman O. Angell, William Felshaw, William F. Cahoon, Joseph T. Schofield, Samuel Rolfe, Zimri H. Baxter, Adison Everett, John Stiles, Hugh Riding, Miles Romney, Jabez Durfee. Stephen Longstroth, Benja-

min Rolfe, Nicholas T. Silcock and William Carmichael. Hiram Mace, Wandel Mace and Gideon Gibbs were appointed to attend the saw-mill and Daniel Avery to turn grind-stone for the carpenters, keep the shop clean and take care of strangers who might visit the building.

"During the early part of January, 1845, the High Priests' quorum entered into an investigation of the propriety of building a hall for their accommodation. On the 26th, President Young and some others of the quorum of the Twelve attended the meeting of the quorum, when the subject was again discussed. President Young made some remarks on the subject and concluded by advising them, instead of building a hall, to go to work and finish the upper room of the Temple, and by this means they would soon have a room to attend to the ordinances and save much expense. A vote was taken on accepting President Young's proposition, which was carried without a dissenting voice. The brethren immediately commenced bringing in their donations to the Bishops for that purpose. This matter served as a new stimulus among the Saints to use every exertion to finish the Temple as speedily as possible.

"On Wednesday, March 12th, Brother William W. Player commenced work again on the walls. He got one stone up just as the bell rung for dinner.

"On Friday, the 14th, there was a man killed on the stone quarry by a stone falling on his head while the brethren were blasting rocks. This is the only accident of any moment that has ever happened on the Temple or any of the works connected with it.

"On Thursday, March 27, 1845, Brother Player put up the last trumpet stone, at about 3 o'clock, p. m. He also laid the first stringer for the large upper Venetian window in the east side.

"Monday, April 21, 1845, Brother Player put up the first star in the architrave. \* \* \* At precisely a quarter before 3 o'clock it was properly set in its place; and the instant it was set, Brothers Edward Miller and Elisha Everett sprung for the top; but Brother Miller being a little the smartest he was on first and stood erect, viewing with pride the surrounding scenery. After he got down Brother Everett also mounted the stone and stood on it for some time. The top of the star is 55 feet above the ground. The first star was put up on Joseph's corner, being the first one north of the southeast corner.

"On the morning of Tuesday, April 29, 1845, the first upper circular window was finished setting by Brother Player. On Friday, May 16th, Brother Player set the last star on the west end, and the second one from the southwest corner. It was set exactly at 3 o'clock p. m. At this time the carpenters were very busy raising the timbers for the upper floor of the building. \* \* \*

"On Monday, May 19th, while I was sitting on the Temple, Brother Stephen H. Goddard met with an accident, which was very near proving fatal. He was standing on the wall on the north side of the Temple, assisting some others to take down one of the scaffolding poles. By some accident the foot of the pole slipped and struck him on the left side of the head. He fell head foremost, being stunned by the blow.

Fortunately they had just got two joists in the floor and he fell across them, which prevented him from going down into the cellar, a distance of about 62 feet. And in all probability, if he had fallen down, he would have been killed. The brethren raised him up, and on examination found that he had received a cut on the upper corner of his left eye. His face was also much bruised and he bled profusely. I laid hands on him with two other brethren and he went home. He suffered considerable pain until evening, when it ceased, and in two days afterwards he was at work again as usual.

"On Friday, the 23rd, all the stone on the outside of the wall was laid, except the southeast corner stone. This progress was a great rejoicing to the Saints.

"The Rigdonites have prophesied that the walls would never be built; but through the blessing of God we have lived to see the prediction come to naught.

"On Saturday, May 24, 1845, at a quarter before 6 o'clock a. m., was the time appointed for the laying of the capstone of the Temple. Quite a number of the Saints had assembled to witness the interesting ceremony. There were present, of the quorum of the Twelve: President Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Willard Richards, Amasa M. Lyman, George A. Smith, John E. Page, Orson Hyde and Orson Pratt; also Newel K. Whitney and George Miller, trustees-in-trust; Alpheus Cutler and Raymond Cahoon, building committee; Wm. Clayton, Temple recorder; John Smith, Patriarch and President of the Stake, and Charles C. Rich, his Counselor. Of the High Council

Wm. Huntington, sen., Aaron Johnson, Geo W. Harris, James Allred and David Fullmer were present; also Wm. Weeks, architect, and Wm. W. Phelps.

"A few minutes before 6 o'clock the band came up and arranged themselves on the platform in a circle a little back from the corner. The names of the members of the band who were present were: Wm. Pitt, leader; Stephen Hales, Wm. F. Cahoon, Robert T. Burton, John Kay, James Smithies, Daniel F. Cahoon, Andrew Cahoon, Charles H. Hales, Martin H. Peck, J. T. Hutchinson, James Standing, Wm. D. Huntington, Charles Smith and Charles C. Robbins; also William H. Kimball, color bearer.

"At 6 o'clock the band played 'The Nightingale,' and afterwards, while the people were collecting, they played another tune. At 8 minutes after 6 o'clock, Brother Wm. W. Player commenced spreading his mortar, perfect silence prevailing,

"President Young stood on the wall immediately north of the corner-stone, with Elder Heber C. Kimball on his right hand.

"When the mortar was spread, the stone was lifted to its place by President Brigham Young, Wm. W. Player, Tarlton Lewis, Elisha Everett, John Hill, Edward Miller, Chas. W. Patten, Samuel Hodge, Hans C. Hansen and Thos. Jaap.

"President Young then stepped on the stone, and taking a large peatle began beating it to its place. He finished laying the stone with the assistance and direction of Brother Player precisely at 22 minutes after 6 o'clock.

"The band struck up the 'Cap-

stone March,' composed and arranged by Wm. Pitt, the leader, for the occasion; after which President Young spoke to the congregation, instructing them with regard to shouting the 'Hosannah,' and then said:

" 'The last stone is laid upon the Temple, and I pray the Almighty in the name of Jesus to defend us in this place, and sustain us until the Temple is finished and have all got our endowments.'

"The whole congregation then, following the motion of President Young, shouted as loud as possible: 'Hosannah! hosannah! hosannah! to God and the Lamb! Amen! Amen! and Amen!' This was repeated a second and third time.

"The President concluded by saying:

" 'So let it be, thou Lord Almighty!'

He continued and said:

" 'This is the seventh day of the week, or the Jewish Sabbath. It is the day on which the Almighty finished His work and rested from His labors. We have now finished the walls of the Temple, and we may rest to-day from our labors.'

He said he would take it upon him to dismiss the workmen for the day; and requested the people to hallow the day and spend it giving thanks to God.

"He then dismissed the congregation, and in company with the brethren of the Twelve retired to the place of their retreat, where they could be safe from arrest by constables and other officers who were prowling around the city from Carthage.

"The people began to move away, but the band continued playing. John Kay also went on the corner stone and sang a song composed by Elder Wm. W. Phelps, entitled, 'The Capstone Song.' The morning was very cold and chilly. The Saints seemed highly interested and

pleased with the morning's performance. According to the request of President Young all works were suspended and the day was kept as a holiday. On May 28th, 1845, the first 'bent' of the attic story of the Temple was raised by the carpenters, and up to this time they continued to raise the timber works with pleasing rapidity.

"Thus the work of this Temple has progressed from the beginning to the present time without any serious accident except in the incident which happened at the stone quarry. The blessing of God has attended the whole progress of the work, and it has advanced beyond our most sanguine expectations. Our enemies have threatened all the time, and for the last two years we have had very little cessation from writs and other efforts of the enemy to prevent our finishing it. Many prophecies have been uttered against it; but the Saints have invariably pursued a steady course of perseverance. As the building has progressed, the Saints have increased their donations and tithings, and this spring (1845) has exceeded all past times for liberality and donations from the brethren."

Early in the fall of 1845 the steeple and tower of the Temple were completed and preparations made to hold the October conference in the building. So great was the anxiety to complete it that it was decided that all the carpenters that could be obtained should be put to work at it immediately, while others should gather the harvest and attend to other labors. Under date of Aug-21, 1845, President Young wrote from Nauvoo to Wilford Woodruff in England:

"The Temple is up, the shingles all on, the tower raised, and nearly ready to put the dome up. The joiners are now at work finishing off the inside."

In the beginning of October, 1845, the Temple was so far completed that meetings could be held in it. The first meeting held within its walls (Oct. 5, 1845) was attended by 5,000 people. The building had by this time been entirely inclosed. The windows were in, temporary floors laid and pulpits and seats arranged to accommodate several thousand persons. On that day the Temple, so far as completed, was dedicated to the Lord as "a monument of the Saints' liberality, fidelity and faith." On the following three days the general conference was held in the Temple, which was the only general conference ever held within the walls of that building.

After this conference work was resumed on the Temple, and it progressed so far that the attic story was plastered and ready for use on the 30th of November following, on which day that part of the building was dedicated. During the month of December, 1845, and January, 1846, a large number of Saints received their endowments in the Temple. On the 9th of February the roof of the building was discovered to be on fire, the stovepipe having ignited it. The alarm was immediately given, the citizens rallied to the scene and the fire was extinguished in about half an hour, having done but little damage.

The exodus from Nauvoo was commenced in February, 1846, but that did not have the effect of stopping the work on the Temple. When President Young and others of the Twelve started for the West, Orson Hyde was left to take charge of the

Temple and administer to the Saints in Nauvoo.

In the evening of April 30, 1846, the Temple was privately dedicated. Elders Orson Hyde, Wilford Woodruff, John, Joseph and Phineas H. Young, John M. Bernhisel, Joseph L. Heywood and several others were present; Elder Joseph Young offered up the dedicatory prayer. On the next day (May 1st) the Temple was publicly dedicated by Elder Orson Hyde, Elders Wilford Woodruff, A. W. Babbitt and Joseph A. Stratton being present and taking part in the services.

This much accomplished the Saints were contented, having fulfilled the commandment to build the holy edifice, and immediately after all who were able to do so crossed the Mississippi River and followed their predecessors in the exodus.

The Nauvoo Temple was built of light grey limestone, nearly as hard as marble. It was 128 feet long, 88 feet wide and 65 feet from floor to roof. From the ground to the top of the spire was 165 feet. It had 30 hewn pilasters—six at each end and nine at each side—which cost about \$3,000 each. The base of the pilasters were crescent new moons, and the capitals, nearly 50 feet high, were suns with human faces in bold relief, 2½ feet broad, and ornamented with rays of light and waves, the whole surmounted by two hands holding trumpets. There were two stories in the clear, and two and one half stories in the recesses over the arches, four tiers of windows, two gothic and two round. The baptismal font, supported on twelve carved oxen, was in the basement story, and with the oxen, was intended to be gilded with gold. On the west

front of the building was inscribed in golden letters:

THE HOUSE OF THE LORD:  
BUILT BY THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST  
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.  
HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

The amount expended by the Saints on this building exceeded \$1,000,000.

After the famous battle of Nauvoo in September, 1846, the Temple was taken possession of by the mob, who immediately set to work defacing it in various ways, and desecrating it by their hideous oaths and dreadful blasphemies.

Nov. 19, 1848, the Temple was fired by an incendiary. The fire when first discovered about 3 o'clock in the morning was bursting out through the spire near the small door that opened from the east side to the roof on the main building. When first seen the destroying element had taken such hold of the timbers and roof as to make useless any effort to extinguish it. The materials of the inside were so dry and the fire spread so rapidly, that a few minutes were sufficient to wrap the famed edifice in a sheet of flames.

In the History of Hancock County the following appears concerning the burning of the Temple:

"It was a beautiful night, and about 3 o'clock (in the morning) fire was discovered in the cupola. It had made but little headway when first seen, but spread rapidly, and in a very short period the lofty spire was a mass of flame, shooting high in the air, and illuminating a wide extent of country. It was seen for miles away. The citizens gathered around, but nothing could be done to save the structure. It was entirely of wood except the walls, and nothing could have stopped the progress of the flames. In two hours, and before the sun dawned upon the earth, the proud structure, reared at so much cost—an anomaly in architecture, and a monument of religious zeal—stood with four blackened and smoking walls only re-

maining. If any party or parties had been contemplating the purchase of the Temple, for any purpose, its destruction, of course, put an end to the scheme."

Elder George A. Smith and Erastus Snow, who visited Nauvoo about eight years afterwards, learned from Lewis A. Bidamon, landlord of the Nauvoo Mansion, that the inhabitants of Warsaw, Carthage, Pontiosuc and surrounding settlements, jealous of Nauvoo and fearing that it would still retain its superior importance as a town, and the "Mormons" therefore might be induced to return, contributed a purse of \$500 which they gave to one Joseph Agnew for burning the Temple, and that he was the wretch who set the building on fire. Mr. Bidamon added that the burning of the Temple did have the effect to diminish the importance of Nauvoo, for his hotel did not have one fourth the custom after the conflagration that it had previously.

Soon after the burning of the Temple the ruins were bought by the Icarians who set to work repairing the building with a view to making it an institution of learning, but while thus engaged a tornado blew down the north wall. The *Hancock Patriot*, a newspaper published at Nauvoo at that time, says in this connection:

"The dreadful tornado of May 27th (1850) which invaded the city of Nauvoo and neighboring places has been for us Icarians (little accustomed to such revolutions in the atmosphere) a spectacle of frightful sublimity, and also a source of mortal anguish, on account of the disasters and catastrophes which have resulted from it, to the inhabitants of this county and to us.

"The Temple, which we were preparing so actively and resolutely to rebuild—the Temple which we hoped to cover this year, and in which we were to settle our refectories, our halls of reunion and our schools—

that gigantic monument has become the first victim of the tornado.

"How many projects are buried under those heaps of rubbish! How much outlay and days of hard labor has been lost to us! It was for that magnificent edifice to again give a soul to that great body, that one of our agents in the north pinneries has just bought all the great beams necessary for its rebuilding; it is for it that we were adding a saw-machine to the mill, and establishing a vast shed to shelter our laborers; in a word, it was for it that all our efforts and strength have been employed; and now one gale of the tempest brings to naught all our endeavors—has violently ended what incendiary had begun in November, 1848, and what *union fraternity* tried to repair in 1850. We resign without murmuring to that catastrophe.

"There now remains nothing of the gigantic work of the Mormons, except the west face, strongly united by its sides to another wall in the interior part and surmounted by an arch; between the two walls at the north and south are the two towers or seat of the staircases."

After this no further attempt was made to rebuild the Temple, but the remaining portions of the walls were gradually taken down and the rock hauled away to be used for the construction of other buildings, both in and outside of Nauvoo. Subsequently some of the rock were shipped a great distance—it is said to almost every State in the Union—and some choice blocks have even been shipped to Europe, where they at present adorn the palaces of noblemen or are preserved as relics. But for many years there has not been one stone left upon another to mark the place where once stood the noble edifice—the second Temple reared by the Saints of God in this generation. The ground upon which it stood is now owned by C. W. Reimbold, a German, who keeps a little store near the old site. There are ten other buildings on the Temple Block, four of which were built by the Icarians.

## THE SHIP "BROOKLYN."

In November, 1845, Orson Pratt, who presided over the branches of the Church in the Eastern and Middle States, issued his farewell message to the Saints in those parts, prior to taking his departure for Nauvoo to join the Saints in their removal westward. It had been decided that the *Messenger*, a paper published in New York in the interest of the Church, by Samuel Brannan, should suspend publication, and that the editor should charter a vessel and take his press and fixtures, as also a company of Saints from the Eastern branches, by way of Cape Horn, to California, as the distance to travel from that point to their probable destination in the Rocky Mountains, it was thought, would not be so great, and the trip would be attended with much less expense. At the same time those who had sufficient means to buy for themselves teams and outfit were advised to make their way to Nauvoo, to join the Saints there and journey westward.

In compliance with these instructions Samuel Brannan chartered the ship *Brooklyn*, Captain Richardson, and small companies of Saints from the New York and Massachusetts branches of the Church began to gather in New York City, awaiting the date of departure from the United States to California. Upon arriving at New York they were directed to a certain boarding house where friends were already waiting. "One by one," writes Augusta Joyce Crocheron, one of the passengers who made the voyage in the *Brooklyn*, "the tardy emigrants arrived; the full number was entered, the luggage was transferred to the ship and they left the bustling thoroughfares of the great city and crowded into the stuffy little staterooms for the long journey 'around the Horn' in the old, almost worn out sailing vessel, the ship *Brooklyn*. \* \* \*

"The *Brooklyn* had seen many a rough sea, and weathered many a

terrible storm. She was one of the old time build, and was made more for work than beauty or speed. She had done her duty well, and borne her burdens without complaint. But she was old and showed unmistakable signs of weakness and decay. Her owners couldn't part with her, not because she was attractive, but there was money to be made out of her, and if by her weakness and age she might go to the bottom with her list of passengers full, yet even the last charter or payment of passage would be better than laying her up, as useless, no matter how many souls were sent to the depths until the sea should give up its dead. Her roster was well officered, and she was well manned, but the hull was rickety, and she was chartered because she could be had cheap."

The *Brooklyn* set sail from New York Feb. 4, 1846, the same day as the actual exodus from Nauvoo, Ill., began (see page 835), with about two hundred and thirty souls on board, mostly Saints, and considerable freight, some of which was for the Sandwich Islands. The passengers started on their voyage joyfully. They took farming implements, blacksmiths, carpenters, and wheelwrights' tools, fixtures for two grist mills, saw-mill irons, a printing press, type, paper and such other things as would be needed in establishing a colony in a distant land. Sister Crocheron writes:

"The day on which we embarked was rainy, cold and gloomy. Upon the wharf lingered friends, sorrowful in the hour of parting; strangers, cynical and curious, wondering and half pitying, looked upon the old emigrant ship, having their own thoughts of this strange venture upon a long and perilous voyage, to an almost unknown country. \* \* \*

"There were two gentlemen on board, travelling for pleasure, neither of whom were Mormons. \* \* \* As for the pleasure of the trip, we met disappointment, for we once long lay becalmed in the tropics, and at another time we were

'hatched below' during a terrific storm. Women and children were at night lashed to their berths, for in no other way could they keep in. Furniture rolled back and forth endangering limb and life. The waves swept the deck and even reached the staterooms. A passenger relates that their only light was from two lamps hung outside in the hall and these were dim and wavering from the movements of the vessel. Children's voices crying in the darkness, mother's voices soothing or scolding, men's voices rising above the others, all mingled with the distressing groans and cries of the sick for help, and, above all, the roaring of the wind and howling of the tempest made a scene and feeling indescribable.

"The effect and feeling at such times were so wretched that with some of us the certainty of death would not have roused us to an effort to save life in our own behalf. And yet even there amid such scenes a few were cheerful and sought to comfort others, and those never for a moment lost belief that they would reach their journey's end. Upon one occasion, during a dreadful storm, the good old captain came down with grave countenance. The passengers gathered around him to catch his words amid the confusion of the scene. He said: 'My friends, there is a time in every man's life when it is fitting that he should prepare to die. That time has come to us, and unless God interposes, we shall all go to the bottom; I have done all in my power, but this is the worst gale I have known since I was master of a ship.' One woman, full of confidence and zeal, answered him: 'Captain Richardson, we left for California and we shall get there.' Another looked with a calm smile on her face and said: 'Captain, I have no more fear than though we were on the solid land.' The captain gazed upon them in mute surprise and left them. As he went upstairs he exclaimed, 'These people have a faith that I have not,' and added to a gentleman, 'They are either fools and fear nothing, or they know more than I do.'

"That storm passed away; and we encountered another off Cape Horn, in which one of the sailors was washed overboard. It was also during a storm that Mrs. Laura Goodwin was descending a stairway when she was thrown heavily forward, which caused premature confinement and death to ensue.

"In longitude 77° W. and latitude 33° S. we sighted the famous Island of Juan Fernandez. The memory of the place will never fade from our minds. \* \* \* As we approached, being yet a great distance

away, the island looked like a mass of immensely high rocks covered with moss; which moss, on nearer scrutiny, turned out to be heavy forests covering lofty peaks. The latter were half buried in masses of cloud, and were now visible, now invisible, as the fickle air-current disturbed the cumuli which yet in shifting forms continued to hang about the mountain tops. The little harbor \* \* \* faces the east, and is in the form of a half-moon or horse-shoe. In coming towards it, but still some miles away, a row of regular apertures became visible in the face of a cliff at right angles to the line of our approach. They looked so like a battery, that one had to pause for a moment and reflect how unsuitable their real if not apparent size must be as embrasures for guns. In point of fact, these holes were the entrances of caverns or chambers in the rocks, in which, as we were assured, the Chilian government formerly imprisoned convicts. The stone is soft and porous, and the felons, for whom the island was a sort of Botany Bay, were employed in gangs at enlarging the subterranean spaces which nature had originally formed.

"At Juan Fernandez we went ashore to bury Mrs. Goodwin. Although the occasion was so sorrowful, the presence of the six little children sobbing in their uncontrollable grief and the father in his loneliness trying to comfort them, still, such was our weariness of the voyage that the sight of and tread upon *terra firma* once more was such a relief from the ship life that we gratefully realized and enjoyed it. The passengers bathed and washed their clothing in the fresh water, gathered fruit and potatoes, caught fish, some eels, great spotted creatures that looked so much like snakes that some members of the company could not eat them when cooked. We rambled about the island, visited the caves, one of which was pointed out to us as the veritable 'Robinson Crusoe's' cave, and it was my good fortune to take a sound nap there one pleasant afternoon. \* \* \*

"Many mementoes and souvenirs were gathered, and after strewing our dead sister's grave anew with parting tokens of love, regret and remembrance, we departed from the island, bearing away a serene though shaded picture of our brief sojourn. \* \* \*

"The children! How they did gnaw away on poor bread and fat pieces of boiled salt pork! At first there was a sad waste of provisions and the sharks soon followed the ship for the food thrown overboard. One very daring young man used to take a curious kind of pleasure in lowering himself



over the deck down to where he would be barely out of their reach, as an aggravating temptation to them. Evidently he did not share the nervous apprehensions of his wife, nor the superstitions entertained by the sailors. After we reached the Sandwich Islands he practiced the same feat at the almost extinct volcano, and narrowly escaped suffocation.

"The drinking water grew thick and ropy with slime, so that it had to be strained between the teeth, and the taste was dreadful. One pint a day was the allowance to each person to carry to his stateroom. \* \*

"Still worse grew the condition of the ship as the journey lengthened. Rats abounded in the vessel; cockroaches and smaller vermin infested the provisions, until eternal vigilance was the price imposed upon every mouthful. It was not strange that sickness and discontent prevailed.

"During the voyage a contract was drawn and signed by the company, covenanting to give the proceeds of their labors for the next three years into a common fund from which all were to draw their living, as a limited communism was contemplated to be put into operation for convenience and protection. Some months afterwards a number of the signers 'backed out,' others faithfully keeping their promise through adversity and prosperity. \* \* \*

"July 31, 1846, we passed the 'Golden Gate.' The day opened not with a glorious sunshine to us, for a fog hovered over the harbor of Yerba Buena, and a mist like a winter's robe hung all around, hiding from our eager eyes the few objects that were made weird and enigmatical in the nearness of the firm and solid ground, where we expected that soon willing labor would begin, homes be erected, fields cultivated, and peace and safety spread over us their wings of protection. \* \* \*

"As we gazed through the misty walls we perceived dimly some familiar shapes looming up—sloops, whalers, ships of war, and waving from their masts as well as from the barracks the well-known and glorious flag of our country.

"A boom—and its echo filled the air; it was a salute from the cannon of the fort, ordered by the U. S. commander. The *Brooklyn* responded, and all hearts felt more cheerful and secure. Look! in the dim distance a dark body gliding on the water to-

wards us, while the familiar strokes of the oars brought it swiftly and steadily to our ship's side. It was a sturdy row boat, that seemed a familiar friend. In a few moments uniformed men trod the deck; we knew they were friends—Americans, not Mexicans. In our sweet native tongue the officer in command, with head uncovered, courteously and confidentially said in a loud tone: 'Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honor to inform you that you are in the United States of America.' Three hearty cheers were given in reply from faint and weary lips, but rising from hearts strong, brave, hopeful and loyal still.

"They crowded upon the deck, women and children, questioning husbands and fathers, and studied the picture before them—they would never see it just the same again—as the foggy curtains furled towards the azure ceiling. How it imprinted itself upon their minds! A long, sandy beach strewn with hides and skeletons of slaughtered cattle, a few scrubby oaks, farther back low sand hills rising behind each other as a background to a few old shanties that leaned away from the wind, an old adobe barracks, a few donkeys plodding dejectedly along beneath towering bundles of wood, a few loungers stretched lazily upon the beach as though nothing could astonish them; and between the picture and the emigrants still loomed up here and there, at the first sight more distinctly, the black vessels—whaling ships and sloops of war,—that was all, and that was Yerba Buena, now San Francisco, the landing place for the pilgrims of faith.

"Soon came the order for unloading, and all was activity, all being glad to stand once more on solid ground. A few tents were erected, and these were soon filled. Into the old barracks 16 families were crowded, their apartments being divided by quilts, or other accommodating partitions. The cooking was to be done out of doors. The orders were passed around that all must stay within certain limits; the war with Mexico was virtually ended, but the vindictive enemy lurked ever near, ready to wreak vengeance upon the unwary.

"With hearty good will, trying to make the best of everything, the new colony, carried and landed safely by the old ship *Brooklyn* from New York, began life and spread its influence, habits of industry and adornment of homes around them."

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*"What thou seest, write in a book."* Rev. 1, 11.

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## JOURNEYINGS IN THE WILDERNESS.

In the winter of 1845-46, owing to the continued persecutions and mobbings to which the Saints were subjected, active preparations were going on in Nauvoo, Hancock County, Ill., for the removal of the body of the Church to the Rocky Mountains (see page 831), and in the beginning of February, 1846, the actual exodus began. Charles Shumway, who crossed the Mississippi River Feb. 4, 1846, was the first one who started from the "beautiful city" for the western wilderness. On the 6th George Miller and family, with six wagons, were ferried across the river, and a few days later the work of ferrying across was kept up day and night. A few accidents occurred such as the sinking of a ferryboat, but generally the Saints were fortunate in getting over safely. A camp was formed on the west bank of the river opposite Nauvoo. President Brigham Young and some others, with their families, left Nauvoo on the 15th, and, after crossing the river, they traveled nine miles to Sugar Creek, in Lee County, Iowa, where they formed another camp, organized in companies and awaited the arrival of others from Nauvoo before

they proceeded on their way. While encamped there, the weather became so intensely cold that the Mississippi River was frozen entirely over, and hundreds of the Saints, with their teams, crossed the river on the ice. During the remainder of the month of February there were arrivals almost every day at the camp on Sugar Creek. The sufferings of the people in traveling, and even after their arrival in the camp, was intense, because of the cold. Many of the exiles were imperfectly clothed, and lacked wagon covers and tents to shelter them. Consequently, when the snow fell and this cold weather set in, they suffered much more than they otherwise would have done.

While the extreme cold weather lasted it became a serious difficulty for the exiles to sustain their numerous cattle and horses, for it required many hundred bushels of grain daily to keep them from perishing. From the few scattering settlers in the surrounding country, however, they were enabled to buy large quantities of Indian corn, from time to time, with money and labor, and thus they were enabled to keep their stock alive.

Notwithstanding that strict charges had been given the Saints by the authorities to provide themselves with a good supply of provisions previous to starting, it was found that many of those encamped on Sugar Creek were destitute of food, having provided only sufficient for a few days. President Young and others in the camp, who had started out with a better supply of provisions and grain for their animals, shared with those in need, and efforts were made by many of the brethren to obtain work in Iowa, in which quite a number were successful. Several jobs of cutting timber and husking corn were taken, by which the Saints obtained some means to help them on their journey.

On the 28th of February a petition was addressed to the governor of Iowa by the authorities of the Church, imploring his protection and influence in favor of the Saints while on their journey to a land of exile, or while remaining in that Territory working for an outfit, or raising a crop on rented or unclaimed land, in case necessity should force any of them to do so.

On the 1st of March the camp was broken on Sugar Creek and the exiles continued their journey. They traveled about five miles in a north-westerly direction, and after scraping away the snow, they pitched their tents upon the hard frozen ground. After building large fires in front, they found themselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit. Their beds were placed upon the frozen earth, "and after bowing before our great Creator," writes Apostle Orson Pratt, "and offering up praise and thanksgiving to Him, and imploring His protection, we re-

signed ourselves to the slumbers of the night." The following is from the private journal of Orson Pratt:

"Monday, March 2nd.—This morning the camp moved on in a westerly direction; the roads being rough and bad, some wagons were broken. In the evening, encamped on the east bank of the Des Moines River, four miles below the little village of Farmington.

"Tuesday 3rd.—The morning is rather cold. The thermometer standing at 7 o'clock at 23°. The camp moved forward, following up the general course of the river, about eight miles, when, night approaching, we pitched our tents (at a point near the present town of Bonaparte). The ground having thawed during the day, the place of our encampment is quite muddy, which renders it unpleasant to those who sleep upon the ground.

"Wednesday 4th.—At 8 o'clock this morning, the thermometer stood at 43° near Bonaparte. The roads being muddy, and some wagons and harness broken, it was concluded to remain until the next day. In the meantime our mechanics were busily engaged in repairing the wagons, etc. By the earnest solicitations of the citizens of Farmington, the band of music from our camp visited them, and gave them a concert, much to their satisfaction.

"Thursday 5th.—To-day most of the camp moved on, fording the river at Bonaparte's Mills. The roads in many places are almost impassable on account of the mud. Some teams are unable to draw their loads in bad places without assistance. Some wagons were broken. A portion of the camp were forced to stop on account of the roads; others proceeded on about twelve miles to Indian Creek, where they stopped until the next day. By an altitude of the Pole Star, our latitude at this place is 40° 42' 51". It being dark when we arrived at this creek, we pitched our tents in a wet swampy place. The next morning, some removed their wagons and tents on to dryer ground, a few yards distant, while others continued their journey. Thus our camp began to be somewhat scattered.

"Saturday 7th.—A small portion of the camp, with myself, moved on about twelve miles, to Fox River; while the main body encamped about three miles in the rear. Here we stopped two or three days. By a meridian observation of Sirius, the latitude was determined to be 40° 43' 56".

"Tuesday 10th.—Our small company moved on about ten miles, and encamped, the roads being exceedingly bad. We wait-

ed here about ten days for the main body of the camp, who were unable to proceed on account of the deep mud.

"We are very much scattered at the present. Many are engaging work in the thinly scattered settlements, to obtain food both for themselves and their animals. It was found necessary to exchange our horses for oxen, as the latter would endure the journey much better than horses. Many have already exchanged.

"Friday 20th.—This morning, at half-past six, the thermometer was 10° below the freezing point. The main camp having come up, we proceeded on our journey about ten miles, and pitched our tents for the night. The evening being rather unfavorable, I only obtained an observation for the true time.

"Saturday 21st.—At sunrise the thermometer stood 10° below the freezing point. Traveled about 20 miles, and encamped on the west bank of Chariton River, the main camp being still behind.

"Sunday 22nd.—The day is rainy and unpleasant. Moved only seven miles. The next day went through the rain and deep mud, about six miles, and encamped upon the west branch of Shoal Creek. The heavy rains had rendered the prairies impassable; and our several camps were very much separated from each other. We were compelled to remain as we were for some two or three weeks, during which time our animals were fed upon the limbs and bark of trees, for the grass had not yet started, and we were a number of miles from any inhabited country, and therefore, it was very inconvenient to send for grain. The heavy rains and snows, together with frosty nights, rendered our situation very uncomfortable. Our camps were now more perfectly organized, and captains were appointed over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens, and over all these, a President and Counsellors, together with other necessary officers. Game is now quite plentiful. Our hunters bring into camp more or less deer, wild turkeys, and prairie hens every day.

"Tuesday 31st.—The day being pleasant, I obtained observation for the true time, and regulated my watch. From observation, I determined the latitude of my encampment upon Shoal Creek to be 40° 40' 7"; longitude, by lunar distance, 92° 59' 15".

"Sunday, April 5th.—A portion of our camp met together, to offer up our sacrament to the Most High. After a few remarks by myself and Bishop Miller, we proceeded to break bread, and administer in the

holy ordinance of the Lord's supper. At 6 o'clock in the evening, we met with the captains of companies to make some arrangements for sending twelve or fourteen miles to the settlements for corn to sustain our animals.

"Monday 6th.—This morning, at the usual hour of prayer, we bowed before the Lord with thankful hearts, it being just 16 years since the organization of the Church, and we were truly grateful for the many manifestations of the goodness of God towards us as a people. The weather is still wet and rainy. Nine or ten wagons, with four yoke of oxen each, have started this morning for the settlements to obtain corn. In the evening we were visited by a heavy thunderstorm, accompanied by a high wind and hail. Most of the tents which were pitched upon high ground were blown down, and the inmates exposed to the fury of the storm. The water in Shoal Creek arose in a very few minutes several feet in height, and threatened to overflow its banks; and disturb our tents.

"Tuesday 7th.—This morning the mud was some frozen, the thermometer standing at 29°. The day is rainy and disagreeably wet, and the mud very deep.

"Wednesday 8th.—Our teams which were sent three days ago after corn, returned; the most of them empty, and we find it very difficult to sustain our teams.

"Thursday 9th.—After remaining here for about three weeks, we concluded to move on slowly. The rain poured down in torrents. With great exertion a part of the camp were enabled to get about six miles, while others were stuck fast in the deep mud. We encamped at a point of timber about sunset, after being drenched several hours in rain. The mud and water in and around our tents were ankle deep, and the rain still continued to pour down without any cessation. We were obliged to cut brush and limbs of trees, and throw them upon the ground in our tents, to keep our beds from sinking in the mire. Those who were unable to reach the timber, suffered much, on account of cold, having no fuel for fires. Our animals were turned loose to look out for themselves; the bark and limbs of trees were their principal food.

"Saturday 11th.—During the night the mud froze hard. To any but Saints, our circumstances would have been very discouraging, for it seemed to be with the greatest difficulty that we could preserve our animals from actual starvation, and we were obliged to send off several days' journey to the Missouri settlements on the south

to procure grain. Many of the people were nearly destitute of food, and many women and children suffered much from exposure to the inclemency of the weather, and from the lack of the necessities of life, such as they were in former times accustomed to enjoy. But in the midst of all these temporal afflictions, the Saints were comforted in anticipation of better days; they looked forward to the time when these light afflictions should cease, and when they should have the privilege of sitting under their own vine and fig trees, with none to molest them or make them afraid. They were willing to endure hardships and privations, for the sake of escaping the unrelenting persecutions of Gentile Christians, from whom they had received for many years nothing but cruelty and the most heart-rending oppression. Their desire was to establish themselves in some lonely valley of the mountains,—in some sequestered spot, where they and their children could worship God and obey His voice, and prepare themselves for the glory which is to be revealed at the revelation of Jesus Christ. With these glorious anticipations, cheerfulness and joy seemed to animate every countenance, and sufferings were endured without murmuring. The Twelve and other of the authorities met in council, and determined to leave the settlements still further on our left, and launch forth upon the broad prairies on the northwest, which were for hundreds of miles entirely uninhabited.

"Monday 18th.—The weather is yet cold, the thermometer standing at six o'clock in the morning at 3° below the freezing point. Our wagons which were sent after corn returned, and after feeding our half-famished cattle and horses, we resumed our journey. Our teams were so weak, and the roads so bad, we were unable to proceed only about six miles.

"Tuesday 14th.—We moved forward about one mile, and encamped. Some scanty feed began to make its appearance in the wettest portions of the prairie, but the nights are still too cold for the grass.

"Thursday 16th.—We progressed a few miles further, and arrived in a very pleasant grove which we called Paradise, in latitude • • • 40° 44' 7". About one mile to the south, we found the grass very good. Here we stopped several days, a portion of the camp being about one mile north, at a place which they named Pleasant Point.

"Wednesday 22nd.—We continued our journey about eight miles, and encamped over night. Rattle-snakes were quite plenty, numbers were seen in various places

about our camp; some of our animals were bitten and badly poisoned, but the most of them were cured, some in one way, and some in another.

"Friday 24th.—Yesterday we traveled about eight miles, to-day, six miles. We came to a place which we named Garden Grove. At this point we determined to form a small settlement and open farms for the benefit of the poor, and such as were unable at present to pursue their journey further, and also for the benefit of the poor who were yet behind."

While thus traveling from Sugar Creek westward, the Saints were often exposed to fierce winds and to snow, and afterwards, when the winter broke, they were frequently drenched to the skin with rain which poured down in torrents and soaked the ground so thoroughly that it made traveling very laborious and trying to both man and beast, and frequently tents had to be pitched in the mud, as there was no dry spot to be found. But notwithstanding this exposure, the people generally were healthy; there were but few deaths. Elder Orson Spencer was called upon to part with his beloved companion, the wife of his youth and the mother of his children. A nephew of President Young, Edwin Little, was also called away. He was attacked with fever and cold on his lungs, at Sugar Creek.

A circumstance occurred after the camp reached Richardson's Point, which, if related, may be of interest to our readers. One of the brethren left camp to go back and bring forward a load for one of the Saints. After starting, one of his horses sickened and he had to stop. He and one of the brethren who was with him were prompted to lay hands on him. They did so, and the horse recovered immediately. After traveling about two miles the horse was again attacked and more violent-

ly than before. They tried to give him medicine, but could not get him to take it. He lay as if dead. One of the brethren, however, said that he thought there was still breath in him, and proposed to lay hands on him. Some of those present doubted the propriety of laying hands on an animal; they scarcely thought it right. The owner of the horse quoted the words of the Prophet Joel, that in the last days the Lord would pour out His spirit on all flesh. This quotation satisfied them, and six of them laid their hands on him, prayed for his recovery, rebuked the evil influence that was preying upon him and commanded it to depart. The horse immediately rolled over twice, sprang to his feet and was soon well. The next morning he was harnessed, helped draw a good load and worked as well as ever. It must be remembered that this was a time when a horse was very necessary for service; the people had none to spare, and no money to buy more; the brethren who fully realized this were undoubtedly justified in what they did.

"No one not familiar with the circumstances which surrounded the people before and after leaving Nauvoo," writes George Q. Cannon in the *Juvenile Instructor*, "can conceive of the difficulties which President Young and his brethren of the Twelve Apostles had to contend with in leading the people forth into the wilderness. His responsibility was, of course, far greater than that of all others combined; for he was the leader. To him all looked for counsel and guidance. If any were in trouble, they appealed to him for help. If there were difficulties, he had them to settle. The burden and direction of the affairs of the camp

rested upon him, and it required incessant vigilance to maintain proper regulations in the camp, also to have the traveling properly arranged and the labors of the men managed to the best advantage. Let us give you a few instances, that you may form some idea of the weight of care which rested upon President Young during those days.

"Hundreds of men left Nauvoo and crossed the river about the time the Twelve Apostles did. Many of them had but a small amount of provisions, and the teams and wagons that they moved with were furnished for the purpose of assisting the leading men to move and also to haul Church property. Three weeks were spent in camp at Sugar Creek, until teams could be raised to haul the public property that was to go with the leading company, yet there were fifty teams lying there loaded with families who might very properly have waited until they had secured an outfit for themselves. While President Young and the other Apostles were there, eight hundred men reported themselves in camp without a fortnight's provisions. The camp was not more than one hundred and fifty miles from Nauvoo before President Young, who had started with one year's provisions for his family, had fed it all out. The other Apostles were in the same condition. This was a cause of constant embarrassment and difficulty. The men who ought to have been free to go ahead and find a suitable place for a home for the Saints were kept back. It seemed as if the people were determined not to let them proceed on their journey. They not only kept in their company and embarrassed their movements by requiring help

in food, and occupying the teams that should have been used to assist them on their journey; but they exercised faith that the Twelve Apostles might not get far ahead of them. Besides their prayers, there were hundreds at Nauvoo who were praying and importuning the Lord that they might be enabled to overtake the camp. All these were retarding causes, and the camp traveled so slowly that, in speaking upon the subject, President Heber C. Kimball said, it would take years to reach the mountains.

"But while the above were causes of annoyance and perplexity, there were others which were of a more painful character than they were. There were men in the camp who would not be controlled. One of these was a prominent man, who, instead of giving trouble, should have aided in warding it off. Bishop George Miller was unmanageable; he would not observe order, and could not be controlled. Finally, President Young was compelled to say that he would be disfellowshipped from the camp unless he repented. This may have had some effect upon him for the time being; but if it had any, it was only temporary. He continued to manifest a disposition to draw off by himself, and to travel when and as he pleased. \* \* \*

President Young remarked on one occasion that Bishop Miller sought to go ahead and separate himself from his brethren, but he could not prosper in so doing; he would yet run against a snag, he said, and call on him and the camp for help. This prediction was literally fulfilled not many months after. Himself and company did get into trouble through his running ahead, and help had to

be extended to him. Within one year from the time of which we write, he openly apostatized, left the camp of the Saints, and moved to Texas, where Lyman Wight, one of the Twelve Apostles, had gone. He did not remain long there, but moved from that section of the country and joined Strang. Not long after this he died.

"There were others, as well as he, whose conduct was painful in the extreme to the servants of the Lord. There were a few men in some of the companies who would pass spurious coin, or bogus money, as it was called, upon the people when they had an opportunity. This brought a disgrace upon the whole camp; for if one man who calls himself a Latter-day Saint, or 'Mormon,' does a mean or wicked act, it is not usual for him alone to be blamed; but it is generally saddled upon the entire people. One day as Presidents Young and Kimball were standing together at the latter's tent, they heard an outcry at an adjacent camp. They immediately repaired thither, and they found that the principal man of that camp and three others were quarreling about some property. It appeared that this man had let one of the others have some bogus money with which he was to buy property, and they were to share the profits. The man to whom he had given this money had not paid him the share which had been agreed upon; hence the quarrel.

"An honest person can imagine how grievous and disgusting such proceedings would be to men like Presidents Young and Kimball. The former sharply reproved them for their conduct, and he told this prin-

cipal man, that he could not govern himself, his family, or a company, and unless he repented and forsook his dishonesty, the hand of the Lord would be against him and against all those who partook of such corruption. His words were fulfilled to the letter. He and his whole family became apostates and very disreputable people, and the hand of the Lord was visibly against him. The man also to whom he gave the bogus money to pass, eventually lost his standing in the Church and went down.

"Then there were men who broke the Sabbath and were careless about their other duties. There were others who were selfish and cared nothing for the rights of their brethren. We will relate an instance to illustrate this. One of the brethren who had been appointed to purchase corn, of which there was a scarcity in camp, made a bargain for a considerable quantity at 20 cents a bushel, for which he was to pay in feathers. You will doubtless think that feathers were a singular kind of pay; and if we did not explain, you would wonder where feathers could be obtained in the camp to sell for corn. But these were feather beds which the Saints parted with to get provender for their animals, and, in some instances, food for themselves. They not only sold their feather beds, but they sold their crockery, cooking utensils, and such things as they could possibly spare. They thought they were destitute enough when they started from Nauvoo; but they were becoming accustomed to hardships, and they were willing to deprive themselves of articles which, under other circumstances, they would have thought they could not

have lived without. This they did through the love which they had for the gospel of Jesus Christ; and those who really had this love rejoiced and were happy in doing these things.

"Having explained how Brother Howard Egan had feathers to sell for corn, we will return to the incident we were relating. Soon after he had made this bargain for the corn, another brother from the camp came up. He told the stranger that he would give him 25 cents per bushel for his corn, and he would pay him cash. Such an offer would be too tempting for many men to refuse, and this man accepted it, and the man who offered the cash, and the five cents more on the bushel, got the corn.

"The reader can perceive from these few incidents which we have related, how many were the cares and anxieties which rested upon the leading men, but especially upon President Young. The people were a good people, the best to be found in the world, for they were ready to forsake their homes and launch forth into an unknown wilderness for the sake of their religion; but they had many weaknesses, they were inexperienced, and many were ignorant. The responsibility which rested upon President Young was so great that he became greatly reduced in flesh, and his coat, that would scarcely meet around him before he started from Nauvoo, in the month of May, lapped over twelve inches! He entreated the people to be more united in spirit, and not to pray in such a manner that their faith was operating against the camp progressing on its journey. If a change did not take place, he felt that he would be brought down to his grave. He re-



marked in a public meeting that he could scarcely keep from lying down and sleeping to await the resurrection. \* \* \*

"Up to the latter part of March the organization of the camp was very imperfect. At the time it was decided that the Saints should remove from Nauvoo, about twenty-five men were selected by the general council and called captains of hundreds. It was the business of each one of these to select one hundred families, and to see that they were prepared for a journey across the Rocky Mountains. After the captains of hundreds were chosen, they selected their own captains of fifties and of tens, clerks, etc.

"At the time appointed, such as were ready, out of these companies, commenced leaving Nauvoo. \* \* \* Others followed from day to day and night to night, and an encampment was formed on the bank of the river and afterwards on Sugar Creek. After the arrival of President Young and the Apostles there, a partial organization was entered into. This was further advanced when the camp reached Richardson's Point. But so many who traveled with the camp for the purpose of rendering assistance for a little season returned to Nauvoo, and the different divisions were so far separated from each other by storms, bad roads and other circumstances, that it was impossible to effect anything like a perfect organization for the first few weeks.

"On the 27th of March, at the council called for the purpose of effecting a more perfect organization, the captains of fifties were called for by President Young. He responded to his own call by naming himself as the captain of the first fifty, Elder

Heber C. Kimball responded as captain of the second fifty, Elder Parley P. Pratt of the third fifty, Peter Haws of the fourth fifty, Elder John Taylor of the fifth fifty and Bishop George Miller of the sixth fifty.

"President Young was unanimously elected President over the whole Camp of Israel. Brother Ezra T. Benson was elected captain over the first hundred, Brother John Smith captain of the second hundred, and Brother Samuel Bent captain of the third hundred. The captains of fifties chosen were: Albert P. Rockwood, Stephen Markham, John Harvey, Howard Egan, Charles C. Rich and John Chrisman. These took the places of the former captains of fifties, who were promoted to be presidents over their divisions of fifties, except that of the first hundred, which was laid over for further consideration.

"Besides the captains, there was a clerk appointed for the whole camp—Brother William Clayton—and a clerk for each of the fifties. These were: John D. Lee, John Pack, George Hales, Lorenzo Snow, John Oakley and Asahel A. Latbrop. Elder Willard Richards was sustained as the standing historian for the Church and camp.

"Then there was a contracting commissary appointed for each fifty. The duties of this officer was to counsel with the others, agree on terms, prices, etc., in purchasing corn, fodder, provisions and such articles as might be needed by their respective companies. Their names were: Henry G. Sherwood—who was also the acting commissary general for the camp—David D. Yearsley, William H. Edwards, Peter Haws, Samuel Gully and Joseph Warthen.

"A distributing commissary was also appointed for each fifty. Their names were: Charles Kennedy, Jedediah M. Grant, Nathan Tanner, Orson B. Adams, James Allred and Isaac Allred. The duties of these officers were to make a tight distribution among their fifties, of grain, provisions and such articles as were furnished for the use of the camp.

"This organization of the camp led to a more systematic method of traveling and attending to other duties. The companies were in a better condition to be controlled. The officers understood their duties, and generally attended to them, and the members of the companies had by this time learned the necessity of obedience and strict attention to order. At a counsel meeting subsequent to this, President Young told those present that they were taking a course that would result in salvation, not only to that camp, but to the Saints who were still behind. He said he did not think there ever had been a body of people since the days of Enoch, who had done so little grumbling under such unpleasant circumstances. He was satisfied that the Lord was pleased with the majority of the camp of Israel. But there had been some things done which were wrong. He also sketched a plan for forming settlements on the road, at which the Saints who came on, who had not the means to proceed on their journey, could stop and recruit their finances and obtain what they needed to proceed on their journey to the mountains.

"The plan which President Young proposed was that the Camp of Israel proceed to a point on Grand River, and fence in a large field,

build a number of log cabins, plow some land and put in spring crops, and thus spend the time till the weather settled; then select men and families to take care of the improvements while the rest of the camp should proceed westward. He also proposed to send men back from Grand River to look out a new and better road, so that the companies which were coming out from Nauvoo might avoid the bad roads, creeks and settlements through which the leading camp had passed. The settlement on Grand River could be made a stopping place for those who had not sufficient means to proceed on their journey.

"The Saints \* \* \* left Nauvoo in February; from that time until the 19th of April, no out-door meeting had been held. The weather had been too severe to hold such meetings. That day was Sunday, and it was fine. A meeting was called and the Saints felt that it was a great privilege to assemble together once more. \* \* \* But though they held an out-door meeting on the 19th of April, the day was not altogether fine. The 10th of May was the first Sunday which they had from the time of leaving Nauvoo, that was entirely free from storms.

"On the 24th of April a place for a settlement was selected on Grand River, to which the name of Garden Grove was given. At the council, which was held two days after, three hundred and fifty-nine laboring men were reported in camp, besides trading commissaries and herdsman. From these one hundred were selected to make rails, under the superintendence of C. C. Rich, James Pace, Lewis D. Wilson and Stephen Markham. Ten, under James All-

red, were appointed to build fences; forty-eight, under Father John Smith, to build houses; twelve, under Jacob Peart, to dig wells; ten, under A. P. Rockwood, to build bridges. The remainder, under the direction of Daniel Spencer, to be employed in clearing land, plowing and planting. There was no room for idlers there. The camp was like a hive of bees, every one was busy. And withal the people felt well and were happy. President Young was full of zeal and courage himself, and his example had a good effect upon the rest. When the weather became favorable, meetings were often held, and the people were instructed and encouraged. At a meeting at Garden Grove he told the Saints that some had turned back, and perhaps more would, but he hoped better things of them. Said he:

"We have set out to find a land and a resting place, where we can serve the Lord in peace. We will leave some here, because they cannot go further at present. They can stay here and recruit, and by and by pack up and come on, while we go a little further and lengthen out the cords and build a few more Stakes; and so continue on until we can gather all the Saints, and plant them in a place where we can build the house of the Lord in the tops of the mountains."

"At the same meeting he said:

"I know that if this people will be united and will hearken to counsel, the Lord will give them every desire of their hearts. The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and He intends that the Saints shall possess it as soon as they are able to bear prosperity."

"While founding a settlement and providing a stopping place for the Saints who could not, for the want of means, proceed further on their journey, President Young and his brethren of the Twelve Apostles were not forgetful of what they had

to do towards finding a final resting place. At Garden Grove President Young had an examination made to learn what available means there was in camp to furnish an outfit for 100 young men to go over the Rocky Mountains to put in crops. This appeared to rest constantly on his mind, and though this company of pioneers was not fitted out that year, for various reasons, yet he never lost sight of it for an hour; but all his plans and movements shaped to that end. At Garden Grove he had a list of articles made out which would be required for an outfit. Each man was to have 250 pounds of flour, with other necessary articles in proportion; and every four persons were to have one wagon, four oxen or mules and one cow. Speaking upon this subject of a company going ahead, President Young told the Saints in public meeting that:

"When the removal westward was in contemplation at Nauvoo, had the brethren submitted to our (the Twelve Apostles') counsel, and brought their teams and means and authorized me to do with them as the Spirit and wisdom of the Lord directed, then we could have fitted out a company of men, who were not encumbered with large families, and sent them over the mountains to put in crops and build houses, and the residue could have gathered, beginning with the Priesthood, and the gathering continued from year to year, building and planting at the same time. Were matters to be so conducted, none would be found crying for bread or destitute of clothing, but all would be provided for, as designed by the Almighty. But instead of taking this course the Saints have crowded on us all the while, and have completely tied our hands by importuning and saying, 'Do not leave us behind. Wherever you go, we want to go, and be with you;' and thus our hands and feet have been bound, which has caused our delay to the present time; and now hundreds at Nauvoo are continually praying and importuning with the Lord that they may overtake us, and be with us. And just so it is with the Saints here. They are afraid to let us go on and leave them behind, forget-

ting that they have covenanted to help the poor away at the sacrifice of all their property.'

"Elder Samuel Bent was appointed to preside at Garden Grove, and Elders Aaron Johnson and David Fullmer were appointed as his Counselors. It was also voted that each man who remained there should have his land assigned to him by the Presidency in proportion to the number of his family.

"Men were sent out to find another place at which a settlement could be formed, and on the 11th of May President Young and many others started from Garden Grove. Before they left that point, however, President Samuel Bent had a letter of instructions given to him. Land had been fenced by the companies which were going on west. This he was instructed to divide among those who were remaining; but to let no man have the use or occupancy of land which he did not till. He was also instructed to see that the crops were secured and cared for, and to teach the law of tithing to the Saints, to receive their tithes and to disburse them for the benefit of the poor and sick. On the 18th of May President Young and several of the Apostles reached the middle fork of Grand River. Here they found Brother Parley P. Pratt encamped. After crossing the bridge, which the leading company had built over the stream, they ascended a hill and found a mass of grey granite, which had the appearance of an ancient altar, the parts of which had fallen apart in various directions as though separated by fire. This mass of granite was the more remarkable because in that country there was no rock to be seen. Brother Parley had

called this place Mount Pisgah. \* \* The camp was now in the country of the Pottawattamie Indians, and they occasionally were seen by the people.

"Until the 2nd of June, the day President Young left Mount Pisgah to proceed on his journey with the camp westward, he and the other Apostles were busy counseling and directing the labors of the Saints in forming a settlement. Councils and meetings were held, at which it was decided that the Twelve Apostles, Bishop Whitney, and the records and other Church property should proceed on the journey westward. Those who did not have a sufficient outfit to proceed through were counseled to remain there. Farming land was selected, and a united effort was made to break it up, to fence it and put in crops. In these labors those who were going on shared with those who were remaining. Though selfishness was not entirely overcome, yet there was a general disposition among the faithful Saints to help one another and to labor for each other's good. It was a day of sacrifice. Many had left valuable property, and all, even the poorest, had left something, and had gladly started out into the wilderness, to face its terrors, endure its hardships and fatigues and wander they knew not whither, except that they knew that God, through His servants, would guide them to a suitable land; and they had done this for the sake of the Gospel. They were determined to worship God and to keep all His commandments, and as mobs of wicked men would not suffer them to do this at Nauvoo and the surrounding country, they were willing to go to any land to which

the Almighty would lead them, where they could dwell in peace and enjoy the religion He had revealed to them. The scenes they had passed through made them feel as one family, and they sympathized with and were willing to help each other. Circumstances like these have the effect, upon people who are in possession of the Gospel, to draw them closely together and to take interest in each other's welfare.

"Elder Wm. Huntington was chosen as President of Mount Pisgah, and Elders Ezra T. Benson and Charles C. Rich as his Counselors.

"The camp was now traveling in an Indian country. There were no settlements, no scattered houses or fields, no traveled roads larger than an Indian trail, but the whole country through which the Saints now passed was in a state of nature such as had existed for many long centuries. The season, by the time they left Mount Pisgah, was so far advanced that the effects of the spring rains had passed away. The country was more elevated than that east of this latter point, and though there was a new road to break all the way, the journey was made with comparative ease. There were several bridges to build over streams which had to be crossed; but these were not causes of serious detention, for a company of pioneers went ahead of the main camp to perform this labor.

"On the 14th of June President Young's company and all the leading companies encamped in the form of a hollow square on the bank of the Missouri River, not far from Council Bluffs. But the next day a council was held, and it was decided to move back from the river on to

the Bluffs. The object of this move was to get good spring water and to be away from the Omaha Indians, while a ferryboat was being built with which to cross the river. For this labor a number of suitable men were assigned, who were under the direction of Brother Frederick Kessler.

"The Pottawattamie Indians treated the Saints kindly, and their chiefs showed them favor. The stay of the camp at this point was, on this account, very pleasant, as the cattle and horses could be left to roam at large over the bluffs and plains in perfect security."

The news of the dedication of the Temple in Nauvoo which reached the camp on the Missouri River early in June, 1846, caused great rejoicings among the faithful Saints. Whatever now might be the future fate of the building, they had done their duty, and they were released, by the cruel and outrageous acts of the wicked in driving them from it, from further care and responsibility concerning it.

After the camp had reached the Bluffs, Brothers Orson Hyde and Wilford Woodruff, two of the Twelve Apostles, joined it with their companies. Elder Hyde had been laboring at Nauvoo (see page 837), and Brother Woodruff had been presiding over the Church in Europe.

June 29, 1846, the ferryboat, which was built on the bank of the Missouri River for the purpose of crossing, was launched, and on the next day President Young and several of the Apostles moved down to the river for the purpose of crossing.

President Young was still very anxious to have a company go ahead

that season to secure a location for the Saints in the mountains. He proposed the organization of such a company to the camp, and that it be composed of men only, the families to follow on afterwards. Many expressed their willingness to go and leave their families. He told the Saints that everything that men and hell could invent would be hatched up to prevent the camp from making any progress. He was strongly moved upon to speak plainly to them upon the subject, and said that if the Church should be blown to the four winds and never gathered again, he wished them to remember that he had told them how, when and where to gather, and that if they did not so gather, to remember and bear him witness in the day of judgment.

There were good reasons for his anxiety on this subject at this time, though they were unknown to him. Even while he was thus addressing the camp, a scheme which had been arranged was then being carried out, that would have the effect to prevent the journey to the mountains that season of such a company as he proposed. We refer to the orders from the government for the raising of a battalion of five hundred men, known in history as the "Mormon Battalion."

The late General Thomas L. Kane, son of Judge Kane, of Philadelphia, came to the camp in June, 1846, about the time that Colonel Allen did (see *Mormon Battalion*), having been sent by President Polk as a bearer of dispatches to Fort Leavenworth. It was there that he first made the acquaintance of President Young and the Apostles, and saw the people in the midst of the trying circumstances which surrounded

them. Though quite a young man at the time, he took a warm interest in their welfare. He was taken dangerously sick in camp, and it was only with the most careful nursing and strict attention that his life was saved. He never forgot this kindness, and, upon his return to Philadelphia, he delivered an address before the Historical Society of that city, in which he described in the most eloquent and touching language the scenes through which the Latter-day Saints had passed, and the patriotic sacrifice which they had made to raise the battalion called for by the government. Probably no document of its size has ever described in more graphic and striking language, the trials and sufferings of the Latter-day Saints to the reader than this.

July 16, 1846, Ezra T. Benson was ordained an Apostle, to take the place of John E. Page, who had fallen. On the same day Elders Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor were appointed on a mission to England, on which mission they started on the 31st of that month, to regulate the affairs of the Church in that land. On the 21st of July twelve men were selected to preside in all matters, spiritual and temporal, at Council Bluffs. Instructions were given to them to attend as speedily as convenient to locating and arranging for the stopping of the Saints, those already at Council Bluffs and those who might come on that season, as well as to use all the means in their power to have all the poor Saints brought from Nauvoo. They were also instructed to do everything in their power to assist in taking charge of the families of those who had gone as volunteers in

the battalion. Instructions were given also for the establishment of schools for the education of the children during the winter.

Captain Allen had secured from the chiefs representing the Pottawattamie tribe of Indians at Council Bluffs their voluntary consent for the Latter-day Saints to make their lands a stopping place, and to cultivate any part of them not then cultivated by themselves, so long as they (the Pottawattamies) should remain in possession of their present country. He also wrote a letter, to be used whenever occasion might require it, stating, over his official signature, what he had done and advised in the premises. The Indian sub-agent of that tribe of Indians had also endorsed in a letter the action of the Indians, and of Colonel Allen as being wise and proper under the circumstances. General Kane wrote a letter to the President of the United States, enclosing a copy of these documents, and giving his personal endorsement to the measure. He said that while he could see no reason why the "Mormon" people should not winter in the valleys of that neighborhood, he considered it exceedingly important that they should be allowed the privilege of so doing, as no advice to them had been opposed to the crossing of the Missouri River of so large a body of them during that year.

Aug. 1, 1846, the council addressed a letter to Bishop Miller and the companies with him, he having gone out in the direction of the Pawnee village, in which they reported the condition of the camp, an account of the organization of the battalion and the intention to encamp with the main body somewhere on or near the

Missouri River for the winter. He was told that the council did not think it advisable for any part of the companies to undertake to cross the mountains that fall. Measures were taken at the main camp by President Young and the council to organize affairs for the season. Twelve men were chosen to be the Municipal High Council, who were to take measures to gather the Saints together at one place under the necessary regulations. The camp was gathered together at a grove which was called Cutler's Park, after Alpheus Cutler, who was chosen as President of the Municipal High Council. Instructions were given to the people to immediately proceed to the cutting of hay in sufficient quantities to supply the stock of the camp during the winter.

It was at the time when the last of the Saints were being driven out of Nauvoo in September, 1846, that the Saints in the Camp of Israel were thus laboring to prepare themselves for the winter. On the 11th of September (1846) a site for building winter quarters was selected on the west bank of the Missouri River, at a point now known as Florence, six miles north of Omaha, Neb. At this place a temporary city was laid out, to which the Saints immediately commenced to gather. A committee of twelve was appointed to arrange the city into Wards, over each of which a Bishop was appointed to preside, whose duty it was to relieve the poor and sick, help the families of those in need, and to see that the Saints attended to their duties. The following is the list: First Ward, Levi E. Riter; 2nd, William Fossett; 3rd and 4th, Benjamin Brown; 5th and 6th, John Vance; 7th, Edward Hun-

ter; 8th, David Fairbanks; 9th, Daniel Spencer; 10th, Joseph Matthews; 11th, Abraham Hoagland; 12th, David D. Yearsley; 18th, Joseph B. Noble.

Every family labored diligently to construct some kind of a house, in which they could be sheltered for the winter. The houses were built chiefly of logs, and covered with clapboards, or with willows and dirt. Many dug caves in the side of the hill, and made very comfortable dwelling places of them.

This place, which was named Winter Quarters, was laid out regularly into streets, and occupied a fine location. The Indians gave considerable trouble, stealing cattle and pilfering, as they looked upon the Saints as intruders upon their lands, and they said that if their land was occupied, their grass used, their timber cut down, and their game shot, they had a right to something in return, and therefore being in want of food they helped themselves to cattle belonging to the Saints. The chief, Big Elk, said he would do all he could to restrain his people, but he had bad young men among them who would not be controlled, and he could not prevent them stealing when the cattle were all around them. They did not like white people, and they did not like him very well because he told them that the white men would do them good. The conduct of the Indians prompted President Young to counsel the people to build a stockade around Winter Quarters. This was a great protection, and kept the Indians out to a very great extent. A large portion of the stock was sent north, on to what was called the Rush Bottoms—a place where rushes grew in great

profusion, and furnished excellent feed for animals, if given to them carefully. If eaten too freely, or if eaten when the weather was cold enough to freeze the water contained in the top part of the rush, they were dangerous, and sometimes killed the animals that ate them.

Bishop Miller's camp, as he himself reported to the Twelve at Winter Quarters, was at the junction of the Running Water and Missouri Rivers, 158 miles north of Winter Quarters. He reported his camp in good health, and occupying a good situation, with plenty of feed for their stock, in the rushes of the Running Water.

The course which President Young and the Camp of Israel took with the Indians they were brought in contact with, and on whose lands they located, had the effect of producing good feelings among them. But there were some meddlesome persons who seemed determined to make trouble for the Saints, on account of their having temporarily settled on land claimed by the Omaha and Pottawattamie Indians. Major H. M. Harvey, superintendent of Indian Affairs, called on President Young at Winter Quarters, Nov. 1, 1846, and stated that he wished the camp to remove from the lands belonging to the Indians, and complained of the Saints burning the Indians' wood. He stated that he had received letters from the Department of Indian Affairs on the subject, and that his instructions were that no white persons should be permitted to settle on the lands of the Indians without the authority of Government. President Young explained to him that their delay had been caused by the demand that had been made on them



by the government to furnish troops. The most efficient men of the camp had gone as soldiers to Mexico in the service of the United States, and their families were left destitute and dependent on their friends in the camp, who could not proceed without leaving them to suffer. It was clearly evident that the movement was instigated by the enemies of the Saints who were not content to see them enjoy peace and rest even in mud hovels and dirt roofed cabins. Though the Indians had committed a number of depredations, such as the stealing of stock from them, the Saints had less to fear from them, if left to act on their own inclinations, than from the interference of white men.

President Young wrote to Big Elk, chief of the Omaha Indians, requesting him to restrain his Indians from stealing, and sent him some presents. A number of letters also passed between the High Council in Winter Quarters and Major Harvey on the question of settlement on Indian lands, and Wm. Clayton was dispatched to Council Bluffs to get from him a copy of his instructions from Washington. It afterwards appeared that the department at Washington did not evince half the anxiety about the encroachment on Indian lands that Major Harvey represented, but the probability was that he had been induced by others to exercise his authority so as to annoy the "Mormons." In answer to President Young's letter to him, Big Elk paid him a visit and apologized for the depredations committed by the few unruly Indians of his tribe, expressed his gratitude for the presents sent him and promised to try to restrain his Indians, and excused

them by saying that the whites who visited them represented the "Mormons" as being a very bad set of people, a statement which supported the Saints in the belief, that they had for some time entertained, that the Indians were prompted by white men to steal from and probably make a violent outbreak upon them.

Through the intercession of Judge J. K. Kane, the father of the late General Thomas L. Kane, previously mentioned, permission was finally obtained from the President and Department of Indian Affairs at Washington, D. C., for the Saints to remain during the winter on the lands of the Pottawattamies. Colonel (later General) Kane, wishing to show his appreciation of the kind treatment he had received from the hands of the Saints while lying sick in their midst, used his influence in their favor, and was especially active in trying to secure to them the right of remaining where they had established their winter quarters until they could proceed on their journey. Sickness had prevented him from doing so himself, but his father had acted for him, as was shown by the result. On recovering from his sickness, Colonel Kane wrote to Elder Willard Richards, that he also intended to secure a lease from the government of the Omaha lands, on which some of the Saints were located, and said: "Trust me, it is not fated that my forces shall depart before I have righted you at the seat of government, and have at least assured to you a beginning of justice besides an end of wrong."

During the winter of 1846-47, President Young and his brethren of the Twelve, and other Elders, were diligent in laboring among the Saints

at Winter Quarters, and a spirit of reformation prevailed in the camp. "Meetings," writes George Q. Cannon, "were frequently held, and they were well attended. The weather was cold; but great exertions had been made by the Saints to provide shelter for themselves. The widows and fatherless were cared for, and pains were taken to supply the families of the brethren who had gone in the battalion with what they needed. A large portion of the people erected log houses as residences. Many availed themselves of the slope of the hill, on the side of which a part of Winter Quarters was laid out, to construct 'dug-outs' as dwellings. By 'dug-outs' we mean cellars, the entrance to which being made on the lower side, enabled those who occupied them to go in and out without having to use many steps, and when properly roofed in were not very uncomfortable dwellings during steady cold weather. Provisions could not be obtained in great variety. The principal diet of the people that winter was corn-bread and pork. In many instances these articles were not very plentiful. Corn and pork were bought in Missouri, and frequent trips were made from the camp to that State during the winter to obtain the necessary supplies. There were but few grist-mills in the part of the State where the grain was bought, and there was great difficulty, therefore, in getting grinding done. At Winter Quarters wheat was frequently boiled whole and thus eaten, and many families subsisted for weeks on corn ground in hand mills. The meal of corn thus ground was not as smooth and pleasant eating as the meal we now get from our grist-mills; but hunger furnished

the appetite to make it palatable and digestible. We presume that those, at least, who did the grinding never failed to enjoy the bread and mash cooked from their grists. In those days a person who owned a good hand mill was considered a very fortunate individual. We patronized one owned by Brother John Van Cott, who very generously let his neighbors use it freely and without taking any toll. We have met with some people in our travels in the world who would not have failed to avail themselves of such an opportunity of making profit; for their mode of reasoning was that an article or service of any kind was worth all it would bring; the greater the demand, the higher the price to be paid; the scarcity of the article enhancing its value. But in those days the spirit of gain was not common among the Saints. They were fellow-sufferers from mobocracy, and the scenes they had shared in common caused them to have sympathy one for another that under more favorable circumstances might have remained dormant. \* \* \*

"Seeing the great need of a mill, President Young took steps to erect one. It was a time of rejoicing at Winter Quarters when it was completed, and the necessity of using coffee-mills and hand mills to grind grain no longer existed.

"Among other difficulties with which the Saints at Winter Quarters had to contend, was sickness of a serious character. The want of vegetables, and the poor diet to which they were confined, had the effect to produce scurvy or 'black-leg,' as it was called there. The limbs would swell, become black and the flesh be very sore. There was much suffer-

ing and many deaths from this disease. Potatoes brought from Missouri had an excellent effect in checking and curing the disease. A few miles above Winter Quarters there had been an old fort, which had been abandoned for some time. There horse-radish was discovered growing, which proved a great boon to the sick at Winter Quarters, as it was a most excellent antidote for scurvy.

"The Indians were troublesome in taking and killing stock, and an Indian war might easily have been provoked in consequence, had the people been disposed to have one. But President Young took great pains in instructing the people as to the just and proper manner to treat Indians, and also in cultivating the spirit of friendship in the Indians themselves. When it is considered that the Saints were living on Indian land, and in the midst of tribes with whom government had made no treaties for the possession of their country, it is wonderful that so little difficulty occurred. \* \* \*

"During the dreary winter spent by the Saints at Winter Quarters, President Young and those engaged with him in presiding made it their study to devise means of employment for them, knowing that they would be more contented and happy if kept constantly at work, than if allowed to be idle. \* \* \* In directing the labors of the camp, President Young displayed the same wisdom and foresight which had so prominently marked his career from the time of the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith. A grist-mill was projected, not because the Saints expected that they would occupy the site of Winter Quarters permanently

and reap any great benefit or profit from the use of the mill, but rather because if some such employment as the building of it could not be found for the men during the winter they would be idle, and as President Young expressed it, if the Saints did not reap any material benefit from it, the Indians, whose lands they then occupied, probably would. In addition to the building of the mill and the digging of the race for it, and providing shelter for their families, a council house was built in which to hold meetings, etc., and the manufacture of willow baskets, washboards, half-bushel measures, etc., was entered into quite extensively. These were the only manufactures that could be engaged in with any certainty of a return for their labors. Such wares they hoped to be able to sell in the settlements of Missouri when spring opened. To prevent the Saints from becoming cool and indifferent in regard to their religion the greatest vigilance was enjoined upon the Bishops in watching over those over whom they presided. Meetings were often held, and the people put through a course of systematic drilling to impress upon them the necessity of living near unto God, as they were about to venture forth to seek out and make new homes in a land with which they were totally unacquainted, and in journeying to which they must look to God for guidance. As a result of the effort made to stir them up to diligence and the great wisdom displayed in the government of the camp, it was a model for good order and peaceful, harmonious regulations. While those presiding exerted themselves to promote the spiritual welfare of the Saints they did not

show a disposition to deprive them of enjoyment; on the contrary they encouraged recreation of an innocent nature.

"After the completion of the Council House, arrangements were made for a number of dancing parties and festivals to be held in it, and President Young proposed to show them how to go forth in the dance in a manner acceptable before the Lord. He did so by offering up prayer to God at the opening and closing of the exercises and permitting only modest deportment and decorum throughout.

"The organization of companies for the journey further west was proceeded with and all things were got in readiness for companies to start as soon as the weather and the supply of grass might be considered favorable. Arrangements were also made to have as many as possible of the Saints in the small branches scattered throughout the different States fit themselves out with teams and follow on. They could not hope to raise teams sufficient to transport the Saints with their luggage, their provisions to last them a year, their seed grain and farming utensils at one trip, but President Young presented a plan which if carried out in the right spirit would have the desired effect. That was for those who could fit themselves out well for the trip, or be fitted out by their friends who should remain, to proceed as pioneers to the mountains prepared to raise a crop for the sustenance of themselves and those who should follow, and on their arrival at their destination return as many teams as possible to assist on those remaining behind. By pursuing this system of co-operation it was

thought the widows and fatherless as also the destitute families of the men who had gone in the battalion could be assisted to Zion without having cause to feel that even the poorest of them were neglected."

It was rather remarkable that the Saints got along so well as they did during the winter following their expulsion from Nauvoo in their temporary and hastily built town of Winter Quarters and the various camps in that western country where they located to await the opening of spring, when they expected to renew their journey. Considering the destitute condition in which their enemies left them after expelling them from their comfortable homes and flourishing farms, at such an inclement season, to wander among strangers and seek out new homes in western wilds, when there was little or no work to be had at which to earn a livelihood, it is a wonder that many of them did not starve to death. In the fall of 1846, throughout Upper Missouri, wheat was worth from 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  to 25 cents, and corn from 10 to 12 cents per bushel, but in view of the increased demand likely to arise for grain through the necessities of the Saints, who would be obliged to purchase their supplies there, wheat was raised to from 40 to 50 cents, and corn 20 to 25 cents per bushel. These do not seem very high prices in Utah, but it must be remembered that at that time money was exceedingly scarce in those parts and wages very low, so that ordinarily a person could buy as much in the provision line, such as wheat, potatoes, corn, pork, etc., for 10 cents as can be bought in Utah for one dollar.

President Young directed in the organization of the companies to

start in the spring and counseled them in the minutiae of outfitting, that they might journey without disorder or confusion.

Jan. 14, 1847, President Young received at Winter Quarters a revelation as the "word and will of the Lord, concerning the Camp of Israel in their journeyings to the west." (See Doc. & Cov., Sec. 136.) In this revelation the Saints were commanded to organize into companies, with captains of hundreds, fifties and tens, and journey to a place where the Lord would locate a Stake of Zion. They were all to use their influence and property for this purpose and enter into a covenant to keep the commandments of God.

In February, 1847, the news reached Winter Quarters that a mob near Farmington, Iowa, had attempted to kill Brothers William H. Folsom, Rodney Swazey and others. These mobbers hung Elder Folsom until he was almost dead, and when his friends finally came to the rescue, they had much difficulty in restoring him to life. The mobbers also hung Brother Swazey by the heels for about five minutes. Six other brethren were treated in a somewhat similar manner.

In preparing to go with the pioneer company from Winter Quarters to the Great Basin, President Young and his brethren took the necessary precautions to insure the safety and good government of the Saints who remained behind. Ample counsel was given upon this and kindred subjects, and further measures were taken to build the proposed stockade around Winter Quarters, and to have the people labor together unitedly. Houses that were outside of the established line for the stockade

were moved inside, and everything possible was done to secure the people from Indian attacks. Those who were living in "dug-outs," as the houses were called which were dug in the sides of the hill, were counseled to build houses on the top of the ground to live in during the summer, so that sickness might be avoided. Other counsel was given in relation to their buildings which would increase the healthfulness and comfort of the residents. President Young gave excellent counsel to the authorities and the people respecting their dealings with the Indians. He condemned the practice of shooting Indians, so common among other communities settled in the Indian country, for any and every offense that they might commit, and advised the brethren to avoid encouraging or giving place to feelings of hostility and bloodshed. Arrangements were also made to take care of the poor and the families of the brethren who had gone in the battalion. The brethren who had gone to Punca were instructed to move down to Winter Quarters as quickly as possible, and to put in a spring crop.

Bishop Miller, who had been the leader of the company to Punca, was already at Winter Quarters. He had indulged in a bad spirit for some time, and his mind was clouded with darkness. While preparations were being made for the pioneers to go west, at a meeting of the Twelve Apostles and other Elders, he gave his views relative to the Church removing to Texas, to the country lying between the Neuces and the Rio Grande Rivers. That was the best country, he thought, for the Church to emigrate to. Lyman Wight was already in Texas, whither he had

gone from Nauvoo, taking with him such as would follow his guidance and Miller's inclinations were in the same direction. President Young informed Miller that his views were wild and visionary; that when the Saints moved from that point they would go to the Great Basin, where they would soon form a nucleus of strength and power sufficient to cope with mobs: But this had little effect upon Miller; he soon afterwards left Winter Quarters with his family and a few others over whom he had influence, and went to Texas, where he joined Lyman Wight. He lived there for a while until he and Wight quarrelled, when he moved north again and joined Strang, and subsequently died an apostate from the Church.

In the beginning of April, 1847, the Pioneers, under the leadership of Brigham Young, started to find a new location for the Saints in the Rocky Mountains. From this perilous journey they returned Oct. 31, 1847. (See *Pioneers of 1847*.) Several large companies of Saints from Winter Quarters followed the Pioneers to the valley the following summer and fall, under the leadership of Daniel Spencer, Parley P. Pratt, A. O. Smoot, George B. Wallace, C. C. Rich, Edward Hunter, John Taylor, J. M. Grant and others. Altogether about two thousand souls, and nearly six hundred wagons arrived in Great Salt Lake Valley in the fall of 1847.

President Young and his brethren of the Twelve, after their return from the Great Salt Lake Valley, were soon busily engaged in administering to the wants and comforts of the Saints on the frontiers. There was plenty of work to be done in ar-

ranging for the Saints who had not gathered to Winter Quarters, in caring for those already there and in making preparations for the journey the next year of those who were able to come to the valleys. Brother John S. Fullmer, one of the three trustees who had been left in Nauvoo to settle up the affairs of the Church, sell the property, etc., was at Winter Quarters and reported their proceedings in Nauvoo to the Twelve. It was voted in council that the trustees gather all the papers and books pertaining to church affairs in Nauvoo and as soon as they had sold as much of the property as they could, they should gather up to Council Bluffs. Elder Jesse C. Little, who had made the journey to the valley and back with the pioneers, was instructed to resume his presidency over the eastern churches. Elder John Brown, another of the pioneers, was appointed to labor in the Southern States, and a large number of Elders were also selected to go on missions. Arrangements were also made to vacate Winter Quarters and found a settlement on the east side of the river, at Council Bluffs. This town was afterwards named Kaneshville, in honor of General Thomas L. Kane. The name has since been changed to Council Bluffs. The reason for vacating Winter Quarters was that the land where the town stood belonged to the Indians; it was an Indian territory, the title of which had not been extinguished. The agents of the government were disposed to take advantage of this and annoy the people, and that there might not be the least cause or imaginary cause of confusion on the part of the government, it was deemed best to remove to the other

side of the river. It was voted that until the laws of Iowa were extended over the people of the new settlement at the Bluffs, the Bishops should have authority as civil magistrates among the people. This was necessary that there might be courts to exercise jurisdiction in case of difficulty. The organization of companies to be ready to emigrate in the spring was pushed forward with great zeal during the winter.

Dec. 5, 1847, a council of the Twelve met at Elder Orson Hyde's house, and unanimously elected President Brigham Young President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, with authority to nominate his two Counselors. The President appointed Heber C. Kimball as his first and Willard Richards as his second Counselor, and these appointments were unanimously sustained. The next day, besides other items of business, Patriarch John Smith was nominated and sustained as Patriarch over the whole Church. Elder Orson Pratt was appointed to go to England and take charge of the affairs of the Church there, and Elders Orson Hyde and Ezra T. Benson were to go to the East on missions.

On the 27th of December a conference of the Church was held at the new settlement (Kanesville), which was continued until the 29th. A high council was selected for that side of the river, and much important business was transacted, and on the 29th, the last day of the conference, the people confirmed the election of President Young as President of the Church, with Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards as his Counselors. From the death of the Prophet Joseph up to this time, the

Twelve Apostles had acted as the Presidency of the Church.

"The year 1848," writes George Q. Cannon, "opened favorably in the camp at Winter Quarters. Sickness was not so common as it had been the previous winter. A place had been found in the mountains to which the Saints could gather. This was a great relief to the people. From February, 1846, they had been wanderers without a fixed home. They had stopped at many places, but they knew that they were only temporary residences. The land where they were to remain and to commence the building up of Zion was far distant. But now their circumstances were better and more encouraging. The amusements and means of recreation for the people were limited, and, therefore, a dancing school, taught by Hyrum Gates, greatly contributed to the cheerfulness of the community during the winter months. The headquarters of the Camp of Israel was still at Winter Quarters. Of the Apostles there were with President Young at that point at the opening of the year: Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, Geo. A. Smith and Willard Richards. Orson Hyde was within call on the other side of the river; Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor were at Great Salt Lake Valley, having moved here with that portion of the Church that had followed the pioneers; and Amasa Lyman and Ezra T. Benson were on their way to the Eastern States on a mission. \* \* \* Winter Quarters was on Indian lands, and the government agent was anxious to get the Saints moved off; but he wrote a letter to President Young, in which he prohibited the people from moving their log cabins over

the river to Kanessville. It was not many weeks after doing this that he wrote another letter to President Young, soliciting charity in behalf of the Pawnee chiefs—an appeal that was not made in vain, for the President caused that they should be supplied freely with corn and beef.

“At Kanessville the people were anxious to have a post office established and a county organization extended over the land on which they had settled. At some meetings held in January, 1848, a petition to the legislature of Iowa was numerously signed, and Andrew H. Perkins and Henry W. Miller were chosen delegates to carry and present said petition. They attended to this business and learned that the legislature had made provision for the organization whenever the judge of the 4th judicial district of Iowa should decree that the ‘public good requires such organization.’ They waited upon Judge Carolton at Iowa City, who informed them that he had appointed a Mr. Townsend to organize said county. The delegation were introduced to the Secretary of State, who expressed a great desire that the Saints should stay in Iowa and improve the country. The politicians were very anxious to have a State road laid off, bridges built, and a post route established for the convenience of the inhabitants of the Council Bluffs country. The Whig and Democratic parties were nearly alike in numbers in the State, and both appeared very solicitous for the welfare of our people. It was not difficult to perceive why they appeared to feel so much interest. They wanted voters, and the party which could gain the ‘Mormon’ vote would carry the State.

“Soon after the visit of the delegation to Iowa City, two delegates—Sidney Roberts and Winsor P. Lyon—were selected by the Central Whig Committee of the State of Iowa, to go to the Bluffs, hold a caucus there with the people and present an address from the Whigs of the State. Ill health prevented Lyon from going to the Bluffs, but Sidney Roberts met in caucus there with the leading citizens, and presented his own and Lyon’s credentials. The address reviewed, at length, the persecutions heaped upon the Saints in Missouri, the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, their leaders, and their cruel expulsion from the States of Missouri and Illinois. The address also dwelt feelingly upon the deception and treachery of the Democrats for asking favors so often from, and as often heaping neglect, abuse and persecutions upon the Saints, depriving them from time to time of civil and religious liberty and the inalienable rights of freemen; and hearing that the ‘greedy cormorants of Loco-focoism’ (the Democrats were sometimes called Loco-focos in those days) were at their heels, and had ‘commenced a systematical plan to inveigle them in the meshes of their crafty net,’ they delegated Messrs. Winsor P. Lyon and Sidney Roberts to visit them and lay before them the national policy of the Whigs and solicit their co-operation; assuring them that their party was pledged to them and the country to ‘a firm and unyielding protection to Jew, Gentile and Christian of every name and denomination, with all other immunities rightfully belonging to every citizen in the land.’

“Accompanying the public ad-



dress was a private letter from Hon. John M. Coleman, of the State Executive Committee, addressed to Brigham Young and others. \* \* \* This was a fair letter, and with the address it shows very clearly that when prominent men of the nation look at the Saints without prejudice, they can readily admit that they are an industrious, innocent and persecuted people. It appeared just then to the Whigs an object of interest to speak kindly of and conciliate the Saints, and they became quite eloquent in dwelling upon the wrongs which they had endured. Although it looked rather suspicious to the Saints that the Whigs of Iowa should at that particular time become deeply interested in their welfare, and all of a sudden grow warm and eloquent upon the subject of their expulsion from Missouri, and the martyrdom of the Prophet and Patriarch, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and the sufferings they had endured in the boasted land of freedom, still the caucus concluded to reply to the communications of the Whigs. A preamble was drafted and adopted, in which a lengthy account of the outrages, persecution and proscriptions endured by the Latter-day Saints were set forth; also a resolution declaring that, if the Whigs of Iowa would lift up their hands towards heaven and swear by the Eternal Gods that they would use all their powers to suppress mobocracy, insurrection, rebellion and violence, in whatever form or from whatever source such might arise against the Latter-day Saints and the citizens of Iowa, even to the sacrifice of all their property, and their lives if need be, and that a full share of representative and judicial authority should be extended

to the Saints, then the Saints would pledge themselves to unite their votes with the Whigs of Iowa at the election of the current year, and would correspond with the Whigs as solicited.

"In March (1848) a post-office was established at Kaneshville, and Brother Evan M. Greene received the appointment of postmaster. A county organization was also obtained, the county being called Pottawattamie. The officers were: Isaac Clark, judge of probate; George Coulson, Andrew H. Perkins and David D. Yearsley, county commissioners; Thomas Rurdick, county clerk; John D. Parker, sheriff; James Sloan, district clerk; Evan M. Greene, recorder and treasurer; Jacob G. Bigler, William Snow, Levi Bracken and Jonathan C. Wright, magistrates.

"Kaneshville was now becoming a point of some importance. It was the intention to abandon Winter Quarters in the spring of 1848, and those who could not move to the valley that season made preparations to settle on the Iowa side of the Missouri River, and whether they opened farms at other points or not, they naturally looked to Kaneshville as headquarters. At a conference held there, Elders Orson Hyde and George A. Smith were chosen to labor in Pottawattamie County. Elder Ezra T. Benson was afterwards appointed to labor with them. Besides the Saints who had moved there after the expulsion of the Church from Nauvoo, there were many coming from foreign lands, who not having sufficient means to carry them directly to the valley, needed a half way place at which to stop while they could make the necessary prepara-

tions to prosecute the journey. In May a company of 146 Saints arrived from Great Britain, having been brought up the Missouri River by the steamboat *Mustang*, under the leadership of Elder Franklin D. Richards, assisted by Elders Andrew Cahoon and S. W. Richards. Another company also arrived shortly afterwards under the leadership of Elder Moses Martin. Early in the same month a company of Saints arrived from the States on the steamboat *Mandan*. After the exodus of the Church from Nauvoo the emigration of the Saints from Europe had been stopped until a place of gathering could be found and decided upon. During this period the Saints in Europe had to repress their desires to gather with the people of God. When, therefore, the General Epistle reached them from the Presidency of the Church, informing them, among other things, that a place for the gathering of the people and the building up of Zion had been designated, they gladly received the news and the stream of emigration again began to flow Zionward.

"The persecution and driving out of the Saints from the midst of so-called civilization and their wandering in the wilderness, did not check the preaching of the gospel in Europe, or the baptism of the humble and meek and honest-hearted people who heard its glad sound. In Wales alone, under the Presidency of Elder Dan Jones, during the last six months of 1847, upwards of seven hundred souls were added to the Church; and in other places where the Elders labored the Lord gave them great success in bringing souls unto Him. At the same con-

ference at which Elders Orson Hyde and George A. Smith were appointed to labor in Pottawattamie County, Elders Orson Pratt and Wilford Woodruff, of the Twelve Apostles, were appointed missions; the first to Great Britain and the second to the Eastern States, Nova Scotia and Canada. Besides these, there were several other prominent Elders sent on missions abroad.

"In the meanwhile active preparations were being made at Winter Quarters for the next summer's journey across the plains to the valley. The Otoe Indians having heard that President Young and the Saints were about to start for the mountains, fifty of them, bearing letters from the Agency, visited Winter Quarters to receive compensation for the occupancy of their lands. Suitable presents were given them and they returned to their villages. On the 9th of May 22 wagons left Winter Quarters for the Elkhorn River—the place of rendezvous for the organization of the companies intending to move to the mountains that summer. They were followed by others; and on the 26th President Young started from Winter Quarters for the Elkhorn. Through the blessing of the Lord on his industry and good management, he had acquired considerable property during his sojourn at Winter Quarters, in houses, mills and temporary furniture. These he had to leave, making the fifth time that he had left his home and property since he embraced the gospel of Jesus Christ. Brother Heber C. Kimball reached the Elkhorn River on the 1st of June, having 55 wagons in company. It was with very joyful feelings that the Saints bade farewell to Winter Quarters.

There was a long and tiresome journey before them, and the country to which they were going did not possess such natural advantages for settlement and cultivation at that time as to be inviting for a people who sought temporal prosperity only. But to the Saints it was an attractive land. God had chosen and pointed it out as their residence, the place to which He wished them to gather. There they could dwell at peace and worship Him without any to molest or make them afraid. There, under the shadow of the mighty mountains, they could erect their altars, attend to the ordinances which He had revealed and commanded them to observe, extend their settlements, and have no mob to threaten and annoy them. It was, therefore, with joyful feelings that they started forth on the plains to traverse the desert wilds which stretched out between the Missouri River and the mountains.

"May 31, 1848, the organization of President Young's company was commenced by appointing Zera Pulsipher captain of hundred, with John Benbow and Daniel Wood captains of fifties; also, Lorenzo Snow captain of hundred and Heman Hyde and John Stoker captains of fifties. The next day the further organization was proceeded with by the appointment of William G. Perkins as captain of hundred and John D. Lee and Eleazer Miller captains of fifties; also, Allen Taylor captain of hundred and John Harvey and Daniel Carn captains of fifties. Isaac Morley was chosen President of the company, with Reynolds Cahoon and William W. Major as his counselors. Horace S. Eldredge was selected as marshal, and Hosea Stout as captain

of the night guard. President Young was sustained as general superintendent of the emigrating companies, and Daniel H. Wells as his aid-de-camp. In President Young's company there were 1,229 souls, 397 wagons, 74 horses, 19 mules, 1,275 oxen, 699 cows, 184 loose cattle, 411 sheep, 141 pigs, 605 chickens, 37 cats, 82 dogs, 3 goats, 10 geese, 2 hives of bees, 8 doves and 1 crow, the latter owned by Judge Phelps.

"President Heber C. Kimball's company organized by electing Henry Herriman captain of the first hundred, and Titus Billings and John Pack captains of fifties; subsequently Isaac Higbee was appointed captain of a fifty. In his company there were 662 souls, 226 wagons, 57 horses, 25 mules, 737 oxen, 284 cows, 150 loose cattle, 243 sheep, 96 pigs, 299 chickens, 17 cats, 52 dogs, 3 hives of bees, 3 doves, 5 ducks and 1 squirrel.

"On the 29th of June, Amasa Lyman, with a company of 108 wagons, left Winter Quarters for the Elkhorn River. Dr. Willard Richards left there with his company on the 3rd of July. These companies joined in electing James M. Flake captain of hundred, Franklin D. Richards and James H. Rollins, captains of fifties, and Robert L. Campbell historian of their camp. In these companies there were 502 whites, 24 negroes, 169 wagons, 50 horses, 20 mules, 515 oxen, 426 cows and loose cattle, 369 sheep, 63 pigs, 5 cats, 44 dogs, 170 chickens, 4 turkeys, 7 ducks, 5 doves and 3 goats.

"After Presidents Young and Kimball's companies left Winter Quarters, the place presented a desolate aspect. A terrific thunder storm passed over, accompanied by a hur-

ricane, which tore wagon covers to shreds and whistled fearfully through the empty dwellings. A few straggling Indians camped in the vacated houses and subsisted upon the cattle which had died of poverty, and upon such other articles of food as they could pick up. \* \* \*

"At Ancient Bluff Ruins, on July 12th, Brothers John Y. Greene, Joseph W. Young, Rufus Allen and Isaac Burnham from this valley met President Young and company. They brought several letters, and 18 wagons and teams with which to assist the emigrating companies. Eight of these teams were sent on to Winter Quarters by Daniel Thomas; the others were used in assisting Presidents Young and Kimball's companies. The small amount of help received from the valley at this point was a disappointment. President Young had thought with good reason that the people in the valley would have it in their power, and would esteem it as a pleasure—all having covenanted to help each other until all were gathered to the mountains—to send back teams to help the companies who were on the road into the valley. He and the brethren were disappointed, therefore, in meeting 18 wagons almost broken down, most of them needing the resetting of their tires, six of them without any appearance of a cover, and some even without bows, and many of the cattle footsore; and especially to learn by letter from the valley that these were 'all the teams that we could spare, that were fit to go.' They had hoped to be able, with the help received from the valley, to send teams to Winter Quarters after the mill irons, millstones, printing presses, type, paper, and

carding machine; but with the few wagons and teams which had been sent them this could not be done.

"Three days after meeting these teams, President Young sent a letter under date of July 17th, to the valley. It had the effect to stir up the authorities there to make greater exertions to fit out teams and wagons to send back to help the emigrating companies. That letter reached the valley on the 6th of August. On the 9th it was answered; this answer President Young received on the 23rd of August. Respecting the sending back of help, the letter said:

"As early as was thought prudent we started back all the wagons, oxen and men that the people thought they could spare at the time; and under the circumstances it was deemed best to let that suffice until we could hear from you. We are now busy setting tires, hub-bands, etc., and raising all the men, oxen and well-fitted wagons that we can send to you as speedily as possible, and we shall keep starting them off until we send all we have to spare, or until we receive word from you that you have teams and wagons enough."

"A few days after the receipt of this letter, President Young met, on the Sweetwater, 47 wagons and 124 yoke of cattle, which had been sent from the valley for the assistance of the companies in charge of Brothers Lorenzo Snow and Abraham O. Smoot. This was a timely and most welcome relief. Presidents Young and Kimball then sent back to Winter Quarters, in charge of Allen Taylor, 48 men and boys, 59 wagons, 121 yoke of cattle, 44 mules and horses.

"The season of 1848 was a very dry one; the roads were dusty, the grass was scarce. The teams in the companies were heavily loaded, and in consequence the traveling was slow and tedious. Sixty-three days

were occupied in traveling from the Elkhorn River to the last crossing of the Sweetwater, at an average of 12 miles per day, the companies resting 22 days, including Sundays, to recruit and strengthen the cattle. The loss of cattle on the route was considerable; and it is a fact worthy of notice here that the percentage of deaths of cattle on the plains has always been much greater in trains where cattle brought from the States were worked than in those in which cattle raised in the valleys were used. Trains have been sent from here many seasons to bring up the poor. In going and returning the cattle have traveled upwards of two thousand miles, yet the loss of life among them has been very small. They are accustomed to the kind of feed to be met with on the plains, and will not eat poisonous grass, or drink alkali water, as man, cattle raised in the States do.

"President Young's company was divided into four divisions on the 16th of July, for greater convenience in traveling; and about the same time Brother Kimball's company was divided. Traveling in small companies where grass was scarce was much better for the cattle, and more pleasant for the people, for the dust created by the traveling of a large company of several hundred wagons was very disagreeable.

"Fearing that Dr. Richards and Amasa M. Lyman's company might be weak in teams, Presidents Young and Kimball sent letters by express to them, counseling them, if in difficulty for the want of cattle, to keep their companies together and continue moving so as to get west of the South Pass, and to send word what their circumstances were and what

help they required. They expected to send them all the assistance they needed from the valley. These companies behind were kept well informed of the progress of those ahead of them from the communications left on the way. Sometimes a copy of the camp journal was written and placed in a notch in a tree in some prominent place, sometimes in a post stuck in the ground; but whenever a large buffalo skull or other suitable bones were found near the road, pencils were called into use and some particulars were written on them. In this way much information was communicated to those behind, as very few teamsters who had pencils ever passed good white bones, suitable for writing on, without picking them up or stopping to scribble something on them. In those days buffalo were very numerous on the plains and their skulls were plentifully scattered over the ground.

"The first of President Young's company arrived in Salt Lake Valley on the 20th of September, and President Kimball's a few days after. In the first company one boy was drowned in the Elkhorn River, a child of 34 days and a woman of 45 years died, and two persons had their legs broken. Some other slight accidents also occurred. Several children were born on the route. In the last company a girl of six years was killed and a woman of 28 years died, and several children were born. The health of the people was remarkably good, and no better argument in favor of plain, and even meagre living and out-door exercise can be adduced than the excellent health enjoyed by the Saints in crossing the plains in these years and in

the first settlement of this valley. There was but little variety of food and the allowance was very scanty; the people dwelt in tents, and a good covered wagon as a bed room was a luxury that very many did not have; yet good health and vigor were almost universal.

"Teams and wagons were sent back in charge of Elder Jedediah M. Grant to assist President Willard Richards and Amasa M. Lyman's company. The first of the last-named company arrived in Salt Lake Valley October 10th, and President Richards and company on the 19th.

"The First Presidency of the Church were gladly welcomed by the people who were residents of the valley. They rejoiced in the wonderful care and preserving mercies of the Lord which had been over them from the time they left Illinois. The Lord had blessed them in the wilderness; he had fed them, delivered them from the many dangers to which they were exposed and led

them to a safe and healthy retreat, far distant from their former persecutors. The spirit of peace brooded over the land, and having been harassed and annoyed by mobs, they could appreciate the security which they now enjoyed.

About one thousand wagons arrived in the Valley in 1848 with immigrating Saints, and during the few following years large companies continued to arrive. In 1852 the last remnant of the exiles from Nauvoo, who wished to come to the Valley, agreeable to counsel, and others who since the drivings had arrived on the frontiers from different parts of the world, came on to the new headquarters of the Church in the Mountains. Kaneshville (now Council Bluffs), where Orson Hyde had been publishing the *Frontier Guardian*, and where quite a number of Saints from Nauvoo, had been temporarily located since the summer of 1846, was vacated by the Saints in 1852

### THE MORMON BATTALION.

In the summer of 1846, while the Saints were journeying westward, away from the border of civilization, in search of a new home where they might live free and unmolested from mob violence, a call was made upon them by the Federal government to furnish 500 young men to march to California and take part in the war with Mexico. June 26, 1846, Captain James Allen, of the U. S. army arrived at Mount Pisgah, Iowa, where a number of the Saints had located temporarily, and presented in a meeting of the leading men of the place, the following circular to the "Mormons:"

"I have come among you, instructed by Colonel S. W. Kearny of the U. S. army, now commanding the army of the West, to visit the Mormon camp and accept the services, for twelve months, of four or five companies of the Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for the period in our present war with Mexico. This force to unite with the army of the West at Santa Fe and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged.

"They will receive pay and rations and other allowances such as other volunteers or regular soldiers receive, from the day they shall be mustered into the service, and will be entitled to all the comforts and benefits of regular soldiers of the army, and when discharged as contemplated, at California, they will be given, gratis, their arms and accoutrements, with which they will be fully equipped at Fort Leavenworth. This is offered to the Mormon people now, this

year, an opportunity of sending a portion of their young and intelligent men to the ultimate destination of their whole people, and entirely at the expense of the United States, and this advance party can thus pave the way, and look out the land for their brethren to come after them.

"The pay of a private volunteer is seven dollars per month, and the allowance for clothing is the cost price of clothing of a regular soldier.

"Those of the Mormons who are desirous of serving their country, on the conditions here enumerated, are requested to meet me without delay at their principal camp, at the Council Bluffs, whither I am now going to consult with their principal men, and to receive and organize the force contemplated to be raised.

"I will receive all healthy, able men of from eighteen to forty-five years of age.

"J. ALLEN, Capt. 1st Dragoons.

"Camp of the Mormons, at Mount Pisgah, 180 miles east of Council Bluffs.

"June 26, 1846.

"Note.—I hope to complete the organization of this battalion within six days after reaching Council Bluffs, or within nine days from this time."

After due deliberation the brethren at Pisgah advised Captain Allen to visit the authorities of the Church at Council Bluffs, and gave him a letter of introduction to Elder Wm. Clayton, the clerk of the camp. He reached Council Bluffs on the 30th, and immediately placed himself in communication with President Young and his brethren. On the 1st of July he met with them, and presented to them for perusal, the following instructions from his commanding officer:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE WEST,  
"Fort Leavenworth, June 19, 1846.

"Sir.—It is understood that there is a large body of Mormons, who are desirous of emigrating to California for the purpose of settling in that country, and I have therefore to direct that you will proceed to their camps and endeavor to raise from amongst them four or five companies of volunteers to join me in my expedition to that country; each company to consist of any number between seventy-three and one hundred and nine. The officers of the companies will be

a captain, first lieutenant and second lieutenant, who will be elected by the privates and subject to your approval, and the captains then to appoint the non-commissioned officers, also subject to your approval. The companies, upon being thus organized, will be mustered by you into the service of the U. S., and from that day will commence to receive the pay, rations, and other allowances given to other infantry volunteers, each according to his rank. You will upon mustering into service the fourth company be considered as having the rank, pay and emoluments of a lieutenant colonel of infantry, and are authorized to appoint an adjutant, sergeant major and quarter-master sergeant for the battalion.

"The companies after being organized will be marched to this post, where they will be armed and prepared for the field, after which they will, under your command, follow on my trail in the direction of Santa Fe, and where you will receive further orders from me.

"You will, upon organizing the companies, require provisions, wagons, horses, mules, etc.; you must purchase everything which is necessary and give the necessary drafts upon the quarter-master and commissary departments at this post, which drafts will be paid upon presentation.

"You will have the Mormons distinctly to understand, that I wish to take them as volunteers for twelve months, that they will be marched to California, receiving pay and allowances during the above time, and at its expiration they will be discharged, and allowed to retain, as their private property, the guns and accoutrements to be furnished to them at this post.

"Each company will be allowed four women as laundresses, who will travel with the company, receiving rations, and the other allowances given to the laundresses of our army.

"With the foregoing conditions, which are hereby pledged to the Mormons and which will be faithfully kept by me and other officers in behalf of the government of the United States, I cannot doubt but that you will, in a few days, be able to raise five hundred young and efficient men for this expedition.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"S. W. KEARNY, Col. of 1st Dragoons.

"CAPTAIN JAMES ALLEN,

"1st Reg. Dragoons, Fort Leavenworth."

As soon as the object of Captain Allen's visit was known to President Young and the council, they sent an

invitation to the brethren within the camp to assemble. At the meeting, President Young introduced Captain Allen to the people, who addressed them, stating the object for which he had been sent. He attributed the call to the benevolence of James K. Polk, President of the United States; said that he wanted five hundred of the Latter-day Saints, and spoke of it as though it were a favor, for there were hundreds of thousands of volunteers in the States, he said, ready to enlist if called upon. He had his orders from Colonel Kearny, and a circular which he had issued at Mount Pisgah, and explained them. Captain Allen did not inform the people—for the reason, probably, that he knew nothing about it—what the design was in case the battalion was not raised. The secret history of the transaction is, as President Young was afterwards informed on the best of authority, that Thomas H. Benton, United States senator, from the State of Missouri, got a pledge from President Polk, that if the “Mormons” did not raise the battalion of five hundred he might have the privilege of raising volunteers in the upper counties of Missouri, to fall upon them and use them up.

Captain Allen in all his dealings with the people deported himself as a gentleman and gained the good will of the leading men of the camp, as well as of all the volunteers.

The assembly was addressed, after Captain Allen had finished, by President Young. He asked the people to make a distinction between this action of the general government, in calling upon them for volunteers, and their former oppressions in Missouri and Illinois. The people had

so recently suffered from mobocracy in being driven from their homes, and stripped of their possessions, and compelled to flee into the wilderness, without having any remonstrance made in their behalf by the authorities of the government, that they naturally felt it to be a hard request to make of them, while their families were in the midst of the wilderness and homeless wanderers, to enlist as soldiers and fight with Mexico. If the plan were a benevolent one they failed to perceive where the benevolence came in. It required all the influence of President Young and his brethren to raise the battalion of men, for it seemed to present itself as another act of persecution, to call upon them to leave their families under such circumstances in the midst of an unknown country.

Elder Heber C. Kimball motioned at this meeting that a battalion of five hundred men be raised, in conformity with the requisition of the government. This was seconded by Elder Willard Richards, and carried unanimously.

After the meeting, President Young walked out as recruiting sergeant, with Willard Richards as clerk. A number of names were given as volunteers. There not being men enough in the camp at Council Bluffs to fill the requirements, a council was held, and it was voted that President Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball should go to Mount Pisgah to raise volunteers. They started on the 3rd of July, and were accompanied by Elder Willard Richards and several brethren on horseback. They met numbers of the people traveling towards the Bluffs, to whom they explained the object



of their journey, and with whom they held meetings as opportunity offered. They also met among others Elder Jesse C. Little, who had been acting as President in the New England and Middle States. He had visited Washington and had learned from President Polk of the intentions of the government to raise a battalion of men, and he had immediately started for the camp by way of Nauvoo. He had been very active in his labors in the East, and had done all in his power to create a sympathy in behalf of the people.

On the 6th, Presidents Young, Kimball and Richards reached Mount Pisgah. From this point they sent epistles to Garden Grove and to Nauvoo, informing the Saints of the move that was being made to raise a battalion of five hundred; and calling for them to send forward all the men they could spare to strengthen the camp. From Garden Grove they called for volunteers for the battalion. At Mount Pisgah they held a meeting, at which they set forth the object of their visit and the anxiety they had to raise the number of men which the government required. They remained at Pisgah until the evening of the 9th, at which time they started back for the camp at the Bluffs, which they reached on the 12th.

During their absence the work of raising volunteers had been pressed, but the necessary number had not been raised. Upon their return this business was vigorously pushed forward, strong appeals being made to those of suitable age to enlist. President Young told the people that if they wanted the privilege of going where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own

consciences, the battalion must be raised; it was right to raise it, and the blessings they were looking forward to could only be obtained by sacrifice; surrounding circumstances must be cast from their minds, they must let them go. They might as well consider themselves in good circumstances as in bad ones; he knew that every man was well supplied, for he was as well acquainted with the situation of every man in camp as he was with himself. Though there were no more men than were actually needed to take care of the families and teams, and to perform the necessary amount of travel, yet the battalion must be formed. He said: "We have lived near so many old settlers who would always say 'get out,' that we should be thankful for the privilege of going to settle a new country. You are going to march to California; suppose that country ultimately comes under the government of the United States, which ought to be the case, we would be the old settlers and could say 'get out.' Suppose we refuse to raise a battalion, what will we do? We told you some time ago we would fit you out for the purpose, and now we are ready to do so with Captain Allen as agent for the United States to help us." At this meeting it was voted unanimously that President Young and the council nominate the officers for the several companies.

On the 14th, volunteers from Mount Pisgah arrived. The battalion was called, and strict instructions were given it as to how its members should behave on their expedition. President Young wished them to prove the best soldiers in the United States service. He instructed the captains to be fathers

to their companies, and to manage their offices by the power and influence of the Priesthood, then they would have power to preserve their lives and the lives of their companies and to escape difficulties. Said he, "a private soldier is as honorable as an officer if he behaves as well; no one is distinguished as being better flesh and blood than another." They should keep neat and clean; teach chastity, gentility and civility, and swearing must not be allowed. They were to insult no man; have no contentious conversation with Missourians, Mexicans, or any class of people; were not to preach only where people desired to hear, and then wise men were to do the preaching. They were not to impose their principles upon any people; were to take their Bibles and Books of Mormon, and if they had any playing cards they were to burn them. The officers were to regulate dances, but they were not to dance with the world. They were not to trespass on the rights of others, and if they should engage with the enemy and be successful, they were to treat prisoners with the greatest civility and never to take life if it could be avoided. President Young told the brethren of the Battalion that they would have no fighting to do. He said that the Battalion would probably be disbanded about eight hundred miles from the place where the Church would locate. He suggested that the members tarry there and go to work; "but," said he, "the next Temple will be built in the Rocky Mountains; in the Great Basin is the place to build Temples, and it shall be the stronghold of the Saints against mobs."

It was somewhat difficult to raise

men of the necessary age—between 18 and 45—to complete the five hundred, but by strenuous exertions they were at last enlisted and on July 16, 1846, four companies of over four hundred men all told, and part of the fifth, were mustered into service at Council Bluffs. The pay and rations of the men dated from this day. A few days later the fifth company was filled. Following are the names of officers and men, also families, which accompanied the command—so far as obtained by Daniel Tyler, author of "A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion:"

#### COMPANY A.

##### *Officers.*

Jefferson Hunt, captain.  
Geo. W. Oman, 1st lieutenant.  
Lorenzo Clark, 2nd lieutenant.  
Wm. W. Willis, 3rd lieutenant.  
James Ferguson, sergeant major.  
Phineas B. Wright, 1st sergeant.  
Ebenezer Brown, 2nd sergeant.  
Reddick N. Allred, 3rd sergeant.  
Alexander McCord, 4th sergeant.  
Gilbert Hunt, 1st corporal.  
Lafayette N. Frost, 2nd corporal.  
Thomas Weir, 3rd corporal.  
Wm. S. Muir, 4th corporal.  
Elisha Everett, musician.  
Joseph W. Richards, musician.

##### *Privates.*

1 Allen, Rufus C.	22 Casper, Wm. W.
2 Allred, James R.	23 Calkins, James
3 Allred, James T. S.	24 Calkins, Sylvanus
4 Allred, Reuben W.	25 Calkins, Edwin R.
5 Allen, Albern	26 Coleman, Geo.
6 Brown, John	27 Clark, Joseph
7 Butterfield, J. K.	28 Clark, Riley G.
8 Bailey, James	29 Decker, Zech. B.
9 Brunson, Clinton D.	30 Dobson, Joseph
10 Brass, Benjamin	31 Dodson, Eli
11 Blanchard, M. S.	32 Earl, James C.
12 Beckstead, G. S.	33 Egbert, Robert C.
13 Beckstead, Orin M.	34 Fairbanks, Henry
14 Bickmore, Gilbert	35 Frederick, David
15 Brown, Wm. W.	36 Gilnes, James
16 Bevan, James	37 Garner, David
17 Briant, John S.	38 Gordon, Gilman
18 Curtis, Josiah	39 Goodwin, Andrew
19 Oox, Henderson	40 Hulett, Schuyler
20 Chase, Hiram B.	41 Holden, Elijah E.
21 Calkins, Alva C.	42 Hampton, James

43 Hawkins, Benj. 67 Steele, Geo. E.  
 44 Hickman, Cooper W. F. 68 Steele, Isalah C.  
 45 Hunt, Martial 69 Sessions, Richard  
 46 Hewett, Eli B. 70 Shepherd, L.  
 47 Hudson, Wilford 71 Swartzout, Hamilton  
 48 Hoyt, Timothy S. 72 Sexton, George  
 49 Hoyt, Henry P. 73 Sessions, John  
 50 Ivie, Richard A. 74 Sessions, Wm. B.  
 51 Jackson, Chas. A. 75 Taylor, Joseph  
 52 Johnson, Henry 76 Thompson, John  
 53 Kelley, Wm. 77 Vrandenburg, A.  
 54 Kelley, Nicholas 78 Weaver, Miles  
 55 Kibley, James 79 Wriston, John P.  
 56 Lemon, James W. 80 Wriston, Isaac N.  
 57 Lake, Barnabas 81 Weaver, Franklin  
 58 Moss, David 82 Wilson, Alfred G.  
 59 Maxwell, Maxie 83 Wheeler, Merrill W.  
 60 Mayfield, Benj. F. 84 White, Samuel S.  
 61 Nalle, Conrad 85 Webb, Chas. Y.  
 62 Oyler, Melcher 86 Winn, Dennis  
 63 Packard, Henry 87 Woodworth, L.  
 64 Persons, Ebenezer 88 White, Joseph  
 65 Roe, Carlatat C. 89 Willey, Jeremiah  
 66 Ritter, John

## COMPANY B.

*Officers.*

Jesse D. Hunter, captain.  
 Elam Luddington, 1st lieutenant.  
 Ruel Barrus, 2nd lieutenant.  
 Philemon C. Merrill, 3d lieutenant.  
 Wm. Coray, 1st orderly sergeant.  
 Wm. Hyde, 2nd orderly sergeant.  
 Albert Smith, 3rd orderly sergeant.  
 David P. Rainey, 1st corporal.  
 Thomas Dunn, 2nd corporal.  
 John D. Chase, 3rd corporal.  
 Wm. Hunter, musician.  
 Geo. W. Taggart, musician.

*Privates.*

1 Allen, George 21 Church, Haden W.  
 2 Allen, Elijah 22 Camp, J. G.  
 3 Alexander, H. M. 23 Carter, P. J.  
 4 Allen, Franklin 24 Curtis, Dorr P.  
 5 Buah, Richard 25 Carter, R.  
 6 Bird, Wm. 26 Dayton, Wm. J.  
 7 Bingham, Thos. 27 Dutcher, Thos. P.  
 8 Bingham, Erastus 28 Dalton, Henry S.  
 9 Billings, Orson 29 Dunham, Albert  
 10 Bigler, Henry W. 30 Evans, Israel  
 11 Boley, Samuel 31 Evans, Wm.  
 12 Borrowman, John 32 Eastman, M. N.  
 13 Brackenberry, B. B. 33 Freeman, Elijah N.  
 14 Brown, Francis 34 Follett, Wm. A.  
 15 Bliss, Robert S. 35 Fife, Peter  
 16 Bybee, John 36 Green, Ephraim  
 17 Clark, Geo. S. 37 Garner, Wm. A.  
 18 Colton, Philander 38 Garner, Philip  
 19 Cheney, Zachens 39 Hawk, Nathan  
 20 Callahan, Thos. W. 40 Huntsman, Isalah

41 Hoffheins, Jacob 66 Park, James, 1st  
 42 Hanks, Ephraim R. 67 Park, James, 2nd  
 43 Hawk, Wm. 68 Richards, Peter F.  
 44 Hinckley, Arza E. 69 Rogers, Samuel H.  
 45 Hunter, Edward 70 Study, David  
 46 Haskell, Geo., 71 Smith, Azariah  
 47 Harris, Silas 72 Stevens, Lyman  
 48 Jones, David H., 73 Stoddard, Rufus  
 49 Keyser, Guy M., 74 Simmons, Wm. A.  
 50 King, John M., 75 Sly, James C.  
 51 Kirk, Thos. 76 Steers, Andrew J.  
 52 Lawson, John 77 Stillman, Dexter  
 53 Morris, Thos. 78 Workman, A. J.  
 54 McCarty, Nelson 79 Walker, Wm.  
 55 Mount, Hiram B., 80 Willis, Ira  
 56 Martin, Jesse B. 81 Workman, O. G.  
 57 Murdock, John R. 82 Willis, W. S. S.  
 58 Murdock, Price 83 Watts, John  
 59 Myers, Samuel 84 Whitney, F. T.  
 60 Miles, Samuel 85 Wright, Chas.  
 61 Noler, Christian 86 Wilcox, Edward  
 62 Owans, Robert 87 Wilcox, Henry  
 63 Pearson, Ephraim 88 Wheeler, John L.  
 64 Persons, Harmon D. 89 Winters, Jacob  
 65 Prouse, Wm. 90 Zabriskie, Jerome

## COMPANY C.

*Officers.*

James Brown, captain.  
 Geo. W. Rosecrans, 1st lieutenant.  
 Samuel Thompson, 2nd lieutenant.  
 Robert Clift (promoted from orderly sergeant to 3rd lieutenant).  
 Orson B. Adams, 1st sergeant.  
 Elijah Elmer, 2nd sergeant.  
 Joel J. Terrill, 3rd sergeant.  
 David Wilkin, 4th sergeant.  
 Jabez Nowlin, 1st corporal.  
 Alexander Brown, 2nd corporal.  
 Edward Martin, 3rd corporal.  
 Daniel Tyler, 4th corporal.  
 Richard D. Sprague, musician.  
 Russell G. Brownell, musician.

*Privates.*

1 Adair, Wesley 18 Calvert, John  
 2 Boyle, Henry G. 19 Catlin, Geo. W.  
 3 Burt, Wm. 20 Donald, Neal  
 4 Barney, Walter 21 Dunn, James  
 5 Babcock, Lorenzo 22 Dalton, Harry  
 6 Brown, Jesse J. 23 Dalton, Edward  
 7 Bailey, Addison 24 Durphy, Francillo  
 8 Bailey, Jefferson 25 Dodge, Aug. E.  
 9 Beckstead, Wm. E. 26 Forbush, Lorin  
 10 Brimhall, John 27 Fellows, Hiram W.  
 11 Blackburn, Abner 28 Fife, John  
 12 Bybee, Henry G. 29 Fifield, Levi  
 13 Clift, James 30 Gould, John C.  
 14 Covil, John Q. A. 31 Gould, Samuel  
 15 Condit, Jephtha 32 Gibson, Thomas  
 16 Carpenter, Isaac 33 Green, John  
 17 Carpenter, Wm. H. 34 Hatch, Melittah

35 Hatch, Orin 62 Peck, Thorit  
 36 Holt, Wm. 63 Peck, Isaac  
 37 Harmon, Ebenezer 64 Pulsipher, David  
 38 Harmon, Loren- 65 Persons, Judson A.  
   zo F. 66 Richie, Benj.  
 39 Holdaway, Shad- 67 Rust, Wm. W.  
   rach 68 Richmond, Benj.  
 40 Hendrickson, Jas. 69 Reynolds, Wm.  
 41 Hancock, Chas. 70 Riser, John J.  
 42 Hancock, Geo. W. 71 Smith, Milton  
 43 Inip, Thos. C. 72 Smith, Richard  
 44 Johnston, Wm. J. 73 Shupe, James  
 45 Johnston, Jesse W. 74 Shupe, Andrew J.  
 46 Johnson, Jarvis 75 Shipley, Joseph  
 47 Layton, Christo- 76 Squires, Wm.  
   pher 77 Shumway, Aurora  
 48 Larson, Thurston 78 Thompson, J. L.  
 49 Landers, Ebenezer 79 Thomas, Nathan T.  
 50 Lewis, Samuel 80 Thomas, Elijah  
 51 Myler, James 81 Tuttle, Eliason  
 52 McCullough, L. H. 82 Truman, Jacob M.  
 53 Morey, Harley 83 Tindell, Solomon  
 54 Maggard, Benj. 84 Wade, Edward W.  
 55 Mowray, John T. 85 Wade, Moses  
 56 Mead, Orlando F. 86 Wood, Wm.  
 57 More, Calvin W. 87 White, John J.  
 58 Olmstead, Hiram 88 Wilcox, Matthew  
 59 Perkins, David 89 Welsh, Madison  
 60 Perkins, John 90 Wheeler, Henry  
 61 Pickup, Geo.

## COMPANY D.

*Officers.*

Nelson Higgins, captain.  
 Geo. P. Dykes, 1st lieutenant.  
 Sylvester Hulett, 2nd lieutenant.  
 Cyrus C. Canfield, 3rd lieutenant.  
 Nathaniel V. Jones, 1st sergeant.  
 Thomas Williams, 2nd sergeant.  
 Luther T. Tuttle, 3rd sergeant.  
 Alpheus P. Haws, 4th sergeant.  
 Arnold Stephens, 1st corporal.  
 John Buchanan, 2nd corporal.  
 Wm. Coon, 3rd corporal.  
 Lewis Lane, 4th corporal.  
 Willard Smith, musician.  
 Henry W. Jackson, musician.

*Privates.*

1 Abbott, Joshua 12 Compton, Allen  
 2 Averett, Jeduthan 13 Cole, James B.  
 3 Brown, James, 1st 14 Casto, Wm.  
 4 Brown, James S. 15 Casto, James  
 5 Bingham, Erastus 16 Curtis, Foster  
 6 Badlam, Samuel 17 Clawson, John R.  
 7 Button, Montgom- 18 Cox, Amos  
   ery 19 Collings, Robt. H.  
 8 Brissoe, Henry W. 20 Chase, Abner  
 9 Boyd, Geo. W. 21 Davis, Sterling  
 10 Boyd, Wm. 22 Davis, Eleazer  
 11 Barger, Wm. W. 23 Davis, James

24 Douglass, Ralph 57 Rollins, John  
 25 Douglass, James 58 Rawson, Daniel B.  
 26 Fletcher, Philander 59 Roberts, Benj.  
 27 Frazier, Thos. 60 Runyan, Levi  
 28 Fatoute, Ezra 61 Rowe, Wm.  
 29 Forsgreen, John E. 62 Richmond, Wm.  
 30 Finlay, Thos. 63 Robinson, Wm.  
 31 Gilbert, John 64 Raymond, A. P.  
 32 Gifford, Wm. W. 65 Smith, John G.  
 33 Gribble, Wm. 66 Stephens, Alex.  
 34 Hoagland, Lucas 67 Spencer, Wm. W.  
 35 Henry, Daniel 68 Stewart, Benj.  
 36 Hiron, James 69 Stewart, James  
 37 Huntington, Dim- 70 Stewart, Robt. B.  
   ick B. 71 Sargent, Abel M.  
 38 Hendricks, Wm. D. 72 Savage, Levi  
 39 Holmes, Jonathan 73 Stillman, Clark  
 40 Higgins, Alfred 74 Swarthout, Nathan  
 41 Hunsaker, Abra- 75 Sharp, Albert  
   ham 76 Sharp, Norman  
 42 Hayward, Thos. 77 Shelton, Sebert C.  
 43 Jacobs, Sanford 78 Sanderson, H. W.  
 44 Kenney, Loren E. 79 Steele John,  
 45 Lamb, Lisbon 80 Thompson, Henry  
 46 Laughlin, David S. 81 Thompson, Miles  
 47 Maxwell, Wm. 82 Tanner, Myron  
 48 Meeseck, Peter J. 83 Twitohel, Aniel  
 49 Mecham, E. D. 84 Tubbs, Wm. R.  
 50 Merrill, Ferdinand 85 Treat, Thomas  
 51 McArthur, Henry 86 Tippetts, John H.  
 52 Oakley, James 87 Walker, Edwin  
 53 Owen, James 88 Woodward, Fran-  
   cis  
 55 Perrin, Chas. 89 Whiting, Almon  
 56 Pettegrew, Jas. P. 90 Whiting, Edmund

## COMPANY E.

*Officers:*

Daniel C. Davis, captain.  
 James Pace, 1st lieutenant.  
 Andrew Lytle, 2nd lieutenant.  
 Samuel L. Gully, 3rd lieutenant.  
 Samuel L. Brown, 1st sergeant.  
 Richard Brazier, 2nd sergeant.  
 Ebenezer Hanks, 3rd sergeant.  
 Daniel Browett, 4th sergeant.  
 James A. Scott, corporal.  
 Levi W. Hancock, musician.  
 Jesse Earl, musician.

*Privates.*

1 Allen, John 10 Campbell, Jona-  
 2 Allen, Geo. than  
 3 Binley, John Wes- 11 Casler, James  
   ley 12 Casler, John  
 4 Beers, Wm. 13 Clark, Samuel  
 5 Brown, Daniel 14 Clark, Albert  
 6 Bulkley, Newman 15 Chapin, Samuel  
 7 Bunker, Edward 16 Cox, John  
 8 Caldwell, Matthew 17 Cummings, Geo.  
 9 Campbell, Samuel 18 Day, Abraham

19 Dyke, Simon	51 Park, Wm. A.
20 Dennett, Daniel Q.	52 Pettegrew, David
21 Earl, Jacob	53 Pixton, Robert
22 Ewell, Wm.	54 Phelps, Alva
23 Ewell, Martin F.	55 Porter, Sanford
24 Earl, Justice C.	55 Pugmire, Jonathan, jun.
25 Findlay, John	57 Rollins —
26 Follett, Wm. T.	58 Richardson, Thos.
27 Glazier, Luther W.	59 Richards, L.
28 Harmon, Oliver N.	60 Roberts, L.
29 Harris, Robert	61 Sanders, Richard T.
30 Harrison, Isaac	62 Scott, Leonard M.
31 Hart, James S.	63 Scott, James B.
32 Harrison, Israel	64 Skein, Joseph
33 Hess, John W.	65 Spidle, John
34 Hickmott, John	66 Slater, Richard
35 Hopkins, Chas.	67 Snyder, John
36 Hoskins, Henry	68 Smith, Lot
37 Howell, T. C. D.	69 Smith, David
38 Howell, Wm.	70 Smith, Elisha
39 Jacobs, Bailey	71 Smith, John
40 Judd, Hiram	72 St. John, Stephen M.
41 Judd, Zadock K.	73 Stevens, Rosw e
42 Jimmerson, Chas.	74 Standage, Henry
43 Knapp, Albert	75 Strong, Wm.
44 Kelley, Geo.	76 Tanner, Albert
45 Karren, Thos.	77 West, Benj.
46 Lance, Wm.	78 Wilson, Geo.
47 McLelland, Wm. E.	79 Woolsey, Thos.
48 Miller, Daniel M.	80 Williams, James V.
49 McBride, Haslem	81 Whitworth, Wm.
50 Miller, Miles	

The following names of young men and boys, who served as servants to officers in the Mormon Battalion, were sent in to Daniel Tyler for publication in his history of the Battalion. He says they were mostly too young to be received as soldiers, but that they are entitled to much praise for their youthful patriotism and bravery. There were probably others whose names were not given:

Zemira Palmer, servant to Col. James Allen until his death; to Dr. George B. Sanderson from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, thence to Lieut. Lorenzo Clark until the corps was discharged.

Wm. Byron Pace, servant to Lieut. James Pace.

Wm. D. Pace, servant to Lieut. Andrew Lytle.

N. D. Higgins, servant to Captain Nelson Higgins.

Chas. Edwin Colton, servant to Adjutant P. C. Merrill.

James Mowrey, servant to Lieuts. George

W. Rosecrans, Samuel Thompson and Robt. Clift.

Elisha Smith, servant to Captain Daniel C. Davis.

Following is a list of families who accompanied the Battalion:

Mrs. Celia Hunt, wife of senior Captain Jefferson Hunt; sons: Hyrum, John, Joseph, Parley; daughters: Jane, Harriet, Mary; second wife, Matilda; in the family, Peter Nease, Ellen Nease, John Bosco and wife, Jane.

Mrs. Lydia Hunter, wife of Captain Jesse D. Hunter, of Company B, died at San Diego, left an infant and perhaps other children.

Mrs. Mary Brown, wife of Captain James Brown, of Company C.; son: David Black, and some children by first wife.

Mrs. Captain Nelson Higgins, of Company D; sons: Alpheus, Don Carlos; daughters: Druzilla, Almira (married John Chase at Pueblo), and one child born at Pueblo.

Mrs. Susan Davis, wife of Captain Daniel C. Davis, of Company E; son: Daniel C. Davis, jun.

Mrs. Fanny Maria Huntington, wife of Dimick B. Huntington; sons: Clark Allen, Lot; daughters: Martha, Zina, Betsy Prescinda (born at Pueblo).

Mrs. Malinda Kelley, wife of Milton Kelley; daughter: Malinda Catherine (born at Pueblo, now wife of Benj. L. Alexander).

Mrs. Elizabeth Shelton, wife of Sergeant Sebert C. Shelton; sons: Jackson Mayfield, John Mayfield; daughters: Sarah Mayfield, Caroline Shelton, Maria Shelton.

Mrs. Eunice Brown, wife of James P. Brown; sons: Robert, Newman, John (born while traveling between Pueblo and Salt Lake Valley); daughters: Sarah Jane and Mary Ann.

Mrs. Norman Sharp; daughter, born at Pueblo.

Miss Caroline Sargent.

Mrs. Montgomery Button; sons: James, Jutson, Charles; daughter: Louisa.

Mrs. Albina Williams, wife of Thomas S. Williams; son: Ephraim; daughters: Caroline, Phebe (the latter born at Pueblo).

Mrs. Jane Hanks, wife of Sergeant Ebenezer Hanks.

Mrs. Phebe Brown, wife of Sergeant Ebenezer Brown.

Mrs. Sophia Tubbs, wife of William Tubbs.

Mrs. Catherine Steele, wife of John Steele; daughter: Mary; also young Elizabeth (born twelve days after arriving in Salt Lake Valley).

Mrs. Susan Adams, wife of Sergeant Orson B. Adams.

Mrs. Mary Ann Hiron, wife of James Hiron.

Mrs. Emeline Hess, wife of John Hess.

Mrs. Rebecca Smith, wife of Ellsha Smith.

Mrs. Isabella Wilkin, wife of David Wilkin.

Mrs. Eliza Allred, wife of J. T. S. Allred.

Mrs. Elzada Allred, wife of Reuben Allred.

Mrs. Sarah Shupe, wife of Andrew Jackson Shupe.

Mrs. Melissa Coray, wife of Sergeant Coray.

Mrs. Ruth Abbott.

Mrs. Harriet Brown, wife of Daniel Brown.

Mrs. Sarah Kelley, wife of Nicholas Kelley; son: Parley.

Mrs. Agnes Brown, wife of Sergeant Edward L. Brown.

Mrs. Caroline Sessions, wife of John Sessions.

There may have been a few others, not reported, as all were collected from memory.

July 20, 1846, the four companies first organized took up their line of march for Fort Leavenworth. Previous to starting the men of each company subscribed liberally of their wages to be sent back for the support of their families and to aid in gathering the poor from Nauvoo. That day they traveled about four miles, and continuing the journey they arrived at Fort Leavenworth on the 1st of August, having been joined by the 5th company on the road. They had also buried one of their comrades, Samuel Boley, who died on July 28rd.

At Leavenworth the men drew their arms, which consisted of U. S. flint-lock muskets, with a few cap-lock yaugers for sharpshooting and hunting purposes. The usual accoutrements were also drawn, as well as camp equipage and provisions, the want of which had been seriously felt on the way from Council Bluffs.

On the 5th the soldiers drew \$42 each, as clothing money for the year.

Most of the money was sent back by Elder Parley P. Pratt and others for the support of the families of the soldiers, and for the gathering of the poor from Nauvoo. There was also a donation to aid Elders Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde and John Taylor, of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, in pursuing their mission to England, and to assist Elder J. C. Little to go upon his mission to the Eastern States. The paymaster was much surprised to see every man able to sign his own name to the pay roll, as only about one in three of the Missouri volunteers, who drew their pay previously, could put his signature to that document.

The members of the Mormon Battalion, too, were not only more intelligent than their fellows, but they were more submissive and obedient to their commanding officers. Colonel Allen was heard to say, in conversation with a prominent officer of the garrison, that he "had not been under the necessity of giving the word of command the second time. The men, though unacquainted with military tactics, were willing to obey orders."

Aug. 8th, Elders Orson Hyde, John Taylor and J. C. Little took leave of the Battalion at Fort Leavenworth and proceeded on their missions.

The first Sunday spent by the Battalion at Fort Leavenworth was observed by holding religious service. Elder George P. Dykes preached a kind of military and Gospel sermon, which was his usual style on such occasions.

The weather at this time was extremely warm, the thermometer indicating 101° in the shade and 135° in the sun. Some of those who had

taken sick on the road were much improved, but a number of new cases of sickness from ague and fever were developed while in garrison.

On the 12th and 13th of August three companies of the Battalion took up their line of march from Fort Leavenworth, and on the 14th the other two companies started. On the 15th the advance companies crossed Kaw River in flat boats. At Spring Creek Companies D and E caught up with the other companies, after which the whole command continued the march toward Santa Fe.

On the 23rd Captain Allen, the commander of the Battalion, died at Fort Leavenworth. His demise was a source of much regret to the brethren, who had become much attached to him, he being a kind hearted officer and a gentleman. The command now devolved upon Capt. Jefferson Hunt, as the ranking officer; but notwithstanding this Lieutenant A. J. Smith shortly afterward assumed command, contrary to the wishes of most of the brethren.

Sept. 11, 1846, the Battalion reached the Arkansas River, and then followed that stream for about one hundred miles. On Sept. 16th, Captain Higgins, with a guard of ten men, was detailed to take a number of the families, that accompanied the Battalion, to Pueblo, a Mexican town located further up the Arkansas River, to winter. Many of the brethren were dissatisfied with this move, as they objected to being divided, but under the circumstances they had to submit, and Captain Higgins marched with his detachment to Pueblo. According to the best information obtainable at the

present time the names of the soldiers, who marched to Pueblo, in care of Captain Higgins were as follows:

Gilbert Hunt,	Norman Sharp,
Dimick B. Huntington,	James Brown,
Montgomery Button,	Harley Morey,
John H. Tippetts,	Thomas Woolsey,
Milton Kelley,	S. C. Shelton.
Nicholas Kelley,	

These men, together with the families, left the main command at the last crossing of the Arkansas River, Sept. 16, 1846, and arrived in due course of time at Pueblo. On the journey thither Norman Sharp died.

While *en route* from the Arkansas River to Santa Fe, the brethren in the main company of the Battalion suffered great hardships; they were reduced to two-thirds rations and through drinking brackish water many were attacked with summer complaint. Some of the feeble ones also suffered severely from cold and rain while on guard at night, as they preferred to bear their portion of camp duties as long as they possibly could do so, rather than make their condition known and have to take the drugs and abuse of Doctor Geo. P. Sanderson (of Platte County, Mo), the regular appointed surgeon of the Battalion, who proscribed medicine that poisoned the brethren and caused them extreme suffering.

On the 2nd of October Red River was reached, and on the following day the command was divided into two divisions, the strongest and most able-bodied men pushing ahead to Santa Fe, where they arrived Oct. 9th. The second division reached that city on the 12th.

Immediately after the arrival of the Battalion at Santa Fe, Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cooke, who was there awaiting their arrival, as-

sumed command, having been appointed to do so by Colonel S. F. Kearney, who had left Santa Fe for California some time previous. Oct. 15, 1846, Colonel Cooke instructed Captain James Brown to take command of the men who were reported by the assistant surgeon as incapable from sickness and debility of undertaking the journey to California, and march with them to the Arkansas River, there to winter. Nearly all the laundresses accompanying the Battalion were ordered to accompany the sick detachment to Pueblo, as it was feared they would be an incumbrance to the expedition on the further march to California. The following is a list of the officers and men who marched with Captain Brown to Pueblo to winter ;

## COMPANY A.

Allred, James T. S.	Jackson, Chas. A.
Allred, Reuben	Lake, Barnabas
Blanchard, Marvin S.	Oyler, Melcher
Calkins, James W.	Roe, Carlatat C.
Garner, David	Richards, Jos. W.,
Glines, James H.	musician,
Hulett, Schuyler	Sessions, John
Holden, Elijah E.	Wriston, John P.

## COMPANY B.

Allen, Franklin	Persons, Harmon D.
Bingham, Erastus	Stevens, Lyman
Bird, Wm.	Stillman, Dexter
Chase, John D., cor-	Walker, Wm.
poral,	Wright, Chas.
Garror, Philip	
Ludington, Elam,	
1st Lieutenant,	

## COMPANY C.

Adams, Orson B.,	Larson, Thurston
1st sergeant,	Nowlin, Jabez
Brown, Alexander,	Perkins, David
2nd corporal,	Perkins, John
Brown, Jesse J.	Persons, Judson A.
Beckstead, Wm. E.	Smith, Richard
Carpenter, Wm. H.	Smith, Milton
Carpenter, Isaac	Shupe, Andrew J.
Calvert, John	Shupe, James
Durphy, Francisco	Terrill, Joel J.
Gould, Samuel	Tindell, Solomon
Gould, John C.	Wilkin, David
Johnson, Jarvis	

## COMPANY D.

Abbott, Joshua	Roberts, Benjamin
Averett, Jeduthan	Rowe, Wm.
Casto, Wm.	Steele, John
Chase, Abner	Stephens, Arnold,
Davis, James	1st corporal,
Douglass, Ralph	Sargent, Abel M.
Gifford, Wm. W.	Sanderson, Henry W.
Gribble, Wm.	Sharp, Albert
Hirons, James	Stillman, Clark
Kenney, Lorin E.	Smith, John G.
Lamb, Lisbon	Tanner, Myron
Laughlin, David S.	Whiting, Almon
Meesack, Peter J.	Whiting, Edmund
Oakley, James	

## COMPANY E.

Clark, Samuel	Jacobs, Bailey
Cummings, Geo.	Karren, Thos.
Glazier, Luther W.	Miller, Daniel M.
Hanks, Ebenezer,	Park, Wm. A.
3rd sergeant,	Pugmire, Jonathan, jr.
Hess, John W.	Stevens, Roswell
Hopkins, Chas.	

Captain Brown marched from Santa Fe Oct. 18, 1846, and arrived at Pueblo Nov. 17th following. A place for building winter quarters was selected near the quarters of Captain Higgins' detachment which had arrived at Pueblo some time previous. A company of Saints from Mississippi who had stopped there to winter were encamped near by. "The greeting which occurred between comrades and old friends, husbands and wives, parents and children, when the two detachments met, was quite touching. A thrill of joy ran through the camp which none but those living martyrs can fully comprehend."

It was immediately agreed that 18 rooms, each 14 feet square, should be erected for the winter quarters, and the men who were able to chop were dispatched to the woods to procure timbers for the houses, with the understanding that the first rooms finished should be allotted to the sick. The work of erecting the houses was pushed with all possible rapidity, but before they were finished suffi-



ciently to shelter the sick from the piercing winds and cold mountain storms, some had already succumbed. Among the number was Joseph Wm. Richards, a very estimable young man, who died Nov. 21, 1846.

Oct. 19, 1846, John D. Lee and Howard Egan started from Santa Fe with the checks of the brethren, for Council Bluffs, being accompanied by Lieutenant Samuel L. Guley, and Roswell Stevens. On the same day the command broke camp at Santa Fe and started on the long journey of 1,100 miles across a trackless desert to the Pacific Ocean. After leaving Santa Fe many of the soldiers contracted severe colds, from which they suffered severely. On the 2nd of November a number of teams gave out, and several wagons were sent back to Santa Fe empty. During the month of November the soldiers also suffered severely from scarcity of food.

Nov. 10, 1846, Lieutenant W. W. Willis was ordered to return to Santa Fe with all the sick—fifty-six men—and they accordingly started back with one wagon, 4 yoke of poor oxen and rations sufficient to last the men only five days, to go a journey of 800 miles. The parting of these men with their comrades was very affecting. They had become endeared to each other by the ties of the Gospel and the association of the journey, and the chances were strong against their ever meeting again.

Lieutenant W. W. Willis, writing from memory of the incidents of this sick detachment, says:

"Our loading for the one wagon consisted of the clothing, blankets, cooking utensils, tents and tent poles, muskets, equipage and provisions, and all invalids who were unable to walk. With some difficulty I obtained

a spade or two and a shovel, but was provided with no medicines or other necessities for the sick except the mutton before referred to, and only five days' rations, to travel near three hundred miles.

"Thus armed and equipped, we commenced our lonesome march, retracing our steps to Santa Fe. We marched the same day about two miles and were visited by Captain Hunt and others at night, who spoke words of comfort to us, and blessed us, administering the Church ordinance to the sick, and bidding us God speed. They left us the next day.

"We resumed our march, camping in the evening near some springs. One yoke of our oxen got mired in the mud. We took off the yoke when one got out. The other we undertook to pull out with a rope and unfortunately broke his neck. Our team was now too weak for our load. In the night Brother John Green died, and we buried him by the side of Brother James Hampton.

"What to do for a team we did not know. This was a dark time, and many were the earnest petitions that went up to our God and Father for Divine aid.

"The next morning we found with our oxen a pair of splendid young steers, which was really cheering to us. We looked upon it as one of the providences of our Father in heaven. Thus provided for, we pursued our march. We traveled two days without further accident.

"During the night of the 25th of November Elijah Freeman was taken very ill. We hauled him next day in our wagon and could distinctly hear his groans to the head of our little column. We lay by next day for his benefit. It was very cold and snowy. Next day we resumed our march, but were forced to stop the wagon for our afflicted comrade to die. After his death we resumed our march until the usual time of camping, when we buried the corpse. Richard Carter also died the same night and we buried him by the side of Brother Freeman. Their graves are four miles south of Secora, on the Rio Grande.

"We continued our march to Albuquerque, where we presented our orders for assistance to Captain Burgwin, of Kearney's brigade. He gave me \$5 cash, and the privilege of exchanging our heavy wagon for a lighter one. I had fuel and everything to buy, and spent \$36.00 of my own private money before reaching Santa Fe, which was, as near as I can recollect, about the 25th of November.

"On my arrival at that place, General

Price, commander of the post, ordered me to Pueblo, on the Arkansas River. He also ordered Quarter-master McKissock to furnish us with the necessary provisions, mules, etc. I obtained from the quarter-master ten mules and pack-saddles, ropes and other fixtures necessary for packing. With this outfit we had to perform a journey of about three hundred miles, over the mountains, and in the winter.

"Packing was new business to us, and at first we were quite awkward. This was about the 5th of December. The first day we marched about ten miles. Here we gave Brother Brazier, who was too sick to travel, a mule, and left Thomas Burns to wait upon him and follow, when he got able, to a Mr. Turley's, where I designed leaving those who were unable to cross the mountains.

"The next day we traveled about twenty miles and camped on a beautiful stream of water where we had to leave one broke-down mule. The day after, we marched about fifteen miles, and camped in a Spanish town. Here Alva Calkins, at his own request, remained to await the arrival of Brothers Brazier and Burns. About ten inches of snow fell that day, and the next day it snowed until about noon, after which we marched ten or twelve miles and hired quarters of a Spaniard. Here the men bought bread, onions, pork, etc., from their own private means. Brother George Coleman was seized with an unnatural appetite, and ate to excess. In the night we were all awakened by his groans. Dr. Rust gave him a little tincture of lobelia, the only medicine in camp, which gave him partial relief.

"Continuing our journey, we traveled within about ten miles of Turley's, Brother Coleman riding on a mule with the aid of two men to help him on and off. The next morning we started early for Mr. Turley's to make arrangements for the sick. I left my saddle mule for the sick man, with strict instructions to have him brought to that place. On my arrival I made the necessary arrangements, and about noon the company arrived, but to my surprise and regret without Brother Coleman. They said he refused to come. Mr. Turley, on hearing me express my regret and dissatisfaction at his being left, proffered to send his team and carriage to go back next day and bring him in, which offer I accepted, and agreed to pay him for his trouble. I left quite a number of sick with Mr. Turley, paying him out of my own private funds for their rations and quarters, and then traveled about ten miles.

At night, strong fears were entertained that the snow was so deep we could not cross the mountains and some resolved not to attempt it, accusing me of rashness. I called the company together and stated the fact to them that I was unauthorized to draw rations except for the journey and other necessities unless for the sick, and that I was expending my own private money. I also stated that I should carry out my instructions and march to Pueblo to winter, if I had to go alone. I then called for a show of right hands of all who would accompany me. All voted but one, and he fell in afterwards and begged pardon for his opposition.

"We continued our march from day to day, traveling through snow from two to four feet deep, with continued cold, piercing wind. The third day, about noon, we reached the summit of the mountain. Before reaching the top, however, I had to detail a rear guard of the most able-bodied men, to aid and encourage those who began to lag, and felt unable to proceed further, whilst with others I marched at the head of the column to break the road through enormous snow banks. It was with the greatest exertion that we succeeded, and some were severely frost-bitten. When we got through the banks, to our inexpressible joy, we saw the valley of the Arkansas below, where the ground was bare. The drooping spirits of the men revived, and they soon descended to the plain below, where they were comparatively comfortable. From here the command had good weather and pleasant traveling to Pueblo, their destination for the remainder of the winter.

"We arrived on the 24th of December, and found the detachments of Captains Brown and Higgins as well as could be expected, and enjoying themselves with some comfortable quarters."

Lieutenant Willis got Gilbert Hunt, son of Captain Jefferson Hunt, who had accompanied the families to Pueblo, to go back to Mr. Turley's and bring up the sick he had left there. They started on the 27th, and the same day the lieutenant started for Bent's Fort, a distance of 75 miles. He arrived on the 2nd and was very kindly received by Captain Enos, commander of the post and acting quartermaster, who

furnished sixty days rations for the company and transportation to Pueblo with ox teams. On Lieutenant Willis' return, the detachment went to work, preparing their quarters, each mess to build a log cabin.

About the middle of January, 1847, Gilbert Hunt and company returned with all the sick except Geo. Coleman. Mr. Turley forwarded the lieutenant a letter by Corporal Hunt, to the effect that he sent his carriage as agreed upon, but on arriving at the place where Brother Coleman was left, he was not there. The Spaniard reported that after the company had left, in spite of entreaties to the contrary, Brother Coleman followed on after the company, and it was supposed, after traveling a short distance, he expired, as he was afterwards found dead by the road-side not far distant.

The following is a list of Lieutenant Willis' sick detachment:

## COMPANY A.

Bevan, James	Hewett, Eli B.
Calkins, Alva C.	Maxwell, Maxie
Curtis, Josiah	Wriston, Isaac N.
Earl, James C.	Woodworth, Lysander
Frederick, David	

## COMPANY B.

Bybee, John	Clark, Geo. S.
Bingham, Thos.	Eastman, Marcus N.
Camp, James G.	Hinckley, Arza E.
Church, Haden W.	

## COMPANY C.

Blackburn, Abner	Rust, Wm. W.
Brimhall, John	Richmond, Benj.
Babcock, Lorenzo	ShIPLEY, Joseph
Burt, Wm.	Squires, Wm., corporal,
Dalton, Edward	
Dalton, Harry	Thomas, Nathan T.
Dunn, James	Welsh, Madison.
Johnston, Jesse W.	

## COMPANY D.

Badlam, Samuel	Mecham, Erastus D.
Compton, Allen	Stewart, James
Higgins, Alfred	Stewart, Benjamin
Hoagland, Lucas	Tubbs, Wm. R.
Hayward, Thomas	Tippett, John H.

## COMPANY E.

Brazier, Richard,	McLelland, Wm. E.
sergeant,	Richardson, Thos.
Burns, Thos. R.	Skein, Joseph
Brown, Daniel,	Wilson, Geo.
Cazier, John	Woolsey, Thos.
Cazier, James	

Most of the houses built at Pueblo by the detachments of Captains Brown and Higgins were so far completed as to be occupied Dec. 5, 1846. Though only rude cabins, they found them much better than tents to live in. The valley in which they were located was well adapted for winter quarters. What snow fell soon melted, and there was good grazing for their animals. True, they had occasional wind storms, when the dust would be blown through the crevices of their houses, covering their food and everything else, but though unpleasant and annoying, this was so slight an evil, compared with what they had previously suffered from, that they felt to bear it without complaining.

The men, and families too, were tolerably well supplied with food, so that none need suffer from hunger. An occasional hunting expedition would result in securing a supply of venison, which furnished a very acceptable change of diet. Most of the sick were also very much improved since getting rid of the drugs of the inhuman doctor. A few cases of sickness, however, still lingered on.

Oct. 21, 1846, Mrs. Fanny Huntington, wife of Dimick B. Huntington, gave birth to a child which died Nov. 9, 1846. On the same day the twin son of Captain Jefferson Hunt, by his wife Celia, died. Both the little innocents were buried in one grave.

"On the 15th of January, 1847," writes Elder Daniel Tyler, "the

wagons, loaded with sixty days' rations, for the command, arrived from Bent's Fort, and the convalescent soldiers and their families were thereby enabled to experience the contrast between short food and hard labor and full rations and no labor.

"On the 19th, John Perkins, a fine young man, died, after a lingering illness, and was buried the following day.

"About this time the command commenced the practice of squad drills, in which the men became very proficient.

"Owing to rumors being freely circulated to the effect that the Mexicans and Indians intended to attack Pueblo, preparations for defence were made, and Captain Brown also called upon the old settlers for assistance, which they promised to render. The people of Bent's Fort were also alarmed, lest the enemy might make a sudden raid upon them. Communication with Santa Fe had been cut off.

"On the 5th of February another death occurred, that of Brother James A. Scott, a promising young man, after a short but severe illness, from winter fever and liver complaint. He was buried with the honors of war.

"On the evening of the 28th, Corporal Arnold Stevens died, and was buried the next day, with military honors; and on the 10th of April M. S. Blanchard also departed this life, after a lingering illness. The great number of deaths that occurred among that portion of the Battalion who wintered at Pueblo were doubtless due, mainly, to diseases contracted through the exposure and hardships of the journey and the

murderous drugging which they had received from Dr. Sanderson, though the unhealthfulness of Pueblo may partly account for them, as some claim. As many of the Missouri volunteers, who were also stationed at Pueblo for the winter, died, it is probable that climatic influences may have been one cause.

"Captain Brown, having returned from Santa Fe on the 9th, with only a part of the pay due the men, set out again for that post on the 1st of May, for the purpose of trying to obtain the balance. \* \* \*

"As spring advanced the hunters were quite successful in killing the Rocky Mountain or black-tailed deer, which abounded in the mountains in that region. They do not differ materially from other deer, except that they are larger and darker in winter than those found east of the Rocky Mountains. When fat, their meat has a fine flavor and is preferable to the more eastern species. In fact, this rule holds good with most mountain game, and even domestic animals.

"May 18, 1847, Captains Brown and Higgins and others, returned from Santa Fe with the soldiers' money and orders to march to California.

"The wagons were loaded, and the command took up the line of march and crossed the Arkansas River on the 24th of May, at noon. \* \* \*

"On the 29th travel was resumed towards California by way of Fort Laramie, on the Platte River. The south fork of the river was reached on the 8th of June, and from that time the course of travel lay down that stream, which was crossed two days later (June 5th), and

owing to the great depth of the water, the wagon boxes had to be raised and blocks of wood put under them to keep the loading dry.

"On the afternoon of June 11th, while on Pole Creek, to the great joy of the detachments, they were met by Elder Amasa M. Lyman of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, who was accompanied by Brothers Thomas Woolsey, Roswell Stevens and John H. Tippetts, from Winter Quarters, bringing letters from the families and friends of the soldiers, as well as counsel from President Brigham Young; also news of the travels and probable destination of the Church. \* \* \*

"We will now explain how John H. Tippetts and Thomas Woolsey, two members of the detachments that wintered at Pueblo, happened to be at Winter Quarters when Elder Amasa M. Lyman left there, as it had been stated that they accompanied him to meet the detachments, and yet no mention was previously made of their having left the Battalion:

"Dec. 28, 1846, these fearless soldiers left Pueblo, on the head waters of the Arkansas River, alone and without a guide, to take money to their families and friends, whom they had not heard from since John D. Lee and Howard Egan overtook the Battalion as previously noted.

"The second day they passed Pike's Peak. When they awoke in the morning they found themselves ensconced under about six inches of snow. The fourth night they camped on Cherry Creek, near where Denver City now stands. On arriving at the South Fork of the Platte River, they followed down it, passing an old deserted Indian village. A se-

vere east wind arose, which forced them to take shelter under the bank of the river during the night, where they slept on the ice. Brother Tippetts avers that the weather was so cold that six inches of the tail of one of the mules was frozen. Another day's travel took them to where they could get wood. Here they remained for three days, owing to the severity of the weather. They killed a buffalo, which gave them a supply of meat. After one day's travel from this point, one of the men went for water and was driven back by a buffalo sentinel. They followed the river down to Grand Island, where some Pawnee Indians took them prisoners and detained them one day and night.

"They crossed the river below the island on the ice, then continued eastward to the Elk Horn River. Here they packed sand in their blankets to keep the mules from slipping on the ice, which was rather thin and weak, but they succeeded in crossing in safety.

"The same day they were stopped by a band of Omaha Indians. Among them was a white man. Brother Tippetts asked him if he could speak English. He answered 'Yes.' Then he exclaimed, 'For God's sake, tell us where we are!' They found themselves within sixteen miles of Winter Quarters, where they arrived at dark, Feb. 15, 1847, at the house of President Brigham Young, where a picnic party was gathered. Being invited, they freely partook of the supper, which was to them a great treat, as they had been three days without food. Brother Tippetts had previously dreamed of partaking of just such a feast. They were out fifty-two days, traveling like Abra-

ham, not knowing whither they went.

"After the meeting with Brother Lyman and the friends who accompanied him, the journey was resumed, and on the 18th of June, while resting, during the afternoon, the detachment was addressed by Apostle Amasa M. Lyman, who imparted such instructions as he had received from President Young and the quorum of the Twelve, for the Battalion, prominently among which was an exhortation to live as Saints and followers of Jesus Christ, and forsake all of their sins and evil deeds.

"It was then supposed the detachment would have to march to California to be discharged.

"On the night of the 16th, the command camped within one mile of Fort Laramie, about 540 miles west of Council Bluffs, where they were mustered into service eleven months before.

"President Young, with a company of pioneers, making their way westward, had passed Laramie twelve days previous, and with a view to overtaking them, the command made an early start on the morning of the 17th and followed up their trail.

"The road was bad, almost impassable in places, so that travel was necessarily slow and tedious; but they gradually gained on the Pioneers, whose journeyings they occasionally learned of by finding a post set up at a camping place, with writing on it, showing when the Pioneers had passed there.

"On arriving at the ferry on the Platte, the command learned that the Pioneers were one day's travel in advance. Finding a blacksmith working at this point, a halt was made for one day, in order to get animals

shod. Many emigrants on their way to Oregon or California were crossing the ferry, and among them many of the old enemies of the Saints, the Missouri mobocrats. All the way from this point to where the pioneer trail branched off from the Oregon route, many emigrants were seen making their way to the western coast by the northern route."

Nothing of importance occurred during the remainder of the journey to Salt Lake Valley. The command failed to overtake President Young's pioneer company, except 11 men who pushed on ahead of their comrades and came up with the Pioneers at Green River, July 4, 1847. The rest of Captain Brown's detachment arrived in the valley July 29, 1847, a few days after the Pioneer had entered the valley. Here they were formally disbanded, without having to proceed on to California as had been expected.

The members of the main body of the Battalion, in proceeding on their journey from the point where Lieutenant Willis' detachment left them in November, 1847, were reduced to such straits for food that to stay their hunger they cut up raw hide in fine pieces and made soup of it. The poor work oxen that were used to draw the wagons, when so reduced in flesh that they presented the spectacle of walking skeletons, and were forced to give up from sheer exhaustion, were utilized in the only way they could be then—they were killed and distributed among the starving men, who ate every particle of them that could be eaten with an avidity and relish difficult to be imagined by any person who has not experienced what those men then did—starvation. When unable to find other

food to subsist upon, some of them actually plucked the wool from the sheepskins that were under their pack-saddles, and then roasted the hides and ate them. They had to cross deserts in their march, traveling at times all day long and even then camping at night without finding water with which to quench their thirst. The guides who accompanied them were unacquainted with the country through which they passed, never having traveled the route before. They had branched off from the road and were trying to find a new and shorter route to California than that leading through the settlements of Sonora, much further to the south. Colonel Cooke, the officer in command, told his men that he had seen hard service as a private soldier, and endured forced marches with his knapsack on his back, but his suffering would not compare with that of the men under his command. The endurance of every man was put to the test, and quite a number of them were forced to succumb, as their swollen tongues and parched lips attested their extreme thirst, or their worn out constitutions failed to furnish the strength to proceed further.

The country through which the Battalion passed in the early part of December abounded with wild cattle. It was estimated that about four thousand of them were seen in one day. Many of these were killed to furnish the Battalion with beef, and of that kind of food the men had a surfeit, for they had beef and that alone to subsist upon. There seemed to be comparatively few cows in the herds they saw, and it was presumed that they had been killed off by the Indians. The wild

bulls were disposed to show fight, especially when wounded, and some little trouble and excitement was caused in the ranks by these animals bounding into the midst of the men in their mad fury and goring and trampling upon everything in their way. Two men were severely injured, one mule gored to death and some others were knocked down and hurt. These bulls were very hard to kill, and would charge upon the men in furious desperation after having half a dozen bullets shot into them, unless one happened to penetrate the heart. While traveling down the river San Pedro, where thickets of muskeet and other brush were very abundant, the attacks of these wild animals became so frequent that it was found necessary for the safety of the men, to travel with their muskets ready loaded and fire a volley at the animals on their first approach.

The guides, who were sent on in advance of the Battalion, returned one evening and reported that their most direct route was through the old garrison town of Tucson, about two days' travel in advance of them, but that they would likely find difficulty in passing through it, as there was a strong force of Mexican soldiers there, who could easily raise volunteers among the citizens to assist them in offering a resistance, and that they intended to prevent the Battalion from entering their town. Also that one of their number, Doctor Foster, had been detained at Tucson as a spy.

Colonel Cooke was not the man to be daunted, nor turned a hundred miles out of his way by a Mexican garrison, and he accordingly drilled his men, inspected their fire-arms,

dealt out to them an extra supply of ammunition, and issued to them the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS, Mormon Battalion,  
Camp on the San Pedro,  
December 18, 1846.

"Thus far on our course to California we have followed the guides furnished us by the general. These guides now point to Tucson, a garrison town, as our road, and assert that any other course is 100 miles out of the way and over a trackless wilderness of mountains, rivers and hills. We will march then to Tucson. We came not to make war on Sonora, and less still to destroy an important outpost of defense against Indians. But we will take the straight road before us and overcome all resistance, but shall I remind you that the American soldier ever shows justice and kindness to the unarmed and unresisting? The property of individuals you will hold sacred: the people of Sonora are not our enemies.

"By order of LIEUT. COL. COOKE.

"P. C. MERRILL, Adjutant."

The Battalion then resumed their march toward Tucson. On the way they met three Spanish soldiers bringing a message from the governor of Fort Tucson to Colonel Cooke, informing him that he must pass around the town, otherwise he would have to fight. These soldiers were taken prisoners by order of the colonel, to be held as hostages for the safety of Dr. Foster, who was detained by the Mexicans. He then sent two guides to Fort Tucson and informed the governor of what he had done and that he did not intend to alter his course, but should pass through the town peaceably. That night a number of Spaniards from Tucson arrived at the Battalion camp bringing with them Doctor Foster and the two guides last sent there, when, of course, they redeemed the Spanish prisoners who were held as hostages. The following morning the command marched to Tucson, where they met with no opposition, for the soldiers and a great many of

the citizens had been so overcome with fear on hearing of the approach of the Battalion that they had fled and taken with them their two cannons and what valuable property they could get away with, and left the town and the rest of the inhabitants to the mercy of their supposed enemies. The citizens who remained treated the command in the best possible style, and exchanged coarse flour, meal, beans, tobacco, quinces, etc., for old clothes and such things as the men had to dispose of. A large quantity of wheat belonging to the Spanish government was found stored in the town, out of which the colonel ordered the mules to be fed, and that sufficient of it be taken along with them to feed the mules a distance of ninety miles; but though he took this liberty with the government property, he strictly charged his men to hold sacred private property as they passed through the town.

After leaving Tucson, the Battalion had an extensive desert to cross which again put to the test the endurance of the men. For a distance of 75 miles they traveled without water for their mules and but a very little for a few of the men; and that little such as they could suck or lap up out of mud holes in some marshy places they found. Colonel Cooke, the officer in command, though very strict with his men and rigid in the enforcement of discipline, could not refrain from expressing the pride he naturally felt at the willingness of his men to brave danger, endure hardships and obey his orders. After getting across the desert he remarked that he never would have ventured upon it if he had known its situation and what a task it would be to cross it. He congratulated his men on



their success in getting through and said that he did not believe any other class of men could have accomplished what they had done without showing signs of mutiny. On reaching the Gila River they met hundreds of Pima Indians who greeted them warmly, traded them provisions and gave them the privilege of traveling through their villages. These Indians were peaceably disposed, contented, stalwart fellows, and superior in every respect to those the Battalion had previously encountered on their journey. They spent their time principally in tilling the soil and manufacturing clothing, in which branches they displayed considerable skill. The Mexicans, on learning of the approach of the Battalion, had tried to induce these Indians to unite with them in offering a resistance, promising them if they would do so that they should have all the spoil to be obtained in a fight. This the Pima chief flatly refused to do, saying that his tribe had never shed the blood of white men and he did not wish them to. At the Gila River the Battalion intersected General Kearney's trail, which up to this time had been considerably north of their route. Colonel Cooke also obtained from the chief of the Pimas a quantity of store goods and some mules that he had been entrusted with by General Kearney to keep until the Battalion arrived. In this vicinity also they met three pilots sent back by General Kearney to meet and conduct the Battalion by the nearest route to the ocean. These pilots informed the colonel that he had made the trip to the Gila River in one month's less time than General Kearney expected.

By this time the soldiers were

greatly worn down by their heavy marching and the scarcity of provisions. The rations were reduced to the lowest possible point. Their clothes were almost gone, their shoes were worn out and many were compelled to make mocassins out of raw hide. These mocassins, when dry, were as hard as sheet iron, and cut the feet of the wearers. Some of the men went barefoot, but the country over which they marched was full of various kinds of the cactus and other thorny plants, and they suffered great annoyance and pain from them. These difficulties, however, were not the worst the men had to contend with. There were two or three officers who seemed to forget their obligations as Latter-day Saints, and who, because they happened to have a little brief authority, acted towards their brethren in a tyrannical and unfeeling manner. The men would probably have resented this treatment by acts of violence had they not been restrained by the prudent counsels of Brothers Levi W. Hancock and David Pettegrew. These brethren from their age and experience were looked upon as fathers by the young men, and they were able, by their influence, to do a great amount of good.

The remainder of the trip to the Pacific coast was exceedingly hard on both men and animals. Most of the distance was over deserts where the sand was very deep and neither water nor grass to be found, but the same cheerfulness and determination on the part of the men, which had previously characterized the Battalion, bore them up to the end of the journey, which they reached very opportunely, just in time to prevent by their presence the Mexicans from

making an intended effort to regain possession of California. It was on the 27th of January, 1847, that the Battalion passed Mission San Luis Rey, pleasantly situated on an elevated piece of land, and ascended a hill when the calm, unruffled bosom of the Pacific Ocean burst upon their view.

Many of the brethren then beheld an ocean for the first time in their lives. The columns halted to give the opportunity of gazing upon the scene. Every eye was turned towards its placid surface, every heart beat with unuttered pleasure, every soul was full of thankfulness, but every tongue was silent, for all felt too full to give vent to any expression. They had marched many a long day, and had wearily trudged from the Missouri River, enduring many privations and hardships to reach this point, and though weary, ragged and many barefoot, they could still enjoy the scene. The surrounding hills were covered with wild oats and grass nearly a foot high, growing as luxuriantly as grass was seen at midsummer in the States where the members of the Battalion had formerly lived. The breeze from the ocean, as it winged its way up that fertile valley, was very sweet and refreshing to the tired men. The abundance of fat beef, which was now served out as rations to the Battalion, was exceedingly good to them, reduced as they were for want of food.

They continued their march, and on Jan. 29, 1847, they reached San Diego Mission, close to the port of that name, where they took up their quarters. Here the commander of the Battalion issued the following order:

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"HEADQUARTERS, Mission of San Diego  
January 30, 1847.

"Lieutenant Colonel commanding congratulates the Battalion on its safe arrival on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and the conclusion of its march of over two thousand miles. History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry; nine-tenths of it through a wilderness, where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature. There, with almost hopeless labor, we have dug deep wells, which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them, we have ventured into trackless prairies, where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick-ax in hand we have worked our way over mountains, which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a passage through a chasm of living rock, more narrow than our wagons. To bring these first wagons to the Pacific, we have preserved the strength of the mules by herding them over large tracts, which you have laboriously guarded without loss.

"The garrison of four Presidios of Sonora, concentrated within the walls of Tucson, gave us no pause: we drove them out with their artillery; but our intercourse with the citizens was unmarked by a single act of injustice. Tons marching, half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country.

"Arrived at the first settlement of California, after a single day's rest, you cheerfully turned off from the route to this point of promised repose, to enter upon a campaign, and meet, as we believed, the approach of the enemy; and this, too, without even salt to season your sole subsistence of fresh meat.

"Lieutenants A. J. Smith and George Stoneman, of the 1st Dragoons, have shared and given valuable aid in all these labors.

"Thus, volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of veterans. But much remains undone. Soon you will turn your strict attention to the drill, to system and order, to forms also, which are all necessary to the soldier.

"By order of Lieut. Col. P<sup>ST</sup>. GEO. COOKE,  
(Signed) P. C. MERRILL, Adjutant."

Feb. 15, 1847, Company B of the Battalion was ordered to take charge of the fort at San Diego, which it did, separating from the other com-

panies. This company remained three months at San Diego, during which time they built several houses, dug fifteen or twenty wells, made picket fences, etc. Some of the men also built and burned a large brick kiln, which was said to be the first in California. With those bricks a court house and school house were built in San Diego by the men of the company. These were the first houses built of burnt brick at that place. When they were completed the citizens made a feast, and a great parade was made over them. Besides these works, the men did much carpenter work for the people, and the course they pursued secured them many friends, and when they moved from there, they did so amid general regret. Notwithstanding the country was full of cattle, and wheat was abundant in some places, provisions were but scantily furnished to the men and considerable dissatisfaction was felt in consequence.

March 19, 1847, the Battalion, with the exception of an officer and 34 men, who remained for the defense and protection of the post of San Luis Rey, marched to the town of Los Angeles. As they could not get quarters in the town they encamped outside.

On the 6th of April, the officer and men, who had been left at San Luis Rey, joined the main body.

Among the duties assigned to the Battalion, while at Los Angeles, were the guarding of the Cajon Pass of the Sierra Nevada mountains, 45 miles east of Los Angeles, to prevent the passage of hostile Indians, who frequently made raids on the adjacent ranches for the purpose of driving off stock; also the erection of a fort on a small eminence which

commanded the town. General Kearney visited the camp and inspected the Battalion. He expressed himself as being much gratified with the appearance of the men and praised their conduct. A feeling of jealousy was entertained by many of the men belonging to other commands against the Battalion, because of the favor and encomiums bestowed upon them by the officers. Colonel Fremont's men were credited with having very hostile feelings towards the Battalion, and with having threatened to attack them. Fremont was rebellious and would not submit to Kearney, and the latter depended upon the Battalion, it was said, to aid him in case of an open quarrel with Fremont.

One night the Battalion was aroused from slumber and ordered to load and prepare to resist the attack of an enemy. The attack was expected from Fremont's men; but it proved to be a false alarm.

Three men were detailed from each company of the Battalion to serve as an escort to General Kearney in traveling from California to Fort Leavenworth. Among them were N. V. Jones and John W. Binley. General Kearney left Los Angeles May 13, 1847, accompanied by Colonel Cooke and three men of the escort chosen to proceed by water to Monterey. The other nine men of the escort, under Lieutenant Stoneman, journeyed over land to Monterey, where they arrived on the 25th, before the general who did not arrive until the 27th. The next day (May 28th) the detachment drew 75 days' rations, and on the 31st took up its line of march for the Sacramento Valley.

On the 20th and 21st of June they

crossed the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Before reaching the Truckee River, they found a small lake about one mile wide and three miles long. In the vicinity of this lake were several cabins built by that portion of Captain Hastings' company, which was snowed in the previous fall. Their numbers were estimated at about eighty souls, who all perished except about thirty.

The general ordered a halt and detailed five men to bury the dead that were lying upon the ground. One of the men was said to have lived four months on human flesh and brains. Their bodies were mangled in a horrible manner. This place is known as Cannibal Camp. Colonel Fremont passed the general and party at this place. It was the first time the party had seen him since leaving Sutter's Fort. After they had buried the bones of the dead, which had been sawed and broken to pieces for the purpose of obtaining the marrow, they set fire to the cabin and left the horrible place.

From that point the party traveled seven miles further, and encamped within one mile of another cabin, where more dead bodies were found. The general did not, however, order them buried.

Continuing the journey by way of the Humboldt River, the company arrived at Fort Hall July 15th. From there they traveled eastward over mountains and plains to Fort Leavenworth, where they arrived some time in August, 1847. The brethren of the escort, after receiving their discharge, proceeded immediately to join their families near Kanessville (now Council Bluffs), Iowa.

June 29, 1847, about three hun-

dred men of the Battalion were under arms in the public square at Los Angeles, and Colonel Stevenson tried to induce them, or at least one company, to re-enlist. He promised them that they should have the election of their own major and other officers, and that they should be discharged with one year's pay the ensuing February, at any place they wished in California. He also said that a detachment should be sent to meet their families to carry what means they wished to send to them. Some of the officers were very much in favor of the men re-enlisting, and recommended this course to them; but several of the non-commissioned officers and men were opposed to re-enlistment, and their views prevailed.

On the 16th of July, all of the Battalion in Los Angeles were mustered out of service (the time of their enlistment having expired) by Captain Smith, of the 1st Dragoons. They had served the full time of their service faithfully, and had experienced the truth of the predictions made to them by President Young when they enlisted. He had promised them that if they would be faithful to their God, they would not be required to fight. The fighting would be before and behind them; but they would not have to take part in it. These words had been literally fulfilled. They had done their duty as required by their commanding officers, had been brought face to face almost with the enemy, but had been spared the necessity of shedding blood or of running the risk of having their own blood shed.

On the 20th of July, most of the members of the Battalion who did not re-enlist organized, preparatory

to returning to their homes and families, as a traveling camp and appointed Lieutenants Andrew Lytle and James Pace of Company E captains of hundreds, and Sergeants William Hyde, Daniel Tyler and Reddick N. Allred, captains of fifties. Elisha Everett was also appointed captain of ten pioneers. On the 21st the brethren advanced, scarcely knowing whither they went, only they had been told that by traveling northward, mainly under the base of the mountains, Sutter's Fort, on the Sacramento River, might be reached in about 600 miles, while the seashore route would be 700 miles. Captain Allred's fifty took up the line of march on the 23rd, and, after traveling 38 miles, arrived at Francisco's Ranch the following day. Here this company remained a few days until the arrival of the other companies on the 27th. Continuing the journey from the ranch above mentioned, they traveled northward until they reached the Sacramento River on the 20th of August. On the 24th they came to a settlement of white people. Daniel Tyler writes:

"We were almost overjoyed to see a colony of Americans, the first we had seen since leaving Fort Leavenworth, about a year previous. But the best of all was the news brought by a man named Smith, who said he had accompanied Samuel Brannan to meet the Church, and who informed us that the Saints were settling in the Great Salt Lake Valley, and that 500 wagons were on the way thither. This was our first intelligence of the movements of the Church since the news brought by Lieutenant Pace and Brothers Lee and Egan, at the Arkansas crossing. One must have our previous sad experience to appreciate our feelings on this occasion.

"The following day, we rested and held meeting in the evening, as we had frequently done since our discharge. Some having but a poor fit-out, wished to remain here

and labor until spring, wages being good and labor in demand; besides, a settlement of the New York Saints was within a few miles. President Levi W. Hancock made some appropriate remarks on the union that had been and was among us, and thought that a few might remain and labor until spring and all would be right. He then asked the company if, in case any felt to remain, they should have our prayers and blessings. All voted in the affirmative. Good remarks were also made by others on the same subject. A few remained. Wages were said to be from \$25 to \$80 per month, and hands hard to get at any price, as there were so few in the country.

"On the 26th, we traveled 20 miles and encamped on American Fork, two miles from Sutter's Fort. Here the animals that had become tender-footed were shod, at a cost of \$1 per shoe. We also purchased our outfit of unbolted flour at \$8 per hundred. \* \* \*

"On the 27th, the pioneers and about thirty others advanced, while the bulk of the company remained to get horses shod. The advance made about eighteen miles, from which point our course changed from northward to eastward.

"On the 28th, we arrived at Captain Johnson's mill, on Bear Creek. This man had Indians laboring for him, who were entirely naked. I noticed one large man, probably six feet in height, come and stand by the door, an unabashed picture of nature unadorned. He was apparently waiting for the young woman of the house—the captain's wife—to give him something to eat. Captain Johnson passed in and out of the house while the savage stood by the door, without taking any exceptions to his nude appearance, from which we inferred that he was used to seeing the Indians in such a condition. Indeed, we were informed that those he hired, went without clothing, and the Indian we saw there was probably one of his employees.

"Captain Johnson was said to have been one of Fremont's Battalion, and his young wife was one of the survivors of the ill-fated company who had been snowed in at the foot of the Sierras. \* \* \* Her mother, Mrs. Murray, who was a Latter-day Saint, was among the number who perished in that horrible scene of death. The circumstances under which she became a member of that company were explained to us by her daughter, Mrs. Johnson.

"The lady being a widow, with several children dependent upon her for support, while residing in Nauvoo, heard of a chance

of obtaining employment at Warsaw, an anti-Mormon town, 20 miles lower down the Mississippi. Thinking to better her condition, she, accordingly, removed to Warsaw, and spent the winter of 1845-46 there. In the spring of the latter year, a party about emigrating to Oregon or California offered to furnish passage for herself and children on the condition that she would cook and do the washing for the party. Understanding California to be the final destination of the Saints, and thinking this a good opportunity to emigrate without being a burden to the Church, she accepted the proposition; but, alas! the example of Sister Murray, although her motives were good, is an illustration of the truism, 'that it is better to suffer affliction with the people of God' and trust in Him for deliverance, than to mingle with the sinful 'for a season,' and be lured by human prospects of a better result!

"The company crossed the plains during the summer of 1846, under the guidance of Captain Hastings. They passed through Salt Lake Valley, around the south end of the lake, and proceeded on westward. Lacking that union which has characterized companies of Saints, while traveling, they split up into factions, each party determined to take its own course. The few who remained with the persevering captain, pushed through to California, while the others were caught in the snows of the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

"The party Mrs. Murray was with was next in rear of that of the captain, and, of course, nearest the source of relief. After their food was exhausted, in fact, after several had succumbed to death through hunger, and others were subsisting upon their flesh, a few of them, one of whom was Mrs. Murray's eldest daughter (afterwards Mrs. Johnson), in desperation, resolved to make an attempt to cross the mountains and obtain relief. Fitting themselves out with snow shoes, they started, and, after proceeding some distance, they met Captain Hastings and a party from the Sacramento Valley, coming with provisions to relieve them. On reaching the camp of the starving emigrants, the relief party found Mrs. Murray dead and others perfectly ravenous from starvation. Children were actually crying for the flesh of their parents while it was being cooked. There was good reason to suspect that Sister Murray had been foully dealt with, as she was in good health when her daughter left her, and could scarcely have perished from hunger during the brief period of her absence.

"Leaving Captain J. Anson's mill, we proceeded on, following the trail of General Kearney. On arriving at Bear Creek, in Bear Valley, we found three wagons and a blacksmith's forge, which had been abandoned by the emigrants who were snowed in the previous winter. We rested there one day, to recruit our animals, the feed being good, and found plenty of huckleberries, which were a fine treat.

"During the 3rd of September, we passed other wagons at the place where General Kearney's party had buried the remains of the famished emigrants, and at night reached the place where the rear wagons of the unfortunate Hastings company were blocked by the snow, and were horrified at the sight which met our view—a skull covered with hair lying here, a mangled arm or leg yonder, with the bones broken as one would break a beef shank to obtain the marrow from it; a whole body in another place, covered with a blanket, and portions of other bodies scattered around in different directions. It had not only been the scene of intense human suffering, but also of some of the most fiendish acts that man made desperate by hunger could conceive.

"It seemed that on reaching that point on their journey, the unfortunate emigrants were divided into several different parties. Some lagged behind because there was work required to make a road for their wagons, and they were determined not to do it themselves; others were in favor of stopping to recruit their animals, all of which were turned out to grass when the storm came, and scattered and buried them up. In this terrible dilemma their provisions were soon exhausted, and they began to subsist upon the bodies of their dead relatives. These who had no deceased relatives, borrowed flesh from those who had, to be refunded when they or some of their relatives should die. In some cases, children are said to have eaten their dead parents, and *vice versa*. Some were supposed to have been murdered as we would butcher an ox.

"When relief came, one man had a trunk packed full of human flesh and two buckets full of human blood, stored carefully away. When questioned about the blood, he professed to have extracted it from the veins of two women after they were dead, but the seemingly well-founded opinion was that there had been foul play. Some were caught in the act of eating human flesh for a lunch, as a matter of choice, while they were passing over the mountains with the relief party, after they had obtained plenty of other food. And when their pockets

were examined, they were found to contain chunks of human flesh, which were taken from them and thrown away. One man had even acquired such a mania for that kind of food, that after he had been in Sacramento Valley some months, where food was plentiful, he admitted to having a longing for another such a meal, and expressed to a stout, comely lady a desire for a roast from her body. This cannibal, whose name might be given were it not for shame's sake, was, when we passed through Sacramento Valley, being watched for by the lady's husband, who swore he would shoot him on sight.

"Leaving the tragic scene on the morning of Sept. 6th, we resumed our journey, and in a short time met Samuel Brannan returning from his trip to meet the Saints. We learned from him that the Pioneers had reached Salt Lake Valley in safety, but his description of the valley and its facilities was anything but encouraging. Among other things, Brother Brannan said the Saints could not possibly subsist in the Great Salt Lake Valley, as, according to the testimony of mountaineers, it froze there every month in the year, and the ground was too dry to sprout seeds without irrigation, and if irrigated with the cold mountain streams, the seeds planted would be chilled and prevented from growing, or, if they did grow, they would be sickly and fail to mature. He considered it no place for an agricultural people, and expressed his confidence that the Saints would emigrate to California the next spring. On being asked if he had given his views to President Brigham Young, he answered that he had. On further inquiry as to how his views were received, he said, in substance, that the President laughed and made some rather insignificant remarks; 'but,' said Brannan, 'when he has fairly tried it, he will find that I was right and he was wrong, and will come to California.'

"He thought all except those whose families were known to be at Salt Lake had better turn back and labor until spring, when in all probability the Church would come to them; or, if not, they could take means to their families. We camped over night with Brannan, and after he had left us the following morning, Captain James Brown, of the Pueblo detachment, which arrived in Salt Lake Valley on the 29th of July, came up with a small party. He brought a goodly number of letters from the families of the soldiers; also an epistle from the Twelve Apostles, advising those who had not means of subsistence to remain in California and

labor, and bring their earnings with them in the spring.

"Henry W. Bigler received a letter from Elder George A. Smith, of the Apostles, stating among other things, that President Brigham Young, with 143 Pioneers, arrived in Salt Lake Valley on the 24th day of July. It also mentioned the arrival of the Pueblo detachment of the Battalion, and stated that some were very busy putting in garden and field crops, while others were making adobes to build a temporary fort as a safeguard against Indians. The letter also stated that President Young and the Pioneers would return to Council Bluffs, and Father John Smith, Patriarch, would preside until the Twelve returned the next season.

"From the last-named encampment, many, probably over half of the company, returned in accordance with the instructions from the Twelve, to spend the winter in California. We were also overtaken there by a portion of the company left at Sutter's Fort, and a few others who had remained behind our party to travel slowly with Brother Henry Hoyt, who was sick. Brother Hoyt had gradually failed since our separation, and finally died on the 3rd of September, 1847. \* \* \*

"Few incidents of importance occurred during the journey to Salt Lake Valley, where we arrived Oct. 16, 1847, and were overjoyed to meet so many of our friends and relatives. We found them living in a fort consisting of a row of buildings running at right angles around a ten acre block. The rooms all opened into the enclosure, and had small windows or port holes looking outward, for purposes of defense and ventilation. The entrance to the enclosure was through a large gate in the centre of the east side or row of buildings running north and south. The gate was locked at night. The site of that first structure, which is in the Sixth Ward of Salt Lake City, is known still as 'the old fort.' The walls, however, have long since been removed; hence the temporary fortification now exists only in name.

"Many of the men, on arriving in the Valley, were extremely destitute of clothing, but their necessities were somewhat relieved by some of the influential brethren taking up a collection among the families of the settlers of such articles of wearing apparel as they could spare for the benefit of the 'Battalion boys.' Nothing that was donated seemed to come amiss; anything that would cover the nakedness of the men or help to keep them warm was acceptable.

True, the men presented rather a motley, and, in some instances, almost a ludicrous appearance, on account of the disparity in the color and fit of their several garments, but comfort with them was the first consideration, and they were thankful to get anything that would tend to that object. President John Taylor and Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter were foremost among those who made the collection of clothing for the destitute soldiers.

"Different members of our company brought various kinds of garden and fruit seeds, as well as grain, from California, which were found very useful in this inland valley. \* \* \*

"Lieutenant James Pace introduced the club-head wheat. The author, and perhaps some others, the California pea, now so general and prolific as the field pea of Utah. The detached soldiers who wintered at Pueblo, near the headwaters of the Arkansas River, brought the variety of wheat known as the *taos*, common in our Territory. \* \* \*

"A few of the members of the Battalion found their families in Salt Lake Valley on our arrival there, and, of course, had no further to go; some others were so worn down with fatigue and sickness that they were unable to proceed eastward at that time, and still others preferred to remain in the valley until the following spring and endeavor to prepare a home for their families. Thirty-two out of the number, however, were eager to meet their wives and children, and therefore did not hesitate about continuing their journey another thousand miles, even at that late season of the year. We expected to obtain flour in the valley for the remainder of the journey, but found that the people, as a rule, had not enough to subsist upon until they could harvest a crop. We were informed, however, that plenty of flour could be obtained at Fort Bridger, only 115 miles distant, so, relying upon that prospect, we left the valley in good spirits on Oct. 18, 1847, and started eastward.

"We arrived at Fort Bridger during a rather severe show storm, the first of the season, and, to our chagrin, learned that the stock of flour which had been kept there for sale had all been bought up by emigrants to California and Oregon. Bridger informed us that he had not even reserved any for those located at the post, and they were then living solely upon meat. He thought, however, we could get all we wanted at Laramie, upon reasonable terms.

"On leaving Salt Lake Valley, we had

about ten pounds of flour to the man, hence we were not entirely without when we reached Bridger. We purchased a little beef there to serve us until we could find game, and pushed on. We killed two buffalo bulls before reaching Laramie, and jerked the best of the meat. We had an occasional cake until we reached the upper crossing of the Platte, 100 miles above the fort. There we baked our last cake, on the 4th of November, having made our ten pounds of flour, each, last sixteen days. Of course, during that time we had eaten considerable buffalo and other beef, and occasionally had some small game, including one elk killed by Wm. Maxwell.

"It was, probably, about the 10th of November when we reached Fort Laramie. There, as at Fort Bridger, we were again disappointed about getting flour, the only bread-stuff purchased being one pound of crackers by Captain Andrew Lytle, for which he paid twenty-five cents. We obtained a very little dried buffalo beef of good quality. The post trader advised us not to kill any buffalo when we reached their range, as it would offend the Indians. He considered it would be a safer and better plan to employ the Indians, should we meet any, to kill some buffalo for us.

"Those who had a little money purchased what meat they could afford and divided with the company. Twelve miles below Laramie we found an Indian trader on the south side of the Platte River. A few of the men crossed over and purchased 100 pounds of flour, which cost only \$25. There being but about three pounds to the man, it was decided to use it only for making gravy, or for thickening soup, as we had still about 500 miles of our journey to travel.

"When about sixty or seventy miles below the fort, our meat was exhausted. We were now among a few scattering buffalo, but as we had been informed that it would be dangerous for us to kill any of them, we were in somewhat of a dilemma what course to pursue to obtain food. However, we decided that He who owned the cattle 'upon a thousand hills' had a claim on these, and being His offspring, we would venture to take one. Besides, there had been no Indians in sight for several days, and, last but not least, we might as well die in battle as of hunger, as in the former case our sufferings would be of shorter duration.

"The hunters succeeded in killing one bull and a calf. While skinning the former we saw a smoke and discovered Indians on the south side of the river, opposite to



where we were. We consulted as to the best course to pursue. Some thought we had better go on and leave our booty, but Captain R. N. Allred suggested, very properly, that with our worn-down animals, this would be useless, as in case they were in for fighting, they could soon overtake us; hence, we decided to stand our ground. We dressed our beef and reached camp on the river, from the foot-hills some time after dark. We were not molested. \* \* \*

"About 150 miles below Laramie, we awoke one morning to find ourselves under about twelve inches of snow. From this point to Winter Quarters, about 350 miles, we had to travel and break the trail through snow from one to two feet in depth.

"Just before and after crossing the Loup Fork, we lost a few animals, supposed to have been stolen by Pawnee Indians. Near the crossing of the river, the head of a donkey was found, which Adjutant P. C. Merrill's company had killed some time before for beef. It was supposed to have belonged to Sergeant D. P. Rainey. Captain Allred took an ax and opened the skull, and he and his messmates had a fine supper made of the brains.

"Near the same point Corporal Martin Ewell opened the head of a mule killed by Captain James Pace's company only the day before, with the same result.

"The day we reached the Loup Fork, we divided and ate the last of our food, which in the main consisted of rawhide 'saddle-bags' we had used from California to pack our provisions in. This was during a cold storm which lasted several days. Our next food was one of Captain Lytle's young mules, which had given out and was unable to travel. This was the first domestic animal our little company had killed since our beef cattle in California, although we had several times looked with a wistful eye upon a small female canine belonging to Joseph Thorne, who, with his wife and one or two children, in a light wagon, had accompanied us from Fort Bridger. Friend Joseph, however, removed the temptation by trading her to the Pawnee Indians for a small piece of dried buffalo meat. Of this family pet, they doubtless made a rare treat, their greatest feasts being composed mainly of dog meat.

"Owing to floating ice, we were unable to cross the Loup Fork for five days, in which time we traveled a few miles down the river and found Captain Pace's company just in time to save them from the danger of being robbed by Pawnee Indians who came over in considerable numbers. The

remnants of the two companies afterwards remained together.

"In hopes of procuring some corn from an Indian farm on the opposite side of the river from us, a few of the men ventured to ford the stream, but the corn had been gathered and twice gleaned from the field by other travelers, so that all they could find were a few scattering, rotten ears. Captain Pace and William Maxwell also visited an Indian camp some distance away, to try to purchase food, but failed to get any, as the Indians had none to spare. They, however, stayed all night with them and obtained a good supper and breakfast and were otherwise treated kindly.

"The cold became so intense that the river froze entirely over, and on the morning of the sixth day of our stay upon its banks, we commenced to cross upon the ice. The ice bent and cracked, and holes were soon broken in it, but we persevered until everything was over, the last article being Brother Thorne's wagon. The weather began to moderate when the sun appeared above the horizon, and the ice had become so rotten before we finished crossing that the last few trips were extremely dangerous. But a short time had elapsed after we had gained the other shore before the ice broke away and the river was again covered with floating fragments.

"A kind providence had made the congealed water bridge for our special benefit, and removed it as soon as it had filled its mission. From the killing of Captain Lytle's mule until we reached Winter Quarters, probably ten day's travel, we subsisted upon mule meat alone, without salt. On arriving at Elk Horn River, thirty miles from Winter Quarters, we found a ferry-boat with ropes stretched across, ready to step into and pull over, which of course we did.

"It was understood that this boat was built by the Pioneers, and was first used by them. It afterwards served the companies who followed on their trail; was then used by the Pioneers and Lieutenant Merrill's company on their return; and last, but not least, by us, for whom it had been last left. We crossed Dec. 17, 1847.

"The next morning, we arose early and took up the line of march, and the foremost men arrived in Winter Quarters about sundown, while the rear came in a little after dark. Thus it will be perceived that we were just two months in making the journey from Salt Lake to the Missouri River. \* \* \* Some of the company found their families in the town of Winter Quarters

while others were across the Missouri River at or near Kanecsville, now Council Bluffs, Pottawattamie County, Iowa. The reader can more easily imagine our joy and that of our families and friends than it can be described.

"The kindness of friends, brethren and sisters, on our arrival at Winter Quarters, now Florence, Nebraska, is deserving of special mention. All the soldiers, although in some instances they were highly respectable, were unavoidably dirty and ragged; yet they found only warm-hearted, sympathetic brethren, sisters and friends among the people, from President Young and the Twelve Apostles to the least child who knew what the words 'Mormon Battalion' meant. They had been taught to know that the valiant corps had been offered like Isaac, a living sacrifice for the Church as well as the nation."

A company made up from the discharged Battalion in California re-enlisted in July, 1847, for six months and elected Captain Daniel C. Davis, formerly captain of Company E, to command them. The object of their enlistment was to garrison the port of San Diego. They were mustered into service at Ciudad de Los Angeles, Cal., July 20, 1847, and were known as the "Mormon Volunteers." Following are their names:

#### Officers.

Daniel C. Davis, captain.  
Cyrus C. Canfield, 1st lieutenant.  
Ruel Barrus, 2nd lieutenant.  
Robert Clift, 3rd lieutenant.  
Samuel L. Brown, 1st sergeant.  
Samuel Myers, 2nd sergeant.  
Benjamin F. Mayfield, 3rd sergeant.  
Henry Packard, 4th sergeant.  
Thoril Peck, 1st corporal.  
Isaac Harrison, 2nd corporal.  
Hiram B. Mount, 3rd corporal.  
Edwin Walker, 4th corporal.  
Richard D. Sprague, musician.  
Henry W. Jackson, musician.

#### Privates.

Boyle, Henry G.	Brown, Wm. W.
Bailey, Addison	Beekstead, Gordon S.
Bailey, Jefferson	Brizze, Henry W.
Beekstead, Orin M.	Bryant, John S.
Bowing, Henry	Callahan, Thomas W.
Brass, Benjamin	Calkins, Edwin R.

Carter, Philo J.	Nalle, Conrad
Clark, Riley O.	Noler, Christian
Clewson, John R.	Peck, Isaac
Clift, James	Peck, Edwin M.
Condit, Jephtha	Park, James
Covill, John Q. A.	Ritter, John
Donald, Neal	Riser, John J.
Dayton, William J.	Runyan, Levi
Dutcher, Thos. P.	Richards, Peter F.
Earl, Jacob	Sexton, Geo. S.
Earl, Jesse	Shumway, Aurora
Evans, Wm.	Smith, Willard G.
Fatoute, Ezra	Smith, Lot
Fellows, Hiram W.	Steele, Geo.
Fletcher, Philander	Steele, Isaiah
Hart, James S.	Steers, Andrew
Harmon, Ebenezer	Thompson, Miles
Harmon, Lorenzo F.	Watts, John
Harmon, Oliver N.	West, Benjamin
Hickenlooper, Wm.	Wheeler, John L.
Kibley, James W.	Wheeler, Henry
Lemmon, James	Williams, James V.
Lance, Wm.	Winters, Jacob
Maggard, Benj.	Workman, Andrew J.
Morris, Thos.	Workman, Oliver G.
Mowrey, James	Young, Nathan
McBride, Haslem	Zabriskie, Jerome
Mowrey, John T.	

This company had very little military duty to perform, hence, by virtue of agreement with the military commander, made before enlistment, the most of the men, when off duty, turned their attention to common and mechanical labor, and by this means San Diego again began to awake from her slumbers and deadness to life and thrift.

Sept. 8, 1847, Sergeant L. N. Frost died; and on the 5th of November following Neal Donald also passed away.

The time for which this company of "Mormon Volunteers" enlisted, expired on Jan. 20, 1848, but they were not mustered out for almost two months after that. In the meantime they were very busily employed when not on duty. One of the men, Brother Henry G. Boyle, writing of their labors, says:

"I think I whitewashed all San Diego. We did their blacksmithing, put up a bakery, made and repaired carts, and, in fine

did all we could to benefit ourselves as well as the citizens. We never had any trouble with Californians or Indians, nor they with us. The citizens became so attached to us that before our term of service expired, they got up a petition to the governor of California to use his influence to keep us in the service. The petition was signed by every citizen in the town. The governor tried hard to keep us in the service another year. Failing in that, he tried us for six months longer."

This latter offer was declined, and other volunteers took their place. The social evil spread among the soldiers under the new regime, and their condition is reported as having been simply horrible. Brother Boyle sums up the matter by saying that "civilization was fully established."

On the 14th of March, 1848, the company's time of enlistment having overrun nearly two months, it was disbanded at San Diego. These veterans drew their pay the day following, and, on the 21st, a company of 25 men, with H. G. Boyle as captain, started for Salt Lake Valley.

On the 31st they arrived at Williams' ranche, and fitted out for the journey by the southern route. Those who did not join the home-bound company mostly went up the coast to the mines, towns and farms, and some of them died in that land; others returned the year following, while some still remain in California.

On the 12th of April, the little company having obtained a proper outfit, again took up the line of march. O. P. Rockwell and James Shaw, who had traveled the route the previous winter, were chosen pilots by and for the company. They started with only one wagon and 135 mules. Of course they were packers. They arrived at Salt Lake City, June 5, 1848. There was the

first wagon that ever traveled the southern route, which is the only feasible route from Salt Lake City, to travel by wagons in the winter season, to Southern California.

Most of the soldiers who returned to California from the Truckee River in September, 1847, found employment with Captain John A. Sutter. This man being desirous of building a flouring mill, some six miles from the fort, and a saw-mill about forty-five miles away, proposed to hire all the men, about forty in number, either by the job or month, at their option, to dig the races. Twelve and a half cents per yard, and provisions found, was finally agreed upon, the men to do their own cooking. Their animals were also to be herded with the Captain's, free of charge.

Captain Sutter advanced one half of the prospective cost in gentle work oxen. A portion of the men obtained plows, picks, spades, shovels and scrapers and moved up to the designated point for the saw-mill, while the balance went to dig the race for the grist-mill. The former commenced labor about the 17th, clearing \$1.50 each the first day. They subsequently earned more. The frame of the flouring mill, a short distance from the present site of Sacramento City, was raised the latter part of December, 1847, and the saw-mill probably a little later. To the credit of "Mormon" labor, be it remembered, is California indebted for the erection of these mills. Much credit is due Captain Sutter and his partner, Mr. Marshall, for starting these enterprises and their gentlemanly bearing towards the discharged soldiers. Daniel Tyler writes:

"On or about Jan. 24, 1848, the water was turned into the race above the saw-mill. The race was found good, but the water, in leaving the flume and reaching the head of the tail race, having considerable fall, washed a hole near the base of the building. Being turned off, Superintendent Marshall went below to ascertain what effect the wash was likely to have. While thus examining, his eyes caught sight of yellow shining metal, which he picked up, not knowing what it was, but believed it to be gold. A subsequent assay proved his conjecture to be correct. The nuggets were in value from 25 cents to \$5 each.

"It is detracting nothing from Captain Sutter or his partner, Mr. Marshall, to say that although the latter was the 'lucky man' in making the first discovery of gold, the uncovering of the precious metal was the result of the labor of a portion of the members of the Mormon Battalion, hence it may very properly be said that 'Mormon' labor opened up and developed one of the greatest resources of our nation's wealth. \* \* \*

"The intelligence of the discovery of gold was shortly after confidentially conveyed to Wilford Hudson, W. S. S. Willis and Ephraim Green, who subsequently came to the mill and learned the foregoing facts.

"They examined the rock at the bottom of the wash and found a few additional specimens. After stopping and resting a few days, they returned to the flouring mill, thence to an island in the Sacramento River, subsequently known as 'Mormon Island.' On that island or sand-bar was found gold in paying quantities, but, strange to say, only a little company of nine persons out of about forty could be persuaded that it was a reality, although the dust was exhibited and the fact stated that men were digging and washing from twenty to thirty dollars of pure gold nuggets and dust per day. This order of things, however, lasted only a few weeks, until its opposite was realized. The secret was made public and such fabulous reports were circulated that 'In the settlements along the coast and on the rivers, lawyers closed their offices, doctors forsook their patients, schools were dismissed, farmers allowed their grain to fall to the ground uncared for, and almost everybody of every description came in every conceivable way and manner, in one grand, wild rush to the 'gold diggings;' on horses, mules, with wheelbarrows, with packs on their own backs, and some with nothing but the dirty rags they stood up in, and in a few weeks, the mountain wilderness was turned into busy mining camps, and the whole face

of the country seemed to change as if by magic.' \* \* \*

"According to previous arrangements, a company of eight persons started May 1, 1848, Sergeant David Browett being elected captain, to pioneer, if possible, a wagon road over the Sierra Nevada Mountains eastward, the Truckee route being impracticable at that season of the year. This company consisted of David Browett, captain, Ira J. Willis, J. C. Sly, (known as Captain Sly), Israel Evans, Jacob M. Truman, Daniel Allen, J. R. Alfred, Henderson Cox and Robert Pixton.

"Three days' travel brought this company to Iron Hill, where they found the snow so deep they could travel no further.

"Brothers Willis, Sly and Evans ascended to the summit of a mountain. Seeing nothing but snow-capped mountains in advance of them, it was decided not to abandon but to postpone the enterprise until a later period. So far as they could judge, a wagon road would at least be possible and perhaps a success. One day's travel in descending took them back from winter's cold, snowy regions to a warm, spring atmosphere, where flowers bloomed and vegetation was far advanced.

"The balance of May and the month of June were spent in digging gold, buying wagons and a full outfit for a wagon train, and making a rendezvous in Pleasant Valley a beautiful place, about fifty miles east of Sutter's Fort.

"About the 24th of June, Captain Browett, Daniel Allen and Henderson Cox desired to cross the mountains on a second exploring tour, but their friends, or at least a portion of them, thought the undertaking risky, owing to the wild Indians. They, however, being fearless and anxious to be moving, decided to brave all dangers and make the effort. They started, and the sequel will show that the fears of their friends were but too well founded.

"By the 2nd of July, the company were again on the march; two days' travel from Pleasant Valley, brought them to Sly's Park, a small valley or mountain dell, thus named for Captain James C. Sly, who first discovered it. Here the company made a halt. Ten men, on the 4th, took up the line of march to pioneer the way over the summit of the mountains. Four days' travel over rough and rugged mountains took them across, and they found themselves safely landed at the head of Carson Valley, Nevada. As they returned to their comrades, they spent six days endeavoring to find a more practicable route, but failed.

"On the 16th of July, the company again broke camp, and the next day arrived at Leek Springs. Here, in the absence of Captain Browett, the company again organized, with Jonathan Holmes, President, and Lieutenant Samuel Thompson, captain.

"The company numbered about 37 individuals, all told, with 16 wagons and two small Russian cannon, which they had purchased before leaving Sutter's, one a four, the other a six-pounder. The cost of these guns was \$400.

"This little band, like most of the Battalion, had great confidence in Divine interposition in their behalf, believing that a kind Providence would second their efforts to return to their families and friends. \* \* \*

"In addition to the outfit already named, they subsequently obtained about one hundred and fifty head of horses and mules, with about the same number of horned stock, consisting of work oxen, cows and calves. This camp was kept one day after the return of the explorers, to work the road which they had pioneered. They had no guide, nor, so far as known, had the foot of white man ever trod upon the ground over which they were then constructing, what subsequently proved to be a great national highway for the overland travel.

"Some four or five miles took them to what they named Tragedy Springs. After turning out their stock and gathering around the spring to quench their thirst, some one picked up a blood-stained arrow, and after a little search other bloody arrows were also found, and near the spring the remains of a camp fire, and a place where two men had slept together and one alone. Blood on rocks was also discovered, and a leather purse with gold dust in it was picked up and recognized as having belonged to Brother Daniel Allen. The worst fears of the company: that the three missing pioneers had been murdered, were soon confirmed. A short distance from the spring was found a place about eight feet square, where the earth had lately been removed, and upon digging therein they found the dead bodies of their beloved Brothers, Browett, Allen and Cox, who left them twenty days previously. These brethren had been surprised and killed by Indians. Their bodies were stripped naked, terribly mutilated and all buried in one shallow grave.

"The company buried them again, and built over their grave a large pile of rock, in a square form, as a monument to mark their last resting place, and shield them from the wolves. They also cut upon a large pine tree near by their names, ages,

manner of death, etc. Hence the name of the springs.

"After the darkness of night had gathered around them, and they were sadly conversing by the camp-fire, Indians or wild animals came within smelling or hearing distance of their stock, which became so frightened that they rushed to within a few rods of the camp-fire, forming a circle around it, with their eyes shining like balls of fire in the darkness. As quick as possible, a cannon was loaded and fired. The belching forth of fire in the darkness, accompanied by the terrific report, echoing many times across the little valley, so terrified their animals that they scattered in every direction, and it was not until late the second day that all were recovered, some having been overtaken at a distance of twenty-five miles on their back track. If, as was thought, Indians were in the vicinity, intending to make raid upon the camp, the report of the cannon so frightened them that they fled, as nothing was seen of them. The Digger Indians, at that time, were almost entirely unacquainted with the use of fire arms, and the effect upon them, of the roaring of a cannon, in the stillness of the night, may easily be imagined.

"While some were hunting the stock, others were working the road, and the balance removing camp to Rock Springs, only about four miles from the place where the men were murdered.

"At Rock Springs the company halted two or three days, and with the entire force were only able to work the road for a distance of three miles to another opening, after which the camp marched only five miles, which took them over the highest mountains, though not over the main dividing ridge.

"This was about the 1st of August, and yet, strange to tell, those prairie farmers of the Middle and Western States, with their wagons, had to be hauled over various banks of 'the beautiful snow,' in some places from ten to fifteen feet deep. On this short day's march, two wagons were upset and two broken, the spokes in the hind wheel of one being all broken. New spokes were, however, soon made from a dry pine tree near at hand, which did such good service that the wheel required no further repairs until the company reached Salt Lake Valley.

"Other work was required upon the road, and then a journey of about five miles brought the company near to the summit of the dividing ridge of the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

"The next morning, the wagons were lightened by the heaviest freight being

packed upon mules over the ridge and down the steep descent of the mountain. They camped near the eastern base, giving the place the name of Hope Valley; the spirits of the explorers who first discovered it reviving when they arrived in sight of it.

"The next day's travel took them to the lower end of the valley. Before they could advance further, four days more were spent in working the road. They then traveled five miles down the canyon to the head of Carson Valley. Here, like the Puritan fathers upon landing at Plymouth Rock, they tendered thanks to God who had delivered them, not from the dangers of the sea, but the far more dreaded merciless savages, the ferocious wild beasts that abounded in that region, and from being dashed to pieces while traveling over and around the steep precipices of the everlasting snow-capped mountains. They had no idea of the magnitude of the work they had performed, nor did it once enter their minds that in less than twelve months many thousands of their fellow-countrymen would gladly avail themselves of this road to reach a land they had so cheerfully and recently left.

"They traveled down the Carson River a few days, but not feeling satisfied to go further in that direction, they halted, and Israel Evans, with a few others, went on another exploring tour. They sighted a grove of cottonwood trees several miles northward. They returned to camp, and the next day, after toiling hard as they had done several previous days, through sage brush and sand, the grove was reached. On arriving, they were almost overjoyed to find themselves in the emigrant road, near the lower crossing of the Truckee River. They now knew where they were and about the distance they had to travel, and governed themselves accordingly. They soon met a few trains of California emigrants, who, on learning that they were fresh from a new Eldorado, were anxious to learn what the prospects were.

"One of the men began to explain, and, taking his purse from his pocket, poured into his hand perhaps an ounce of gold dust and began stirring it with his finger. One aged man of probably over three score years and ten, who had listened with intense interest while his expressive eyes fairly glistened, could remain silent no longer; he sprang to his feet, threw his old wool hat upon the ground, and jumped upon it with both feet, then kicked it high in the air, and exclaimed, 'Glory, hallelujah, thank God, I shall die a rich man yet!' Many very in-

teresting and somewhat similar scenes occurred as the tidings were communicated to other trains, this company having brought over the snow-capped Sierra Nevada Mountains the first news of the discovery of gold in California.

"When this enterprising little company reached Goose Creek mountains, instead of following the old emigrant road *via* Fort Hall, on Snake River, some two hundred miles more or less out of their way, they struck across the country, by what is now known as the Deep Creek route, crossing the Malad and Bear Rivers a few miles above their junction. They arrived in Salt Lake Valley about the 1st of October, 1848, feeling happy and thankful that they had exchanged the land of gold for wives, children and friends—the home of the Latter-day Saints.

"In all of the travels of the Battalion, making in the round trip about five thousand miles, often in close proximity to far superior forces of the enemy, as well as passing through several strong nations of wild and ferocious Indians, there was 'no fighting except with wild beasts.' Taking into consideration their many hardships and privations, there were but few deaths, and it may be safely stated that no portion of the veterans of the Mexican war, of the same number, did more effectual service, or accomplished as much in the way of filling the coffers of the nation's wealth as did the Mormon Battalion.

"To the members of the Mormon Battalion, who remained in California after their discharge, to seek work, is also due considerable credit for improvements made and enterprises established in San Francisco and the surrounding region. Zacheus Cheney and James Bailey, of the Battalion, were the first persons to make brick in San Francisco. They commenced the kiln in April, after which Brother Cheney went to the mines, and Brother Bailey burned the bricks—50,000, in June, 1848. Some tiles had previously been burned, and possibly some bricks may have been imported as ballast, but none had ever been made there."

Volumes could be written concerning the many-sided experience and personal adventures of the several members of the Mormon Battalion, although some of the chief incidents are briefly narrated in Daniel Tyler's work previously mentioned. The names of these brave

men, who, responding to the call of their country, left their families and friends in the wilderness in destitute circumstances, and accomplished one of the most formidable marches ever performed by infantry, will be held in honorable remembrance among the Saints; and with future genera-

tions their services, sufferings and patience will call forth the greatest admiration, their example will be held up for imitation, and their posterity will be proud of having ancestors who were members of the Mormon Battalion.

### THE PIONEERS OF 1847.

April 5, 1847, Heber C. Kimball moved six of his teams, which he had equipped and prepared to form part of the pioneer company, out of Winter Quarters, and, after traveling six miles in a westerly direction, they camped in a convenient place, thus forming a kind of nucleus for the gathering place for the Saints.

On the 6th the general conference of the Church was held at Winter Quarters, and on the 7th President Brigham Young started for the West and joined the Pioneer camp, which was then located about ten miles west of Winter Quarters. From that point the Pioneers then continued the journey to Elkhorn River, where the news was received that Elder Parley P. Pratt had arrived at Winter Quarters from England. Consequently President Young and the brethren of the Twelve who were with him returned to that place to hold a council with Elder Pratt. The brethren met in Dr. W. Richards' office.

On the 9th of April, the Twelve again started on their journey westward, and on Sunday, the 11th, joined the Pioneers at Elkhorn, which stream was crossed by means of a raft that had been constructed previously. But before making the final start, President Young and the Twelve once more returned to Win-

ter Quarters to greet Elder John Taylor, who had just arrived from Europe, bringing with him over \$2,000 in gold for the Church.

Leaving Winter Quarters a third time on April 14th, the Apostles joined the Pioneer camp in the evening of the 15th, at a point 12 miles west of the Elkhorn, and about 47 miles from Winter Quarters. The following day (Friday, April 16, 1847) the people in the camp were called together and organized. Two captains of hundreds (Stephen Markham and A. P. Rockwood) were appointed, and also 5 captains of fifties, namely, Addison Everett, Tarlton Lewis, James Case, John Pack and Shadrach Roundy. The following named brethren were appointed captains of tens: Wilford Woodruff, Ezra T. Benson, Phinehas H. Young, Luke S. Johnson, Stephen H. Goddard, Charles Shumway, James Case, Seth Taft, Howard Egan, Appleton M. Harmon, John S. Higbee, Norton Jacobs, John Brown and Joseph Matthews.

The following is a complete list of the members of the Pioneer company:

#### *First Ten.*

Wilford Woodruff,	John S. Fowler,
Jacob D. Burnham,	Orson Pratt,
Joseph Egbert,	John M. Freeman,
Marcus B. Thorpe,	Geo. A. Smith,
Geo. Wardle.	

*Second Ten.*

Thomas Grover,	Ezra T. Benson,
Barnabas L. Adams,	Roswell Stevens,
Amasa M. Lyman,	Sterling Driggs,
Albert Carrington,	Thomas Bullock,
George Brown,	Willard Richards,
Jesse C. Little.	

*Third Ten.*

Phineas H. Young,	John Y. Green,
Thomas Tanner,	Brigham Young,
Addison Everett,	Truman O. Angell,
Lorenzo D. Young,	Bryant Stringham,
Joseph S. Scofield,	Albert P. Rockwood.

*Fourth Ten.*

Luke S. Johnson,	John Holman,
Edmund Ellsworth,	Alvarus Hanks,
George B. Grant,	Millen Atwood,
Samuel Fox,	Tunis Rappleyee,
Harry Pierce,	Wm. Dykes,
Jacob Weller.	

*Fifth Ten.*

Stephen H. Goddard,	Tariton Lewis,
Henry G. Sherwood,	Zebedee Coltrin,
Sylvester H. Earl,	John Dixon,
Samuel H. Marble,	Geo. Scholes,
Wm. Henrie,	Wm. A. Empey.

*Sixth Ten.*

Chas. Shumway,	Andrew Shumway,
Thos. Woolsey,	Chauncy Loveland,
Erastus Snow,	James Craig,
Wm. Wordsworth,	Wm. Vance,
Simeon Howd,	Seeley Owen.

*Seventh Ten.*

James Case,	Artemas Johnson,
Wm. C. A. Smoot,	Franklin B. Dewey,
Wm. Carter,	Franklin G. Losee,
Burr Frost,	Datus Ensign,
Franklin B. Stewart,	Monroe Frink,
Eric Gilnes,	Ozro Eastman.

*Eighth Ten.*

Seth Taft,	Horace Thornton,
Stephen Kelsey,	John S. Eldredge,
Chas. D. Barnum,	Alma M. Williams,
Rufus Allen,	Robert T. Thomas,
James W. Stewart,	Elijah Newman,
Levi N. Kendall.	Francis Boggs,
David Grant.	

*Ninth Ten.*

Heber C. Kimball,	Howard Egan,
Wm. A. King,	Thomas Cloward,
Hosea Cushing,	Robert Byard,
George Billings,	Edson Whipple,
Philo Johnson,	Wm. Clayton.

*Tenth Ten.*

Appleton M. Harmon,	Carlos Murray,
Horace K. Whitney,	Orson K. Whitney,
Orrin P. Rockwell,	Nathaniel T. Brown,
R. Jackson Redding,	John Packer,

Francis Pomeroy,	Aaron Farr,
Nathaniel Fairbanks.	

*Eleventh Ten.*

John S. Higbee,	John Wheeler,
Solomon Chamberlain,	Conrad Klineaman,
Joseph Booker,	Perry Fitzgerald,
John H. Tippetts,	James Davenport,
Henson Walker,	Benjamin Bolfe.

*Twelfth Ten.*

Norton Jacobs,	Charles A. Harper,
George Woodard,	Stephen Markham,
Lewis Barney,	Geo. Mills,
Andrew Gibbons,	Joseph Hancock,
John W. Norton.	

*Thirteenth Ten.*

Shadrach Roundy,	Hans C. Hanson,
Levi Jackman,	Lyman Curtis,
John Brown,	Matthew Ivory,
David Powers,	Hark Lay (colored),
Oscar Crosby (colored).	

*Fourteenth Ten.*

Joseph Matthews,	Gillroid Summe,
John Gleason,	Charles Burke,
Alexander P. Chessley,	Rodney Badger,
Norman Taylor,	Green Flake (colored)

Besides these brethren there were three women in camp, namely, Harriet Page Wheeler Young (wife of Lorenzo D. Young), Clarissa Decker Young (wife of Brigham Young), and Ellen Saunders Kimball (wife of Heber C. Kimball). Also two children (Isaac Perry Decker and Lorenzo Zobriskie Young), making a grand total in the Pioneer Company of 148 men, 3 women and 2 children, or 148 souls all told. The company had 72 wagons, 93 horses, 52 mules, 66 oxen, 19 cows, 17 dogs and some chickens.

At 2 o'clock p. m., on April 16, 1847, the Pioneers made their final start toward the Rocky Mountains, and arrived in the valley of the Great Salt Lake in the latter part of July following. After laying the foundation of a flourishing settlement (Great Salt Lake City), most of the brethren returned to Winter Quarters, arriving there in October, 1847.



## MEMBERS OF ZIONS CAMP.

Aldrich, Hazen	Elliott, Bradford W.	Jones, Levi	Smalling, Cyrus
Allen, Joseph	Elliott, David	Kelley, Chas.	Smith, Avery
Allred, Isaac	Evans, David	Kimball, Heber C.	Smith, Geo. A.
Allred, James, captain	Field, Asa	Kingsley, Samuel	Smith, Hyrum
Allred, Martin, capt.	Fisher, Edmund	Lake, Dennis	Smith, Jackson
Andrus, Milo	Fisk, Alfred	Lawson, Jesse B.	Smith, Jazariah B.
Angell, Solomon	Fisk, Hezekiah	Lewis, L. S.	Smith, Jesse B.
Avery, Allen, A.	Fordham, Elijah	Littlefield, Josiah	Smith, Joseph
Babbitt, Almon W.	Fordham, Geo.	Littlefield, Lyman O.	Smith, Lyman
Badlam, Alexander	Forney, Fredrick	Littlefield, Waldo	Smith, Sylvester
Baker, Samuel	Fossett, John	Lyman, Amasa M.	Smith, Wm.
Baldwin, Nathan B.	Foster, James	Martin, Moses	Snow, Willard
Barber, Elam	Foster, Solon	Marvin, Edward W.	Snow, Zerubbabel
Barlow, Israel	Gates, Jacob	McBride, Reuben	Stanley, Harvey
Barnes, Lorenzo D.	Gifford, Benjamin	McCord, Robert	Stephens, Daniel
Barney, Edson	Gifford, Levi	Miller, Eleazer, capt.	Stratton, Hyrum
Barney, Royal	Gilbert, Sherman	Miller, John	Strong, Elial
Benner, Henry	Glidden, True	Morse, Justin	Tanner, John
Bent, Samuel	Gould, Dean C.	Murdock, John	Tanner, Nathan
Blackman, Hiram	Grant, Jedediah M.	Nickerson, Freeman	Thayer, Sera
Booth, Lorenzo	Green, Addison	Nickerson, Levi S.	Thompson, Jas. L.
Brooks, Geo. W.	Griffith, Michael	Nickerson, Uriah C.	Thompson, Samuel
Brown, Albert	Grissold, Everett	Nicholas, Joseph	Tippett, Wm. P.
Brown, Harry	Groves, Elisha	Noble, Joseph B.	Thomas, Tinney
Brown, Samuel	Hancock, Joseph	North, Ur.	Tubbs, Nelson
Brownell, John	Hancock, Levi W.	Orton, Roger	Waughn, Joel
Buchanan, Peter	Harmon, Joseph	Parker, John D.	Warner, Salmon
Burdick, Alden	Herriman, Henry	Parrish, Warren	Weden, Wm.
Burgess, Harrison	Harris, Martin	Patten, David W.	Wells, Elias
Byur, David	Hartshorn, Joseph	Pratt, Orson	Whitesides, Alex.
Caboon, Wm. F.	Hayes, Thos.	Pratt, Parley P.	Whitlock, Andrew
Carpenter, John	Higgins, Nelson	Pratt, Wm. D.	Wight, Lyman
Carter, John S.	Hitchcock, Seth	Rich, Chas. C.	Wilcox, Eber
Cathcart, Daniel	Hogers, Amos	Rich, Leonard	Wilkinson, Sylv. B.
Champlin, Alonzo	Holbrook, Chandler	Richardson, Darwin	Williams, Fredk. G.
Chapman, Jacob	Holbrook, Joseph	Riggs, Burr	Winchester, Alanzo
Cherry, Wm.	Holmes, Milton	Riggs, Harpin	Winchester, Benj.
Chidester, John M.	Houghton, Osmen	Riggs, Nathaniel	Winchester, S., capt.
Childs, Alden	Hubbard, Marshal	Riley, Milcher	Winégar, Alvin
Childs, Nathaniel	Humphrey, Solomon	Ripley, Alanson	Winegar, Samuel
Childs, Stephen	Huntsman, Joseph	Robbins, Lewis	Winter, Hiram
Colborn, Thos.	Hustin, John	Rudd, Erastus	Wisemiller, Henry
Colby, Alanson	Hutchins, Elias	Sagers, Wm. Henry	Woodruff, Wilford
Cole, Zera S.	Hyde, Heman T.	Salisbury, Jenkins	Young, Brigham
Coltrin, Zebedee	Hyde, Orson	Sherman, Henry	Young, Joseph
Coon, Libeus T.	Ingalls, Warren S.	Sherman, Lyman	— (unknown)
Cowan, Horace	Ivie, Edward	Shibley, Henry	
Curtis, Lyman	Ivie, James E.		
Curtis, Mecham	Ivie, John A.		
Denton, Solomon W.	Ivie, Wm. S.		
Doff, Peter	Jessop, Wm.		
Dort, David D.	Johnson, Luke S.		
Duncan, John	Johnson, Lyman E.		
Dunn, James	Johnson, Noah		
Duzette, Philemon	Johnson, Seth		
Elliman, Philip	Jones, Isaac		

## WOMEN WHO WENT UP IN ZION'S CAMP.

Alvord, Charlotte, from Michigan.  
 Chidester, Mrs., wife of John M. Chidester.  
 Curtis, Sophronia.  
 Drake, Diana.  
 Gates, Mary Snow, wife of Jacob Gates.  
 Holbrook, Eunice, wife of Chandler Holbrook.  
 Holbrook, Nancy L., wife of Joseph Holbrook.  
 Houghton, Mrs., wife of Osmen Houghton.  
 Parrish, Betsey, wife of Warren Parrish.  
 Ripley, Mrs., wife of Alanson Ripley.  
 There were also a few children in the Camp, among whom were Diana, daughter of Chandler Holbrook; Sarah Lucretia and Charlotte, daughters of Joseph Holbrook; and a daughter of Alvin Winegar.

# THE HISTORICAL RECORD.

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"What thou seest, write in a book." Rev. 1, 11.

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DECEMBER, 1889.

VOL. VIII.

## CHURCH ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

### A

**Aalborg**, a city of 20,000 inhabitants, in the province of Jylland, Denmark, is noted as the place where the second branch of the Church in Scandinavia was organized Nov. 8, 1850, by Elder George P. Dykes, with 8 members, all of whom had been baptized by Elder Dykes Oct. 27, 1850. From A. missionaries were sent into all the surrounding country, where a number of other branches were established; and when a conference was organized, A. became its headquarters, and the A. branch was for many years one of the most flourishing branches in Scandinavia. In 1851 and 1852 the Saints in A. were subject to much persecution and mobbing; upon one occasion their meeting hall was almost destroyed, and several persons ill-treated by the mob. Nearly all the windows on the private dwellings of the Saints were broken the following night. A. is yet the headquarters of one of the most important conferences of the Scandinavian Mission. See pages 159, 160, 191.

**Aarhus**, the largest city in the province of Jylland, Denmark (pop. 30,000), has since 1857 been the headquarters of the A. Conference, one of the most flourishing conferences of the Scandinavian Mission. A great number of people have been baptized in the city and surroundings.—191.

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 Augusta, a little village situated on Skunk River, in Des Moines Co., Iowa, about 10 miles southwest of Burlington, and 16 miles in a straight line northeast of Nauvoo, Ill., was the home of quite a number of Saints in 1840-44. Among the first settlers of A. were Frederick Kesler (now Bishop of the 16th Ward, Salt Lake City,

Utah) and Levi Moffit, who built a grist-mill there in 1835, the first water-power flouring mill ever built in the State of Iowa. There were at that time only a very few scattered settlers in that part of the country; Burlington consisted of only a few cabins and was known as Flint Hills. The Indians roamed all over the country but were quite friendly. In the fall of 1835 the town site of A. was surveyed by Levi Moffit and Frederick Kesler, without the use of surveying instruments, the north star being the only guide in laying off the streets running north and south, and Mr. Kesler's carpenter's square being the only instrument used in laying off the cross streets. In 1839 Elder Lyman Wight, who had escaped from Missouri a short time previous, visited A., held several meetings there, made a number of converts and finally located his family there. Among the number baptized was Frederick Kesler. In 1840 several families of the Saints who had been expelled from Missouri settled at A., and subsequently the number of inhabitants was considerably increased by the arrival of immigrants from several parts of the Union and great Britain. The original town was on the north side of Skunk River, and consisted in 1840 of two stores, a blacksmith shop and a few private dwellings, but when the Saints began to locate there, they had a new town site surveyed on the south side of the river, in what is now Denmark Township, Lee County, Iowa, where most of them built small houses. As in other places, the jealousy and envy of the non-Mormon settlers were aroused and persecutions ensued. On one occasion, in January, 1841, there was considerable disturbance at an evening meeting held at A., at which Hyrum Smith was present. During the night some persons, more wicked than the rest, entered a stable and cut off the tails, manes and one ear of two horses belonging to Joseph the Prophet, and otherwise maimed the animals. The following morning, Hyrum, aided by Frederick Kesler, returned to Nauvoo, having to travel a round-about-road in order to escape mob violence. Notwithstanding the persecutions, the Saints continued to increase in number, and at a conference held at A. April 1, 1843, 84 members in good standing were reported in the A. branch of the Church, besides 12 others who joined on that day. On the same occasion James Brown was appointed to preside over the branch, and seven Elders, two Priests, one Teacher and one Deacon

were also ordained; among the Elders was an Indian of the Delaware tribe. The branch was continued until 1844, after the death of the Prophet, when President Young advised the Saints to remove to Nauvoo, which they did (excepting a few who were about to apostatize), going down Skunk River and the Mississippi on a flat boat which was built for the purpose by Frederick Kesler. This boat was 40 feet long and 10 feet wide. Since the Saints left, A. has been a place of no importance. The township of which the village forms a part had 564 inhabitants in 1880.—509.

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Bogart, Samuel, a Missouri mobocrat, who (after taking a prominent part, at the head of a Ray County mob, in driving the Saints out of Missouri in 1838-39,) wilfully killed a man by the name of Beatty, at a special election held in Far West in November, 1839. Immediately after the murder B. left Far West for his home, a few miles distant. "Selecting his best horse he set out at once in an attempt to leave the country and escape the penalty of the law, of which he seemed greatly afraid. Striking southward he rode in the direction of Richmond. It was a rainy season, and all the streams were bank full. Reaching Crooked River, at Dale's mill, after nightfall, he found the stream 'booming' high, but dismounting he drove his horse into the water, and seizing its tail was towed across in safety. Arriving at Richmond he called up Wiley E. Williams and informed him he was on his way to the land office at Lexington to enter a very valuable tract of land, that other parties wanted the same land, and would start for the land office the next morning to enter it, and he must go ahead of them; and that was the reason why he stood before them all wet and dripping and splashed with mud; and the reason he had called him up at so late an hour was that he wanted to borrow \$200 in gold to enter his land. The money was given him, and again he sped away into the night, taking the road to Lexington. Reaching the river he roused the ferryman, and, telling him the land story, prevailed on him, by paying him a \$20 gold piece, not only to ferry him across the river immediately but to keep his boat on the south side until nearly noon the next day, and on no account to cross any person or persons from the north bank until that time. B. cunning but quite plausible story and his good horse carried him out of danger, and he made his way in safety to Texas, which State he made his permanent home. He afterwards sent for his family and sold out his property in Caldwell County, Mo." He was indicted for the murder by the grand jury at Far West not long after its perpetration, but never arrested. B. in the Crooked River battle, 23, 56, 187, 702, 703; guards "Mormon" prisoners, arrests witnesses, etc, 451; is full of hatred, 461; ordered out with militia, 604; at Far West, 458, 708, 716; fires upon the brethren, 707.

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 Freedom, Adams Co., Ill., is noted in Church history as a temporary Stake and gathering place for the Saints in 1839-41. In February, 1840, the branch there numbered 225 members. Henry W. Miller was appointed to preside Oct. 22, 1840. In 1841 most of the members removed to Hancock County, Ill.  
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- the Leon Branch of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Ry., in Sections 27 and 34, Garden Grove Twp., Decatur Co., Iowa. It is 180 miles in a straight line due east of Burlington, and 17 miles north of the Missouri State line. The way the Saints traveled in 1846 the distance from Nauvoo was 145 miles in a northwesterly direction. The village of G. G. had 549 inh. in 1880, and is situated in the midst of a fine farming district.—Pages 885-887, 908, 28, 154, 237.
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**La Harpe**, a town of about 1,000 inh., is situated in the northwest corner of Hancock County, Illinois, 23 miles east of Nauvoo. A flourishing branch of the Church was built up there in the spring of 1841, principally through the labors of Zenos H. Gurley, and a number of Saints continued to reside in that vicinity until the general exodus in 1846.—435, 742, 743, 866.  
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 Lima, a town of about 300 inh., situated in Lima Township, Adams Co., Ill., just over the south line of Hancock County, and about 25 miles in a straight line due south of Nauvoo, is known in Church history as a neighborhood where quite a number of Saints resided in 1839 to 1846. Most of these, however, located northeast of L., in the extreme south end of Hancock County, in what is now Walker Township, on and around a townsite which they had surveyed and named Yelrome. This little town, situated two and a half miles northeast of L., was also known as Morley Town or Morley Settlement, in honor of Isaac Morley, the presiding Church officer residing there. Oct. 22, 1840, a Stake organization, embracing the Saints in L. and vicinity (both in Adams and Hancock Counties), was effected with Isaac Morley as President and Gardner Snow as Bishop. At a conference held at L., Oct. 23, 1842, the branch was represented to consist of 424 members. Yelrome or Morley Settlement was nearly all burnt out by the mobocrats in the fall of 1845, and the Saints were all compelled to leave the following year. In 1855 a new town called Tioga was laid out on the old townsite, which at present consists of an unimportant village.—480, 509, 801, 807, 813.  
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- A. Miller as Bishop. The organization only existed for a short time.—480.  
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 Mount Pisgah, one of the temporary settlements founded by the Saints while journeying westward in 1846, is in Section 8, Jones Township, Union Co., Iowa, 6 miles northeast of Afton, the county seat, and 1½ miles north of Talmadge, the nearest railway station. It is 92 miles in a straight line east of the Missouri River at a point opposite Plattsmouth, Neb., 160 miles west of the Mississippi River, and about 30 miles in a straight line northwest of Garden Grove, but the way the Saints traveled, in 1846, the distance was considerable further. What is usually termed M. P. is a narrow ridge lying between Grand River and the Pisgah Creek; along this ridge the Chicago, St. Paul and Kansas City Ry. runs for some distance, passing within 20 rods of the cemetery, where between 200 and 300 Saints are resting, and where a stately monument was erected a few years ago by loving friends in Utah. The Mount Pisgah farm is now owned by Mr. A. C., White.—Pages 887, 888, 905-908, 28, 117, 124, 137, 142, 154, 155, 227, 240.  
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*Nauvoo House*, the erection of which was commanded by revelation (Doc. & Cov., 124: 22-24, 60-64), was commenced in the spring of 1841, and by the time the Saints were driven away from Nauvoo in 1846 the walls were up above the windows of the second story. It was built in L form, presenting a front on two streets (south and west) of 130 feet each, 40 feet deep. It was to have been built principally of brick, three stories high, exclusive of the basement story. The estimated cost of erection was \$100,000. This house was to be built unto the name of the Lord. Individual stock was to range from \$50 to 1,500; no person being allowed to put in less than \$50 nor more than \$1,500. All who believed in the Book of Mormon and the revelations of God were permitted to hold stock. The location of the N. H. on the banks of the Mississippi River was most grand and beautiful, and the building itself, had it been completed within the time contemplated, would, for magnitude and splendor of workmanship, have stood unrivalled in the whole western country. When the Saints left Nauvoo in 1846, the unfinished building became the property of Emma Smith, the Prophet's widow, and subsequently passed into the hands of her second husband, Mr. L. C. Bidamon, who about the year 1872 put part of it under roof and fitted it up for a hotel known as the Bidamon House.—490, 481, 447, 755, 8, 11, 27, 130, 501, 860.

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*Nauvoo Legion*, an independent body of militia, authorized by special acts passed by the Illinois legislature. The original act, passed in December, 1840, provided that the Nauvoo city council might organize the inhabitants of the city, subject to military duty under the laws of the State, into an independent body of militia, but a subsequent amendment to the charter extended the same privilege to any citizen of Hancock County who might desire to attach himself to the Legion. The officers of the Legion were commissioned by the governor. The members were required to perform the same amount of military duty as the regular State militia, and were

placed at the disposal of the mayor of the city and the governor of the State in executing the laws, etc. The first election of officers took place Feb. 4, 1841, and resulted in Joseph Smith being unanimously chosen lieutenant-general. There were only six companies when first organized, but in September following the number of men had increased to 1,490, and at the time of the Prophet's death, in 1844, the Legion numbered about 5,000 men. Brigham Young succeeded Joseph Smith as lieutenant-general, and the organization was kept up until the exodus in 1846. After their arrival in Great Salt Lake Valley (the Indians being hostile), the Saints found it necessary to organize a militia for self-defense. Consequently, on March 27, 1852, authorized by a territorial act previously passed, a partial reorganization of the Nauvoo Legion took place in Utah, and Daniel H. Wells was chosen lieutenant-general. The territory was also duly divided into military districts, and annual musters inaugurated. This organization rendered excellent service for many years, until J. Wilson Shaffer in September, 1870, issued his notorious proclamation forbidding all musters, drills or gatherings of the militia in Utah, except by his express orders. By an act of Congress (the so-called Edmunds-Tucker law), which became a law without the consent of the President, March 3, 1887, the N. L. ceased to exist.—490, 481, 494, 495, 513, 553, 562, 756, 756-760, 769, 773, 858, 48, 61, 100, 103, 115, 133, 164, 170, 189, 239, 242.

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Ramus (now Webster) was a town situated  
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 voo, 8 miles southwest of La Harpe and  
 9 miles northeast of Carthage, in the midst  
 of a fine agricultural district. When the  
 Saints settled in Illinois in 1839, quite a  
 number of them located on or near Crook-  
 ed Creek, in the eastern part of Hancock  
 County, where a branch of the Church was  
 soon organized, which in July, 1840, num-  
 bered 112 members, who owned about  
 2,525 acres of land. About that time a  
 Stake of Zion, embracing all the Saints in  
 that vicinity was organized, and in Sep-  
 tember following (1849) a townsite was  
 surveyed by William Wightman and  
 others, and called Ramus, a Latin word,  
 signifying a branch. Afterwards it was  
 known as Macedonia. In 1841 there were  
 about one hundred houses built or in  
 course of erection at R., and the popula-  
 tion increased rapidly until the new town  
 contained about 500 people, nearly all  
 Saints. Joseph, the Prophet, frequently  
 visited R. and preached some of his best  
 discourses there. In September, 1844, a  
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- a desirable location for a city. Consequently a number of families moved up from Nauvoo with the intention of settling, but it proved to be nothing but a swamp, and the project of building a town there was abandoned.—181, 267.
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- Whitney, Newel K., the second Presiding Bishop of the Church, was b. in Marlborough, Windham Co., Vt., Feb. 5, 1795; d. in Salt Lake City, Utah, Sept. 23, 1850. —63, 76, 114, 225, 226, 234, 277, 326, 327, 392, 401, 402-405, 407, 409, 410, 413, 437, 467, 494, 501, 502, 509, 639, 640, 642, 644, 750, 755, 767, 785, 786, 797, 859, 863, 868, 899, 937.
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- Whitney, Sarah Ann, the first woman in this dispensation given in plural marriage by and with the consent of both parents, was the eldest daughter of Newel K. and Sarah Ann Whitney, b. March 22, 1825. She was married to the Prophet Joseph when only 17 years old, having implicit faith in the divinity of plural marriage. After the death of the Prophet she was married to Heber C. Kimball, with whom she had seven children. She came to the Valley in 1848, and died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Sept. 4, 1873.—225, 233.
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ZARAHÉMLA, a town founded by the Saints in 1839-41, was situated on the uplands about a mile west of the Mississippi River, in Lee County, Iowa, or immediately back of Montrose and opposite Nauvoo, Ill. Besides purchasing the town of Nashville (see *Nashville*), with 20,000 acres of land adjoining it, in June, 1839, the Church through Bishop Vinson Knight, about the same time, bought an extensive tract of country, lying west of Montrose, on which Joseph, the Prophet, advised that a town should be built and called Zarahemla. (Page 467, 743.) In March, 1841, this was sanctioned by revelation. (Page 481.) Consequently a townsite was surveyed by George W. Gee, under the direction of the Prophet Joseph (page 55), and the Saints began to move in. At a general conference held at Commerce, Hancock Co., Ill., Oct. 5, 1839, it was voted that a branch of

the Church be organized in Iowa and that John Smith should preside over the same. Alanson Ripley was appointed Bishop, and Asahel Smith, John M. Burk, A. O. Smoot, Richard Howard, Willard Snow, Erastus Snow, David Pettegrew, Elijah Fordham, Edward Fisher, Elias Smith, John Patten and Stephen Chase chosen as members of the High Council. (Pages 750, 762.) Elder Ripley removed to Nauvoo and Elias Smith was ordained Bishop in his stead, July 18, 1840. At a conference held Aug. 7, 1841, at Z., 150 members of the Church were represented in Iowa, namely, 326 in Zarahemla, 67 in Siloam, 80 in Nashville, 109 in Ambrosia, 65 at the Meekham Settlement, 18 in Keokuk, 50 in Augusta, 11 in Van Buren Township and 30 on Chequest Creek, Van Buren County. It was intended that Z. should embrace Montrose and become a sister city to Nauvoo in size, but for some reason or other the town did not grow very fast. Only

about thirty small houses were built, and of these only one is standing at the present time. Since the Saints left in 1846, Z. has been lost sight of, and Montrose built up in its stead.

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#### ERRATA.

Page 15, 2nd column 11th line from top, instead of "Oct. 18, 1846," read "Oct. 12, 1845."

" 84, 2nd col., 14th line from top, instead of "May 3rd." read "May 4th."

" 48, 1st col., 2nd line from top, instead of "Moses." read "Robert."

" 70, 1st col., 3rd line from top, instead of "Wm." read "Warren."

" 89, 1st col., 13th line from bottom, instead of "Jan. 27," read June 27."

" 115, 2nd col., 7th line from bottom, instead of "1848," read "1849."

" 135, 1st col., 2nd line from top, instead of "Oct." read "September."

" 234, 1st col., 27th line from top, instead of "August," read "April."

" 236, 1st col., 8th line from top, instead of "August," read "April;" and in 9th and 11th lines, instead of "Elder Wm. Clayton," read "Patriarch Hyrum Smith."

" 259, 2nd col., 2nd line from top, instead of "Parowan," read "Pauvan."

" 333, 1st col., 16th line from top, instead of "South Cottonwood Creek," read "Little Cottonwood Creek."

" 335, 2nd col., 2nd line from top, instead of "southwest," read "southeast."

" 402, 2nd col., 13th line from top, omit the word "(Julia)."

" 410, 1st col., after the word "gratification" in the 11th line from bottom, insert the following: "On the 11th we left Westfield, \* \* and on the 12th arrived at Father Nickerson's." Then follows the next paragraph: "On the day following," etc

" 413, 2nd line: The paragraph commencing with "Dec. 26, 1835," etc., should be inserted on page 427, 1st col., after the paragraph ending with "left me to-day."

" 503 and 504: The two paragraphs commencing with "We applied," and ending with "abusive treatment," has reference to an incident that happened years before the trip to Springfield took place.

" 511, 1st col., 5th line from bottom, instead of "7th chapter," read "6th chapter."

" 592, 1st col., 16th line from top, instead of "8th," read "6th."

" 809, 2nd col., 6th line from bottom, instead of "Raymond," read "Raynolds."

" 938, 1st col., 28th and 29th lines from bottom, between the words "nucleus for," and "gathering," insert "convenience of those brethren who were to start for the Far West as Pioneers to find a new."

Minor errors in the orthography of names, etc., are corrected in the index.

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**MEMORANDA.**

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ANDREW JENSON

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VOL. 9  
1890



WHAT THOU SEEST, WRITE IN A BOOK:—REV. 1. 11.

THE  
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A MONTHLY PERIODICAL.

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"~~But~~ what thou seest, write in a book."—Rev. i, 11.

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## THE PIONEERS OF 1847.

IN early Church history three distinct semi-religious and military organizations vie with each other in point of general importance and significance, partly because of the great results which accrued from their labors, and partly because of the excellent opportunities which they gave the individual members who participated in them to show their integrity, perseverance and manhood in the midst of the most trying circumstances. One of these organizations is Zion's Camp, consisting of 205 men, besides a few women and children, who went up to Missouri with the Prophet Joseph in 1834, for the purpose of assisting in the redemption of Zion; the second is the Mormon Battalion, consisting of nearly six hundred men, women and children, who made one of the hardest foot-marches on record in the service of their country in 1846 and 1847, and the third is that body of men, who, under the leadership of President Brigham Young, led the way to the valleys of the Rocky Mountains in 1847, to seek a new home for the Saints who had been expelled from their homes in Illinois.

At the date of this writing nearly

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all the members of Zion's Camp have passed away from this sphere of action, and the few remaining Pioneers of 1847 are also dropping off one by one, while quite a number of the Battalion boys, who, when the famous journey to California was made, were mostly young men, are still alive, though necessarily now somewhat advanced in years. In this article we will endeavor to give a somewhat full account of the Pioneers, the journeyings of the other two organizations named having already been briefly narrated in a previous volume of the RECORD.

Being the victims of a relentless religious persecution, the Saints were forced to leave the beautiful city of Nauvoo, Illinois, in the year 1846, their advance companies crossing the Mississippi River in the beginning of February; and after a partial organization on Sugar Creek, the weary journey westward through the wilderness was commenced. Their destination was unknown, and even President Brigham Young and his brethren of the Twelve Apostles, who led the "Camp of Israel," knew not to what particular locality in the Far West they would bring their peo-

ple, save that they were aiming for the Rocky Mountains, where years before the prophetic eye of Joseph Smith, the Seer, had seen the Saints become a mighty people.

California and Oregon, which at that time began to awaken the interest of the civilized world, was warmly recommended to the Saints by many influential men in the nation, as being in every respect suitable for such a community as the "Mormon" people to locate in; but President Young clearly foresaw that if he brought his people to the Pacific coast (whither Missourians and other emigrants already were wending their way in large numbers), renewed persecutions and drivings would undoubtedly follow in the near future; as the Saints there necessarily would be brought in contact with many of their old enemies; while, on the other hand, if they chose some isolated spot of country where nobody else desired to locate, they might be permitted to live in peace and prosper. Hence, President George A. Smith was undoubtedly right when he wrote that President Young was "led by the inspiration of the Almighty (for no one of the company knew anything of the country) directly to Great Salt Lake Valley, having sought out and made a new road 650 miles and following a trapper's trail nearly 400 miles."

At this time not much more was known of the country adjacent to the Great Salt Lake than that which its name, the Great American Desert, implied, although explorers and trappers had traversed it in part for some years past. By way of introduction we will briefly refer to some of the most important of these explorations, and also to the commence-

ment of the great overland travel from the United States to the Pacific coast.

From Santa Fe, New Mexico, which was first settled in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Spaniards sent out several exploring expeditions to the north and west, but it is not known whether any of them ever visited the region around the Great Salt Lake, until the year 1776, when two Franciscan friars, namely, Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante set out from Santa Fe, accompanied by seven others for the purpose of discovering a direct route to Monterey, Cal. Entering the country now embraced in Utah from the east they discovered Utah Lake, Sept. 23, 1776.

"Half a century passes," writes Hubert H. Bancroft, in his history of Utah, "and we find United States fur hunters standing on the border of the Great Salt Lake, tasting its brackish waters, and wondering if it is an arm of the sea.

"First among these, confining ourselves to authentic records, was Jas. Bridger, to whom belongs the honor of discovery. It happened in this wise. During the winter of 1824-25 a party of trappers, who had ascended the Missouri with Henry and Ashley, found themselves on Bear River, in Cache, or Willow Valley. A discussion arose as to the probable course of Bear River, which flowed on both sides of them. A wager was made, and Bridger sent to ascertain the truth. Following the river through the mountains the first view of the great lake fell upon him, and when he went to the margin and tasted the water he found that it was salt. Then he returned and report-

ed to his companions. All were interested to know if there emptied into this sheet other streams on which they might find beavers, and if there was an outlet; hence in the spring of 1826 four men explored the lake in skin boats.

"During this memorable year of 1825, when Peter Skeen Ogden, with his party of Hudson's Bay Company trappers was on Humboldt River, and James P. Beckworth was pursuing his daring adventures, and the region round the great lakes of Utah first became familiar to American trappers, William H. Ashley, of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, at the head of 120 men and a train of well packed horses, came out from St. Louis, through the South Pass and down by Great Salt Lake to Lake Utah. There he built a fort, and two years later brought from St. Louis a six-pounder which thereafter graced its court. Ashley was a brave man, shrewd and honest; he was prosperous and commanded the respect of his men. Nor may we impute to him lack of intelligence, or of common geographical knowledge, when we find him seriously considering the project of descending the Colorado in boats, by means of which he would eventually reach St. Louis. Mr. Green, who gave his name to Green River, had been with Ashley the previous year; and now for three years after the establishing of Fort Ashley at Utah Lake, Green with his trappers occupied the country to the west and north."

From Great Salt Lake in August, 1826, Jedediah S. Smith set out on a trapping and exploring tour with 15 men. Proceeding southward he traversed Utah Lake, called for a time Ashley Lake, and after ascend-

ing Ashley River which, as he remarks, flows into the lake through the country of the Sampatches, he bent his course to the west of south, passed over some mountains running southeast and northwest, and crossed a river which he called Adams (the Sevier) in honor of President Adams: whence he continued southwest until he reached southern California.

In the autumn of 1830, that part of the country now embraced in Utah was traversed from southeast to northwest by a trapping party under William Wolfskill. The company was fitted out in New Mexico, and the "great valley of California" was their objective point. Leaving Taos in September, they struck northwesterly, crossing the Colorado, Grande, Green and Sevier rivers, and then turned south to the Rio Virgin, all the time trapping on the way.

During the winter of 1832-33, B. L. E. Bonneville, a Frenchman by birth, but at the time of his explorations a captain in the United States army, made his camp on Salmon River, and in July, 1833, was at the Green River rendezvous. Among the several trapping parties sent out by him in various directions, was one under Joseph Walker, who with some thirty-six men went to trap on the streams falling into the Great Salt Lake.

The early emigrants to Oregon did not touch Utah and those to California *via* Fort Bridger, for the most part merely passed through leaving no mark. The emigrants to Oregon and California in 1841 came together by the usual route up the Platte, along the Sweetwater and through the South Pass to Bear River Valley. When near Soda Springs those for Oregon went north to Fort Hall,

while those for California followed Bear River southward until within 10 miles of Great Salt Lake, when they turned westward to find the Ogden (Humboldt) River. Of the latter party were J. Bartleson, C. M. Weber, Talbot H. Green, John Bidwell, Josiah Belden and 27 others. Their adventures while in Utah were not startling. Little was known of the Salt Lake region, particularly of the country west of it.

In 1842, Marcus Whitman and A. L. Lovejoy on their way from Oregon to the United States passed through Utah from Fort Hall, by way of Uintah, Taos and Santa Fe.

In 1843, John C. Fremont, the famous adventurer, explorer and surveyor, followed the emigrant trail through the South Pass, "and on the 6th of September," writes Mr. Bancroft, "he stood upon an elevated peninsula on the east side of Great Salt Lake, a little north of Weber River, beside which stream his party had encamped the previous night.

\* \* \* Black clouds gathered in the west, and soon were pouring their floods upon the explorers. Camping some distance above the mouth on Weber River, they made a corral for the animals, and threw up a small fort for their own protection. Provisions being scarce, seven of the party under François Lajeunesse were sent to Fort Hall, which place they reached with difficulty, after separation from each other and several days' wanderings.

"Leaving three men in camp, with four others, including Kit Carson who was present, Fremont on the 7th embarked in a rubber boat and dropped down to the mouth of the stream, which the party found shallow and unnavigable. Next morn-

ing they were out on the lake, fearful every moment lest their air-blown boat should collapse and let them into the saline but beautiful transparent liquid. At noon they reached one of the low near islands and landed. They found there, washed up by the waves, a dark brown bank, ten or twenty feet in breadth, composed of the skins of worms, about the size of oats, while the rocky cliffs were whitened by incrustations of salt. Ascending to the highest point attainable they took a surrounding view and called the place Disappointment Island (now Castle Island, or as some call it Fremont Island), because they had failed to find the fertile lands and game hoped for. Then they descended to the edge of the water, constructed lodges of driftwood, built fires, and spent the night there, returning next day in a rough sea to their mainland camp. Thence they proceeded north to Bear River, and Fort Hall, and on to Oregon. On his return by way of Klamath and Pyramid lakes, Fremont crossed the Sierra to Sutters Fort, proceeded up the San Joaquin into southern California, and taking the old Spanish trail to the Rio Virgen followed the Wasatch Mountains to Utah Lake.

"There was a party under Fremont in Utah also in 1845. Leaving Bent Fort in August they ascended the Arkansas, passed on to Green River, followed its left bank to the Duchesne branch, and thence crossed to the head-waters of the Timpanogos (the Provo), down which stream they went to Utah Lake. Thence they passed on to Great Salt Lake, made camp near where Great Salt City is situated, crossed to Antelope Island, and examined the southern portion of the lake. After this they

passed by way of Pilot Peak, into Nevada."

Concerning the first overland travel the following may be of interest:

According to Bancroft's history of Wyoming, Ezekiel Williams, a hardy frontiersman and trapper in the employment of the government, was the first white man known who, at the head of an escort, attempted to reach California *via* the South Pass, but while upon the head-waters of the North Platte, he was attacked by Indians who killed five of his men and drove off the horses of the expedition. This was in 1807. Williams then moved southward, wandering among the mountains until the spring of 1808, when he reached the South Platte.

The first recorded expedition which passed through what is now Wyoming Territory from the East was that of Wilson Price Hunt in 1811, who conducted to Oregon the overland part of the Pacific Fur Company, which founded Astoria. This expedition left the Missouri River at the mouth of the Big Cheyenne and following the general course of that stream to and along the base of the Black Hills, traveled westward across Powder River Valley and Big Horn Mountains to Wind River, where they turned south to find grass and game, coming to the upper waters of the Colorado, known to trappers as Spanish River (Green River), whence they found their way to Snake River. The following year (1812) Robert McLellan, Ramsey Crooks, Robert Stewart (members of Hunt's expedition), and two Frenchmen, returned east, but all their horses were stolen by Indians in the mountains, and they were compelled to finish

their journey on foot to the Missouri. Avoiding their former route over mountains they followed the Platte from its head-waters to its mouth, "being the first to travel that natural highway to the Pacific coast so generally pursued."

In 1820 Major Stephen H. Long, under orders from the government explored the Platte Valley as far west as the junction of the North and South Forks. The result of his expedition was to attract attention to the central overland route to the mountains, which finally made the Platte, North Platte and Sweetwater valleys the great thoroughfare of Pacific travel.

"In 1822," writes Hubert H. Bancroft in his history of Wyoming, "William H. Ashley, a Virginian by birth, \* \* \* with the assistance of Mr. Henry, erected a fort on the Yellowstone. \* \* \* In 1824 he enlisted 300 men and again sought the mountains, following the Platte to the South Pass, exploring and naming the Sweetwater, and appointing a rendezvous with the Indians on Spanish River, which he named, after a member of his company, Green River. He pushed his explorations to Utah Lake, discovered first by Escalante in 1776, but seen by no American before Ashley, who gave it his own name. Here he erected a post, and in two or three years collected \$180,000 worth of furs, selling out his establishment in 1826 to the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, formed that year in St. Louis, with Jedediah S. Smith, William L. Sublette and David E. Jackson at the head. They had been leaders under the North American Company, and were well equipped to succeed to the business, in which they were also

successful. To them belongs the distinction of having taken the first wagons from the Missouri to the mountains, ten of which, each drawn by five mules, and two carts, rolled the whole distance from St. Louis to Wind River rendezvous, the wagons carrying 1,800 pounds each, and traveling from 15 to 25 miles a day.

"They reported to the government that there was no obstacle to crossing to the west side of the Rocky Mountains with wagons, had they desired to do so. The next year they brought out 14 wagons, and the use of wheeled vehicles became common on this route. In the meantime the Missouri Fur Company had been revived \* \* \* and had its trappers in the country about the South Pass, although its principal territory was among the Sioux, Ricaras and other Missouri River tribes. About 1830, the Rocky Mountain Company was reorganized with Milton Sublette, James Bridger and Fitzpatrick at the head with several other partners. They had, together with the other fur companies, men enough in the mountains about the head-waters of the Platte, Green and Snake Rivers, and on the Yellowstone branches, to constitute a regiment.

"In 1832, Captain E. L. Bonneville, an army officer on leave, led a company of 110 trappers to the mountains in search of profit and adventure. He was assisted by I. R. Walker and M. Serre, leaders. They traveled the Platte route, with a caravan of 20 wagons—some drawn by oxen, which were the first 'bull teams' on this line—laden with Indian goods, provisions and ammunition, which were all taken through the South Pass into Green River, being the first wagons to roll down

the western slope of the Rocky Mountains. Here he erected a fortified camp, and remained in the mountains hunting furs, fighting Indians and exploring for three years.

"It does not seem that it was the custom of the fur companies to erect forts, except in case of necessity, where the Indians were of a predatory and hostile disposition, which was not the character of those on the west side of the mountains to any serious degree. On account of the Blackfoot and Crow nations, whose habits were more warlike, a number of forts were established on the Missouri and the main Yellowstone, \* \* \* but within the territory which now constitutes Wyoming, Bonneville erected the first fortification, at the junction of Lead Creek with Green River, in 1832, the remains of which may still be seen. The Indians becoming more troublesome as they became better acquainted with white men and the temptations offered by their wealth, the necessity for forts increased. Rivalry in trade was another incentive to building posts."

Under these circumstances Fort Laramie was erected in 1834, which was the only permanent establishment made before 1842, when Fort Bridger was built.

In 1834-39, parties of missionaries, men and women, crossed the plains and mountains descending to the shores of the Pacific. The two first white women who traveled across the continent that way were Mrs. Narcissa Whiteman and Mrs. Spalding, who accompanied their respective husbands on their pilgrimage as missionaries to the Pacific coast in 1836.

In 1841, P. J. DeSmet, a Catholic of the Jesuit order, established a

mission west of the Rocky Mountains, among the Flathead Indians.

"In 1841," writes Mr. Bancroft, "passed the forts the first deliberate emigration to Oregon and California of men, women and children, 15 in number. The same year passed Bidwell's California company. In 1842, Elijah White's Oregon company of 112 men, women and children, and a train of 18 great Pennsylvania wagons, cattle, pack-mules and horses. Bordeaux was in charge of Fort Laramie at that time, and gave the emigrants timely advice and assistance, although they grumbled much at the price of provisions in the mountains. The trappers had done the same before them, and were often half-starved, while their employers rolled in wealth which their toil had accumulated. In 1843 passed the fur company's posts an army of occupation destined for the Columbia River, consisting of 1,000 men, women and children, with draft cattle, herds of cows and horses, farming implements and household goods."

In 1844, several companies of Missourians crossed the plains and mountains on their way to Oregon. One of these was led by the notorious Cornelius Gilliam, known in Church history as a persecutor of the "Mormons." He started out with a view to establishing an independent colony, which seemed to suit his fancy and the temper of the men who went with him.

The emigration of 1845 was larger than any that had preceded it. Five large companies with 244 wagons left the Missouri frontiers and traveled by way of the Platte, the South Pass and Green River to Oregon that year. In 1846 the emigration was not quite so large, being estimated

at 2,500 persons, mostly men, of whom about seventeen hundred went to Oregon and the remainder to California.

The immigrants destined for California were met in the region of Fort Bridger by Lansford W. Hastings, who already had made two trips to the Pacific coast, and James M. Hudspeth. These men induced several of the immigrants to save several hundred miles and to avoid many hardships by taking "the cut-off" south of the Great Salt Lake, partly explored by Fremont the year previous. Hastings in his partisan zeal, supported by the proprietors of Fort Bridger for their own interests, exaggerated the advantages and underrated the difficulties of the new route. Edwin Bryant, who led one of the immigrant companies, decided to follow the new route which brought them by way of Bear River, Echo Canyon and down the Weber River to Great Salt Lake Valley. This party with pack-mules, being guided by Hudspeth for a part of the way, was the first of the season to reach California. Two other parties, those of George Harlan and Samuel C. Young, were guided by Hastings in person and had much difficulty in finding a way for their wagons through Weber Canyon. Subsequently they lost most of their live stock in the Salt Lake desert, but at last reached the old trail and were the last to cross the Sierra Nevada Mountains that season. The ill-fated Donner Company, which left the Oregon road July 22, 1846, and reached Fort Bridger on the 25th, also resolved to take the "cut-off." They started from the fort on the 28th, only a few days behind Hastings, from whom they soon received



a letter advising a new change of route to avoid obstacles encountered by the other company in the Weber Canyon. James F. Reed and two companions were sent to overtake the advance company, obtain additional information and explore the route—an operation which consumed a week or more; and then the whole party started by the new “out-off,” up East Canyon, over the Little and Big Mountain and thence down Emigration Canyon to the valley. This proved a most difficult way, so much so that all of August passed before they reached the valley. From the southern extremity of the lake they directed their course to the northwest, crossing the desert from the 9th to the 15th, with great suffering and loss of cattle. It was about the end of September when the company struck the old emigrant trail on the main Humboldt, long after the last parties of California immigrants for the season had passed. At the end of October the further progress of the company was stopped by a terrible snow storm, and the poor immigrants were compelled to remain in the region of the Truckee River and Lake until spring, during which 39 of the 87 persons, which originally composed the company, when they left the Oregon road, died of starvation and cold. The residue, after subsisting for weeks on the flesh of their dead companions, were finally rescued by relief parties sent out from California early the following spring.

In 1847, during which year the “Mormon” Pioneers made their famous journey from Winter Quarters to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, between four and five thousand Oregon emigrants crossed the plains.

When the advance companies of the Saints set out from Nauvoo in the spring of 1846, it was hoped that at least a part of them that same year would succeed in reaching some valley in the Rocky Mountains, where the Saints could locate permanently that same year; but the call of the government for 500 “Mormon” volunteers to participate in the war with Mexico made this impossible, as the young and able-bodied men who should have gone as explorers and pioneers enlisted as United States soldiers. Hence, Winter Quarters, on the west bank of the Missouri River and nearly three hundred miles west of Nauvoo, was established; there, and in the surrounding country, the exiles spent the dreary winter of 1846-47, suffering in many instances extremely from sickness and want of adequate shelter.

Early in the spring of 1847, preparations were again made to send out a body of men to the Rockies, to find a new gathering place for the Saints. The men selected to undertake the hazardous journey responded cheerfully to the call, the necessary teams, camp equipage and provisions were provided, and on the 5th of April, 1847, Heber C. Kimball moved six of his teams (which he had equipped and prepared to form part of the company) out of Winter Quarters. After traveling six miles in a westerly direction, they camped in a convenient place, thus forming a kind of nucleus for the rest of the company to gather to. On the 7th of April, after attending the general conference of the Church, held at Winter Quarters on the 6th, President Brigham Young started for the West and joined the Pioneer Camp, which was then located about ten

miles west of Winter Quarters. From that point the Pioneers continued the journey to Elkhorn River\*, where the news reached them that Elder Parley P. Pratt had arrived at Winter Quarters from England. Consequently President Young and the brethren of the Twelve who were with him returned to that place and held a council with Elder Pratt in Dr. Willard Richard's office. On the 9th of April the Twelve again started on their journey for the West, and on Sunday, April 11th, joined the Pioneer company on the Elkhorn, which stream was crossed by means of a raft that had been constructed previously.

Before making the final start for the mountains, President Young and the Twelve who were in the Camp once more returned to Winter Quarters to greet Elder John Taylor, who had just arrived from England, bringing with him over \$2,000 in gold, contributed by the British Saints to the Church.

Leaving Winter Quarters a third time on Wednesday, April 14, 1847, the Apostles joined the Pioneer camp in the evening of the 15th, at a point 12 miles west of the Elkhorn, and about 47 miles from Winter Quarters. The following day (Friday,

April 16th,) the people in the camp were called together and organized with captains of hundreds, fifties and tens, as follows:

*Captains of Hundreds:*

Stephen Markham,  
Albert P. Rockwood.

*Captains of Fifties:*

Addison Everett,  
Tarlton Lewis,  
James Case,  
John Pack,  
Shadrach Roundy.

*Captains of Tens:*

Willford Woodruff,  
Ezra T. Benson,  
Phineas H. Young,  
Luke S. Johnson,  
Stephen H. Goddard,  
Charles Shumway,  
James Case,  
Seth Taft,  
Howard Egan,  
Appleton M. Harmon,  
John S. Higbee,  
Norton Jacob,  
John Brown,  
Joseph Matthews.

Stephen Markham was appointed captain of the guard and was instructed to select out of the camp fifty men in whom he could place implicit confidence. These were to be the standing guard to watch the camp at night—twelve of them to act as sentries at a time; and there were to be two parties of twelve every night, each party to perform guard duty one half the night. In cases where the horses and cattle were staked out to graze at night some distance from the camp, an extra guard was to be selected from the balance of the company, the standing guard not being permitted to leave the immediate neighborhood of the wagons.

The following is a complete list of the members of the Pioneer corps, as divided off into companies of tens:

\*The Elkhorn is one of the numerous tributaries of the Platte coming in from the north. It rises in Brown County, Neb., and after a flow of about 225 miles, in a southeasterly direction empties into the Platte in Sarpy County, nearly 25 miles above the junction of the Platte with the Missouri. The Elkhorn is described by William Clayton as a beautiful stream about 150 feet wide and averaging a depth of 4 feet. The country in the vicinity is very fine and productive. The bluffs on the east side were, when the Pioneers passed, well lined with timber, among the woods being some fine groves of cedar. From the bluffs a little below the ferry could be seen the meanderings of the Platte and the magnificent bottom lands on the north side of it, stretching fifteen miles in width and extending up the stream until lost in the distance.

*First Ten:*

1. Wilford Woodruff, captain,
2. Jacob D. Burnham,
3. Joseph Egbert,
4. Marcus B. Thorpe,
5. George Wardle,
6. John S. Fowler,
7. Orson Pratt,
8. John M. Freeman,
9. George A. Smith.

*Second Ten:*

10. Ezra T. Benson, captain,
11. Thomas Grover,
12. Barnabas L. Adams,
13. Roswell Stevens,
14. Amasa M. Lyman,
15. Sterling Driggs,
16. Albert Carrington,
17. Thomas Bullock,
18. George Brown,
19. Willard Richards,
20. Jesse C. Little.

*Third Ten:*

21. Phineas H. Young, captain,
22. John Y. Green,
23. Thomas Tanner,
24. Brigham Young,
25. Addison Everett
26. Truman O. Angell,
27. Lorenzo Young (and wife),
28. Brant Stringham,
29. Albert P. Rockwood,
30. Joseph S. Schofield.

*Fourth Ten:*

31. Luk S. Johnson, captain,
32. John Holman,
33. Edmund Ellsworth,
34. Alvarus Hanks,
35. George R. Grant,
36. Millen Atwood,
37. Samuel Fox,
38. Tunis Rapuleyee,
39. Harry Pierce,
40. William Dykes,
41. Jacob Weller.

*Fifth Ten:*

42. Stephen H. Goddard, captain,
43. Tarlton Lewis,
44. Henry G. Sherwood,
45. Zebedee Coltrin,
46. Sylvester H. Earl,
47. John Dixon,
48. Samuel H. Marble,
49. George Scholes,
50. William Henrie
51. William A. Empey.

*Sixth Ten:*

52. Charles Shumway, captain,

53. Andrew Shumway,
54. Thomas Woolsey,
55. Chauncey Loveland,
56. Erastus Snow,
57. James Craig,
58. William Wardsworth,
59. William Vance,
60. Simeon Howd,
61. Seeley Owen.

*Seventh Ten:*

62. James Case, captain,
63. Artemas Johnson,
64. William C. A. Smoot,
65. Franklin B. Dewey,
66. William Carter,
67. Franklin G. Losee,
68. Burr Frost,
69. Datus Ensign,
70. Franklin B. Stewart,
71. Monroe Frink,
72. Eric Glines,
73. Ozro Eastman

*Eighth Ten:*

74. Seth Taft, captain,
75. Horace Thornton,
76. Stephen Kelsey,
77. John S. Eldredge,
78. Charles D. Barnum,
79. Almon M. Williams,
80. Rufus Allen,
81. Robert T. Thomas,
82. James W. Stewart,
83. Elijah Newman,
84. Levi N. Kendall,
85. Francis Boggs,
86. David Grant.

*Ninth Ten:*

87. Howard Egan, captain,
88. Heber C. Kimball,
89. William A. King,
90. Thomas Cloward,
91. Hosea Cushing,
92. Robert Byard,
93. George Billings,
94. Edson Whipple,
95. Philo Johnson,
96. William Clayton.

*Tenth Ten:*

97. Appleton M. Harmon, captain,
98. Carlos Murray,
99. Horace K. Whitney,
100. Orson K. Whitney,
101. Orrin P. Rockwell,
102. Nathaniel T. Brown,
103. R. Jackson Redding,
104. John Pack,
105. Francis Pomeroy,
106. Aaron Farr,
107. Nathaniel Fairbanks.

*Eleventh Ten:*

- 108. John S. Higbee, captain,
- 109. John Wheeler,
- 110. Solomon Chamberlin,
- 111. Conrad Klineman
- 112. Joseph Rooker,
- 113. Perry Fitzgerald,
- 114. John H. Tippetts,
- 115. James Davenport,
- 116. Henson Walker,
- 117. Benjamin W. Rolfe.

*Twelfth Ten:*

- 118. Norton Jacobs, captain,
- 119. Charles A. Harper,
- 120. George Woodward,
- 121. Stephen Markham,
- 122. Lewis Barney,
- 123. George Mills,
- 124. Andrew Gibbons,
- 125. Joseph Hancock,
- 126. John W. Norton.

*Thirteenth Ten:*

- 127. John Brown, captain,
- 128. Shadrach Roundy,
- 129. Hans C. Hansen,
- 130. Levi Jackman,
- 131. Lyman Curtis
- 132. Matthew Ivory,
- 133. David Power (or Powell),
- 134. Hark Lay (colored),
- 135. Oscar Crosby (colored),

*Fourteenth Ten:*

- 136. Joseph Mathews, captain,
- 137. Gillroid Summe,
- 138. John Gleason,
- 139. Charles Burke,
- 140. Alexander P. Chessley,
- 141. Rodney Badger,
- 142. Norman Taylor,
- 143. Green Flake (colored)

Besides these brethren there were three women in camp, namely, Harriet Page Wheeler Young (wife of Lorenzo D. Young), Clarissa Decker Young (wife of Brigham Young), and Ellen Saunders Kimball (wife of Heber C. Kimball). Also two children (Isaac Perry Decker and Lorenzo Zobriskie Young), making a grand total in the Pioneer company of 143 men and boys, 3 women and 2 children, or 148 souls, all told.

The company had 72 wagons, 93 horses, 52 mules, 66 oxen, 19 cows, 17 dogs and some chickens.

The organization thus far being completed the Pioneers broke camp at 2 o'clock p. m., and started on the eventful journey for the Rocky Mountains. They traveled that afternoon (April 16, 1847) about three miles, and camped in a line a few hundred yards from timber, where there were plenty of cottonwoods and rushes.

The following daily account of the journey of the Pioneers is compiled principally from the writings of Apostle Orson Pratt and Elder Wm. Clayton, but up to May 3rd we are depending mainly upon Elder Clayton's journal, from which the following is extracted:

*"Saturday, April 17, 1847.*—This morning the weather is severely cold, with a strong northwest wind. We started at 9 o'clock and traveled until nearly noon, the distance covered being about 7 miles. We camped close by a cottonwood grove; and the brethren felled hundreds of the trees to feed to the teams that the corn might by this means be saved.

*"At 5 o'clock p. m.* the people of the camp were called together and organized in military order as follows: Brigham Young was elected lieutenant-general; Stephen Markham, colonel; John Pack and Shadrach Roundy, majors. The captains of tens as formerly appointed are to hold similar rank in this military organization. Thomas Bullock was installed as clerk of the camp. Thomas Tanner was appointed captain of the cannon, with the privilege of choosing eight men to manage it in case of necessity. The President then said:

*"After we start from this spot, every man must carry his loaded gun, or else have it in his wagon where he can seize it at a moment's notice. If the gun is a cap-lock, he should take off the cap and put on a piece of leather to exclude moisture and dirt; if a flint-lock, he must take out the priming and fill the pan with tow or cotton. The wagons must now keep together while traveling and not separate as heretofore they have separated. Every man is to keep beside his own wagon and is not to leave it except by permission."*

*"A little before evening one of the traders' wagons came from the Pawnee village, loaded with furs and peltry, and camped*

about a quarter of a mile below our encampment.

*"Sunday, April 18.*—The wind this morning is east and southeast and very cold, accompanied by a slight fall of snow. At 10 a. m. seven more traders' wagons came in and stopped about a quarter of a mile below us, and soon after six mules laden with robes and furs were driven in. The traders say that they have come from the Pawnee village in two days. \* \* \*

"In the afternoon the weather moderated and was much more pleasant, the wind having changed to the south and the sun shining

"While Father James Case was cutting down a tree for his horses to brouse upon, a gust of wind struck it, and it fell in an opposite direction from the one which he had intended. One of the limbs struck an ox on the neck, knocked the animal down and drove one of its eyes into the socket out of sight. About 10 minutes afterward the eye returned to its place and the ox seems to have sustained little injury.

"At 5 o'clock the officers of the camp met with President Young, and he detailed the order for camping and traveling hereafter, which was communicated to the companies by the captains of tens as follows: At 5 o'clock in the morning the bugle is to be sounded as a signal for every man to arise and attend prayers before he leaves his wagon. Then the people will engage in cooking, eating, feeding teams etc., until 7 o'clock, at which time the train is to move at the sound of the bugle. Each teamster is to keep beside his team with loaded gun in hand or within easy reach, while the extra men, observing the same rule regarding their weapons, are to walk by the side of the particular wagons to which they belong; and no man may leave his post without the permission of his officer. In case of an attack or any hostile demonstration by Indians, the wagons will travel in double file—the order of encampment to be in a circle, with the mouth of each wagon to the outside and the horses and cattle tied inside the circle. At 8:30 p. m. the bugles are to be sounded again, upon which signal all will hold prayers in their wagons, and be retired to rest by 9 o'clock.

*"Monday, April 19.*—At 7:15 a. m. the wagons began to move and in less than a quarter of an hour they were all formed in double file and were proceeding on their journey. We traveled about 15 miles, principally in a westerly course. The roads are very good and the country level on these bottom lands of the Platte River. The flat appears to be

ten or fifteen miles wide. Soon after the camp was formed, O. P. Rockwell, Jackson Redding and J. C. Little came in from Winter Quarters.

"At 8:20 p. m. the wagons began to move again in the same order as this morning. In walking this afternoon with Orson Pratt, I suggested to him the idea of attaching a set of wooden cog wheels to the hub of a wagon wheel, in such order as to tell the exact number of miles we travel each day. He seemed to agree with me that it could be easily done at a trifling expense.

"We traveled until 6 p. m., when we arrived at a pretty open view of the Platte River, and the encampment was formed in a semi-circle upon its banks. We have covered about 20 miles to day, over a continuous, dry, level, sandy bottom. The river here appears to be about a mile wide but very shoal. There is little timber where we are encamped and the water is quite muddy.

*"Tuesday, April 20.*—We started out at 7:30 a. m. The weather was pleasant except for a strong west wind. Shortly after 9 o'clock we arrived at Shell Creek, which is about 6 or 8 feet wide with a very poor bridge. But we succeeded in getting all the wagons safely over. This was about 5 miles from where we camped last night. We then passed through a small grove of timber and once more entered upon the wide, open prairie. At half past 11 o'clock we stopped by the side of a small lagoon to feed and lunch, 5 miles from Shell Creek. The wind has fallen and it is very warm and dusty. At 1 p. m., we again set out, the horse teams taking the lead. We traveled 10 miles further and encamped near a cottonwood grove on the banks of the river. About 5:30 p. m., Brother Tanner's bellows and anvil were put in place and a number of wagon tires were set before dark.

"John S. Higbee, Luke Johnson, Stephen Markham and some others had started with the boat and seine ahead of the camp about noon and went to a lake 2 miles beyond this place. They took over two hundred very nice fish and returned with them about the time the camp was formed. The fish were distributed according to the number of persons in each wagon, generally two to a wagon, and the camp enjoyed them very much at supper.

*"Wednesday, April 21.*—At 7 a. m. I started on foot, the ox teams having already gone in advance. There was some indication of rain and soon a slight shower fell. The wind was from the northeast and rather cool. A little before 9 o'clock an Indian rode up to the first wagon and appeared

very friendly. Soon afterward, six or eight others came running on foot from the timber about a mile to the left. \* \* \* At noon we came in sight of the new Pawnee village, in an open spot on the south bank of the Loupe Fork between two bodies of timber. The village appeared to be about three-quarters of a mile south of the road upon which we were traveling. At half past 12 we were opposite the village, and we could then see distinctly upwards of one hundred lodges, apparently ranged in several lines, close together and in good order. At 1 o'clock the mid-day encampment was made on the bank of a narrow lake, and guards were instantly placed at the passes, as many of the Indians had followed us. They had waded the river where there was a shoal. One of the Indians presented several certificates from persons who had previously been through the village all declaring that the grand chief of the Pawnees was of a friendly disposition, and stating that they had made him presents of a little powder, lead, salt, etc. Heber gave the Indians a little tobacco and a little salt; President Young gave to the chief some powder, lead and salt; and a number of the brethren each gave a small amount of flour. The old chief, however, did not seem to consider the presents sufficient. \* \* \* But there was no sign of hostility. In fact, all who came to camp appeared to be highly pleased to shake hands with us, and they ran from side to side so that they should not miss one of the brethren. A number of the squaws were on the opposite side of the lake digging roots. Brother Shumway says that there are about twelve thousand of the Pawnees in this neighborhood, and it is reported that there are five thousand warriors. We did not see many of them. Sarpy is at their village trading, and it is uncertain whether he will use his influence for us or against us. \* \* \* Shortly after 2 o'clock p. m., the ox teams started out again and the horse teams soon afterward. The weather had been calm and pleasant for a few hours, but about half past 2 the rain began to descend heavily, accompanied by loud peals of thunder, and vivid flashes of lightning. This continued until 4 o'clock. A stormy north wind blew up, the rain and thunder ceased, and the air grew very cold. We traveled until 5:30 p. m., and then the encampment was formed on Loup Fork.

"After the encampment was formed and teams were turned out the brethren were all called together and some remarks were made by President Young, advising that a strong guard be kept around the camp to-

night. He called for volunteers to stand guard, and about one hundred answered the call. Among them were all the Twelve, who were with the company, except Dr. Richards. These volunteers were divided into two companies of fifty each; one company to hold watch during the first half of the night, and the other during the latter half. Those of the Twelve who were to watch stood guard with the first company until 1 o'clock at night. Brigham and Heber both held watch. Out of the companies a party stood as picket guard some distance from the camp. The night was very cold, with a strong wind from the northeast, accompanied by considerable rain. \* \* \* We have traveled to-day about 20 miles, the roads being good and very level. The grass here is short but looks good.

"*Thursday, April 22.*—Considerable fun was created this morning at the expense of some of the picket guard, whose guns had been 'stolen' in the night, and Colonel Markham, who had lost his hat in the same way. The owners of the missing property had been found asleep on guard, and our men who discovered them took their weapons as a joke and a warning. But it is extremely difficult for men to keep awake night after night on watch, after toiling and marching through the day, caring for teams cooking and performing all the necessary duties of the camp and march. At half past 7 the train proceeded again. \* \* \* Our road this morning runs beside heavy timber and takes a westerly course. After traveling 2 miles we crossed Looking-Glass Creek a small stream about a rod wide and easily forded. Soon after 12 o'clock we arrived on the east bank of Beaver 'River,' having traveled 10 miles. This little stream is 20 or 25 feet wide, with swift current and clear, pleasant tasting water. The banks are tolerably well lined with timber. Here we stopped to feed and some of the brethren went to improve the fording place a little, the banks being steep on both sides. At 2 o'clock we started again, the ox teams first. When fording the river some of the brethren stood on the west bank, with a rope fastened to the tongue of each wagon, by which means they helped to get the train up the steep bank. All passed safely over in a very short time. We traveled until after 5 o'clock, when we reached the Pawnee missionary station, which is about 7 miles from Beaver 'River.' We found the country more uneven this morning, there being many sharp pitches and rises. The grass appears longer and there are many weeds while the soil looks black and would no doubt yield a good

crop of corn. Last fall this missionary station was deserted; and Brother Miller's company being at that time encamped here, they carried the missionaries and their effects to Belleview, on the Missouri River. A beautiful location is here; on the north and west the place is surrounded by bluffs, on the south by Loupe Fork, at a distance of six furlongs, and on the east by descending prairies. Plum Creek runs but a few rods from the house of the missionaries. Its banks are lined with a little timber. There is also a steep bluff on each side, and between these bluffs, in the valley, which is a few rods wide, the Sioux have been in the habit of coming down to make attacks on the Pawnees. The ravine is certainly well calculated to shelter an assailing force from observation. There are several good log houses here; there is considerable land, once under cultivation enclosed by rail fences, and a good quantity of hay and fodder—also there are large lots of old and new iron, several plows and a drag, also two stoves—and all apparently left to rot. The government station is a quarter of a mile below (south) where Father Case lived as government farmer and received \$300 a year for his labor; but when Major Harvey learned at pay day last November, that Father Case had joined the 'Mormons,' the major very politely dismissed our brother from government service. Some time since, the Sioux came down and burned the government station, houses, blacksmith shop and everything which would take fire; but the missionary station they did not molest. According to my reckoning this place is 184 miles from Winter Quarters. It would be a lovely place to live in. Before dark the President called the brethren together and told them they might use some of the wasting hay and fodder for their teams, but they must not carry anything away, even to the value of a cent. He said that he had no fear of trouble from the Pawnees, but we must be prepared lest the Sioux should come down and try to steal horses. Guards and picket watch were selected to protect the ravine to the north.

*"Friday, April 23.*—Pres. Young, Heber C. Kimball and others left camp at 8 o'clock a. m., and went to the river to see where we can best ford it. Some of the people in camp are washing and others are repairing wagons. The day is warm and delightful.

The President and brethren returned at a quarter to 12 o'clock, and report that we will be obliged to go to a point on the river about 4 miles from here and there build a raft. Tarlton Lewis is appointed to super-

intend the construction of the raft. A good many old plows and large quantities of old iron are lying deserted in this locality; and President Young states that as the government is indebted to Father Case in a considerable amount upon unsettled accounts, we are at liberty to take such of these materials and implements as we need; we must make satisfactory settlement with Father Case for them and he must inform the proper governmental authorities of the amount which he thus collects on account.

"I started on foot about noon and viewed the ruins of the buildings and other property burned by the Sioux. From the locality of these ruins the brethren obtained several plows and some bars of iron, which they will haul on shares for Father Case.

"Two miles from Plum Creek we crossed another creek, which, though narrow, was difficult to ford on account of its being very sandy. After 2 miles of further travel we arrived at the point of the river intended as our crossing place. The prospect looks dull for rafting, on account of the rapid current and the numerous bars in the stream. Shortly after 3 o'clock the wagons arrived and some of them were prepared to ford the river. Luke Johnson was the first to cross. He had no load and not even a box upon his wagon; yet it was with difficulty that he got over. Orson Pratt started next with a part of his load. When he had forded the distance of a rod, his horses began to sink in the sand and were powerless to draw. A number of the brethren sprang into the water and lifted on the wheels until Brother Pratt reached the bar in the middle of the stream. He then started for the further bar, but when he had accomplished one-half the distance his horses again sank in the quicksand and one of them fell down. Once more the brethren went to Orson's assistance, detaching his horses from the wagon and leading them across the sand bar. President Young went over in the boat and took the contents of Brother Pratt's vehicle into the slender craft. Then the brethren with a long rope, drew the vehicle over the bar. The teams and wagons of Elders Woodruff, Pack and Wordsworth were assisted across in the same manner; and then President Young ordered that no more wagons should be carried over in that manner to-night. We moved up the river about a quarter of a mile and made camp at half past 5 o'clock. The river is not more than 2 feet deep, but there are many beds of quicksand which are dangerous to teams and which almost pull a wagon to pieces. Vehicles, in crossing the quicksand, make a noise as if they

were rattling over a stone pavement. The country here is indeed beautiful and apparently rich but there is little timber. We are now camped about a quarter of a mile from the old Pawnee village on a splendid table-land, as pleasant to the eye as heart could desire.

In the evening the captains of tens were called together and it was decided by vote that two light rafts should be built—Tarlton Lewis to have charge of making one and Thomas Woolsey the other. The boat also will be used for carrying as many as possible of the loads from the wagons. The teams with empty wagons will ford the stream. It is said that after several of the wagons and teams have crossed, the sand will be packed down hard and secure. This is believed by several of the brethren who crossed to-day; and they intend to give the theory a fair test to-morrow.

*Saturday, April 24.*—This morning is fine but cold. A horse belonging to P. H. Young was killed last night by falling into a ravine and being choked to death by the chain with which it had been staked. This is a grievous loss, for there are scarcely enough horses in camp to make traveling at all comfortable.

By request of Brother Kimball I went up to the old Indian village immediately after breakfast to obtain a description of it. The village is on the north bank of the Loupe Fork of the Nebraska or Platte River. It is 4 miles southwest of the mission station on Plum Creek and 188 miles from Winter Quarters. The Pawnee nation is divided into four bands, each having its chief, but all subject to one grand chief. \* \* \*

All the Pawnees are noted for their love of white people's horses and mules. On the east and west of the village is a fine prairie extending many miles in length. Northwest from the village about a mile and at the foot of the bluffs is an extensive corn field, in which the stalks are still standing. The Loupe Fork here is 400 yards wide and is very shoal. The bottom is largely quicksand which makes unsafe fording. About one half the surface from bank to bank is sand-bars, which show above the water.

The village occupies a space of nearly 40 acres, mostly enclosed by a ditch 5 feet wide and an inner bank 4 feet high which, when perfect, formed a good fortification. Some lodges, for want of room inside, were built outside of the ditch. There were in the village 200 houses of varying size but similar construction.

Nearly all the entrances face to the south-east, probably to avoid the northwest storm

winds, which are very severe in the winter. Adjacent to each lodge is a stable or covered pen in which the horses were kept. These stables are nearly all unharmed. Most of them are square in shape, built of posts and cross poles, lashed firmly together by strips of bark. Around each lodge there are also several *caches* where corn and other provisions were deposited. These *caches* are large holes burrowed under the surface of the ground, with an entrance only large enough to admit a man of common size. The *cache* is generally about 6 feet deep and 15 feet in diameter. When filled with provisions a thick coat of grass is laid across the mouth and covered with earth so cleverly that a stranger might walk over the *cache* and never know that he was near a store-house.

The teams had begun crossing the river at about 8 o'clock. Some wagons had unloaded their goods on the bank and then went to the ferry to cross, while the goods were carried over in the boat; but after a few teams forded it was found that the trip became easier and soon it was possible to take over the laden wagons with little difficulty.

About 4 o'clock the last of the wagons and teams were safely landed on the south side of the Loupe Fork without any loss or accident. This good fortune caused the brethren to feel very thankful indeed. After the crossing was all accomplished the wagons started on to seek a better spot for a camp and to find feed for our teams, where we can remain in some degree of comfort until Monday. It is desirable of giving the teams a chance to rest for they as well as the men, are much exhausted through wading on the quicksands against the strong current. We went on about 3 miles and camped beside a small lake near the river.

*Sunday, April 25*—We are 14 miles from the main branch of the Platte River; and it is said that if we travel 100 miles further upon this fork we shall still be but 30 miles from the main branch. Brother Elijah Newman was baptized in the lake to-day for the benefit of his health, by Elder Tarlton Lewis. Brother Newman had been afflicted with the black scurvy in his legs to such an extent that he could not walk, except with sticks or crutches. But after the baptism and confirmation, he returned to camp without any help. Soon after 5 o'clock, p. m., a meeting was held at President Young's wagon and much instruction imparted. Later another assemblage convened and it was decided that eight men should be selected to ride the eight horses of the company not



used in teams, and hunt for buffalo and other game upon our journey. Thomas Woolsey, Thomas Brown, John Brown, O. P. Rockwell, John S. Higbee, Joseph Mathews and two others were selected for this purpose. Eleven hunters to proceed on foot, were also chosen, namely, John Pack, Phineas H. Young, Tarlton Lewis, Joseph Hancock, Edmund Ellsworth, Roswell Stevens, Edson Whipple, Barnabas L. Adams, B. F. Stewart, Jackson Redding and Eric Glines. Caution was given in relation to chasing the buffalo unnecessarily.

*"Monday, April 26.*—About half past 8 o'clock, a. m. an alarm was sounded. Three guards stationed to the northeast of the camp had discovered a body of Indians crawling toward the wagons. Alarm had been first manifested by one of the horses. Noticing this, the guards had proceeded towards the spot; and, listening intently, had heard something rustling in the grass. It was at first believed that the noise was made by wolves; and a gun was discharged in the direction whence came the sound. Instantly six Indians sprang up and ran from the place. Another gun was then discharged at their retreating figures and the camp was alarmed. A stronger guard was placed around the camp and a charge of canister was placed in the cannon. The day was breaking when this took place, the moon having just gone down. After daylight the footprints of the Indians could be plainly seen, where they had come down under the bank and sometimes stepped into the water. No doubt their object was to steal horses.

The company started out at 8 o'clock this morning. As there was no road, Presidents Young and Kimball, with George A. Smith, Amasa M. Lyman and others, traveled ahead on horseback to point out a way for the train, the horse teams traveled first in the train to break down the strong grass so that it may not hurt the feet of the oxen. The hunters started out in different directions, keeping only a few miles from the wagons. We journeyed about 7 miles before noon and then stopped beside a few little holes of water to rest and feed teams.

"We traveled slowly this afternoon, making only about 7 miles in 4½ hours. We crossed two sloughs, the first encountered since leaving Winter Quarters. The land is more uneven than on the other side of the river, and we were obliged to make new road all the way. We camped at night in a deep hollow where the wagons are almost out of sight from the surrounding country. About a mile back from this spot are the remains of an Indian village.

"About 8 o'clock at night Joseph Mathews came into camp after a search for his horses. He reported that an Indian had just ridden away on a horse which Mathews believed to be one of Brother Little's animals, which was found to be missing. A mare belonging to Dr. Richards was also gone. As soon as the alarm was given, five or six of the brethren mounted their steeds and gave pursuit, but without avail for they could find neither horse nor Indian. When this party returned, Presidents Young and Kimball, with a number of others, went out on horseback to continue the search. They hunted until 11 o'clock, but failed to find the missing animals. These horses were among the most valuable we had.

*"Tuesday, April 27.*—O. P. Rockwell and myself started back before breakfast to look for tracks of the lost horses. We followed one trail some distance into the brush, but at length returned as we had no arms. At 8 o'clock O. P. Rockwell and several companions took the back trail to search for the missing horses. The train started about the same time, with President Young and others in advance to point out the road; and we proceeded 12 miles before camping—the design being to reach the main branch of the Platte.

"When we stopped at noon, the brethren dug several holes and obtained enough water for our own use, though not for our teams. There is no stream hereabouts. Brother Woodruff and others killed an antelope. We again took up our journey shortly after 8 o'clock; but after traveling 2 miles some of the ox teams gave out and were obliged to stop for rest and feed. The rest moved on 2 miles further to a place where water and grass were good, and here we located for the night. President Young and others went back with mules and horses to assist those persons whose teams are exhausted. Rattlesnakes are numerous; and Luke Johnson has killed a very large one. About 7 o'clock O. P. Rockwell and companions came into camp, after their search for the stolen horses. They report that they went back to a spot within 2 miles of our last Sunday's encampment. From this place, looking off towards the river, they saw some object moving in the grass at the foot of a high knoll. They proceeded towards it, thinking that it was a wolf; and when they were within 12 or 14 rods, Porter leveled his gun with the intention of shooting. At that instant more than a dozen Indians sprang from the grass. They were all naked, except for breech-cloths, and were armed with rifles, and bows and arrows. They advanced towards the brethren.

ren; but the latter got their weapons in readiness and told the Indians to stop. When the Indians observed this, they began to make peaceable demonstrations and to cry, 'Bacco! Bacco!' The brethren said they had no tobacco; and then one of the savages approached Brother Mathews, apparently to shake hands with him, but all the time keeping his eye on the bridle of Mathews' horse. He was just getting within reach of the bridle, when Brother Brown pointed a cocked pistol at him and shouted to him to go. The sight of the pistol ready to be discharged caused the Indian to retreat precipitately. The Indians then made signs to the brethren to go with them lower down the river; but Porter and his companions, believing that a larger party of Indians were in ambush, turned back for camp. They had no sooner done this than the savages fired several shots at them. The brethren turned to face their foe; and the Indians fled towards the timber below, where probably their companions lay in ambush. Porter and his men did not fire a shot at the Indians, neither before nor after the treacherous attack of the savages. Tracks of the missing horses were found, and the brethren returned fully satisfied that the Pawnees have secured these valuable horses.

"*Wednesday, April 28.*—Orders were given this morning, that none except the hunters should leave the wagons. The brethren had to make a road down the small creek near which we camped. This occupied the time until 9 o'clock a. m. when the wagons commenced to cross. By 10 o'clock they were all over. We traveled 15 miles during the day and encamped about a quarter of a mile from timber.

"*Thursday, April 29.*—The wagons started at 5 o'clock this morning before breakfast. After traveling 3 miles the teams were turned out to feed. At 8:20 we resumed our journey, and traveled 3 miles to Wood River, a very pretty stream which was about a rod wide at the ford. We traveled 5 miles further and nooned. In the afternoon we traveled about 6 miles. The clouds of dust raised by a strong southwest wind was almost suffocating to both man and beast.

"*Friday, April 30.*—The camp started about 8 o'clock a. m., and after traveling a mile we passed an Indian campground covering several acres. President Young, Heber C. Kimball and Amasa M. Lyman went ahead of the wagons to look out the road. We had thus far followed the Indian trail, which now was so overgrown with grass and

so little used that it was hardly discernable. The wind was blowing strongly from the north and the dust was very bad. We nooned beside a small creek after traveling 8 miles. In the afternoon we traveled about 8 miles further, and camped nearly a mile from water and timber. It is now so cold that every man wants his overcoat on, and a buffalo robe over it. In lieu of wood for making fires the brethren began to find out that the buffalo chips, which were found in great abundance on the ground, could be utilized as fuel.

"*Saturday, May 1.*—The morning was very cold, and as there was but little grass for the animals the camp broke up at 5:40 a. m., and traveled six miles before breakfast. Large herds of buffalo were seen and some of the hunters gave chase, for the purpose of killing some of them, but were not successful at first. These were the first buffaloes seen on the journey; and as most of the Pioneers had never seen these animals before, they excited considerable interest and pleasure.

"We stopped for breakfast close to Grand Island. In the afternoon the hunters succeeded in killing 10 buffaloes (1 bull, 3 cows and 6 calves). This gave the Pioneers a very bountiful supply of meat, which was cut up into quarters and distributed among the respective companies. This day the Pioneers also came across the habitations of thousands of prairie dogs, living in regular dog towns, some of which cover several square miles of ground. After traveling during the day about 18 miles, the company camped for the night near a small lake about a mile above the head of Grand Island.

"*Sunday, May 2.*—The morning was fine but cold, and the ice was about half an inch thick. Some time during the past night a buffalo and calf came within a short distance of the wagons. The guards discovered them and shot at the calf wounding it in the hind leg. They then caught it alive and tied it up near the wagons, but concluded finally to kill and dress it. Joseph Hancock also came into camp and reported that he had killed a buffalo the day before, and there being no one with him to help him bring the meat into camp, he had remained with his game all night to protect it from the wolves which were quite numerous in that locality. A number of the brethren returned with Brother Hancock and brought into camp what the wolves had spared of the killed buffalo. During this day many buffaloes were seen near the camp, but as orders had been given not to hunt or shoot that day, none were killed. The company moved two

miles in order to find better grazing for the animals, and camped beside a little lake with clear water near the Platte. The weather was now more temperate and the wind had ceased."

*Monday, May 3.*—The teams being rather weak for the want of sufficient food, the Pioneers concluded to rest a day. A company of hunters were sent out in search of game; when they returned they brought two buffalo calves and one antelope. Another company was dispatched to examine the country in advance; others were employed in setting wagon tires, and in various other duties.

*Tuesday, May 4.*—This morning there was a heavy dew with frost in some places. About 6 o'clock a. m. the people were called together, the rules and regulations of the camp were read and some instructions given about protecting themselves and teams from Indian aggressions. And this was not without cause, for a party of hostile Indians numbering about three hundred, encamped in a hollow 12 miles west of the camp, had been seen the day previous by one of the hunters. In order, therefore, to be prepared for any emergency, it was decided that the cannon wagon should be unloaded, and the box removed therefrom, so that the cannon could always be ready for action. An addition of ten volunteers was made to the standing guard, and it was ordered that all horses and mules should be tied inside the camp circle, and the cattle and cows outside within a few rods from the wagons. A guard was also to be placed around the cattle when turned out to graze and it was thought advisable to travel with four wagons abreast, and to place the cannon in the rear when the company was in motion.

About 9 o'clock a. m. the wagons began to move out of camp and passed over the lake near its junction with the river, which here is about two miles wide. After traveling about half a mile a stop was made in order to enable the rear wagons to catch up, but at 11 o'clock the journey was resumed, the wagons now traveling five abreast. After having proceeded this way about two miles the company was overtaken by a Frenchman, whose camp, consisting of three wagons and nine men, was seen on the opposite side of the river. This man, whose name was Charles Beaumont, having observed the Pioneer camp in the distance had forded the river in order to learn who they were. He informed the brethren that he had been to Fort Laramie after furs and had traveled the distance from the fort in 16 days. He also said there was good grass and a splendid road on the south of the river, and that immense herds of Buffalo were feeding and roaming over the hills and prairies on both sides. As his company intended to cross the Missouri River at or near Westport, Mo., and he cheerfully consented to take letters back for the brethren, the Pioneers wrote fifty or sixty letters to their families at Winter Quarters which were sent with him. Mr. Beaumont stopped with the camp about an hour when he reforded the Platte, accompanied to his camp by three of the brethren, namely, Thomas Woolsey, John Brown and John Pack. The river at that point was about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile wide. The Pioneers then traveled about three miles and halted in a place where there was some grass which had escaped the fire that had passed over it a few days before.

The Indians for a number of days had been engaged in burning the old grass on the north side of the river, in consequence of which the prairies and hills for miles in all directions presented a blackened surface, with only here and there small spots of green grass mingled with dry.

The three messengers having returned from their interview with the Frenchman's company across the river, a council was called to consider whether or not it would be wise to cross the river and strike the old road to Laramie, there being good grass on that side of the river, while the Indians were burning it on the north. But in view of the thousands that were expected to follow in their track, it was concluded to continue as before, braving the Indians and the burning prairies; "for," said the Pioneers, "a new road will thus be made, which shall stand as a permanent route for the Saints independent of the old route; and the river will separate the 'Mormon' companies from other emigrants, so that they need not quarrel for wood, grass or water; and fresh grass will soon grow for our companies to follow us this season."

Thus the Pioneers broke a new road across the plains, over which tens of thousands of Saints have since traveled and which was famous as the "old Mormon trail," till the railway came to blot almost from memory the toils and danger of a journey of more than a thousand miles, by ox-teams, to the valleys of Utah.

It is a curious fact that for several hundred miles the grade of the Union Pacific Railway is made exactly upon the old "Mormon" road.

After the council the company re-

sumed the journey, the wagons now going in single file; traveled about three miles and encamped about sundown on the bank of a small, clear gravel-bottomed stream of water which they named Buffalo Creek. Antelope for a few days had been plentiful, and buffalo almost constantly in sight.

*Wednesday, May 5.*—"This morning," writes Orson Pratt, "the thermometer stood at 57°, with a fresh breeze from the south, which continued to increase. About 8 o'clock we started, following the general course of the Platte, which runs from a northwesterly direction. A little before 12 o'clock we found a small spot of grass, which had escaped the devouring element; also some water. We stopped to let our teams feed, having traveled about eight miles. In the afternoon we traveled about six miles, during which time some of the hunters killed one buffalo cow, five calves, and captured a good sized calf alive, which we intended to keep. A high south wind blew during the day. About 4 o'clock p. m. we came to the column of fire which crossed our path, running from the river to the north as far as the eye could extend. We concluded that it would be the safest to camp upon the burnt prairie. Some small patches of grass that had escaped the fire was found, upon which our animals grazed until dark, being watched by a portion of the camp.

*Thursday, May 6.*—About 4 o'clock this morning it rained a few drops, sufficient to lay, in some small degree, the dust and ashes of the prairie. The camp started early and traveled about two miles, when we found ourselves once more on the west side of the newly burnt prairie;

we stopped for breakfast and to let our teams feed. At half past 7 o'clock the thermometer stood at 68°. A brisk gale was blowing from the northwest. The sky was clear. We traveled about eight miles this forenoon. I took a meridian observation of the sun by sextant, from which I determined the latitude to be 40° 48' 42". In the afternoon we moved on about nine miles, and encamped for the night. During the whole day, immense herds of buffalo were in sight, on both sides of the river; many hundreds, feeding within a quarter of a mile of our road, did not seem to be alarmed at our approach. During the time of our halts, we had to watch our teams, to keep them from mingling with the buffalo. I think I may safely say that I have seen ten thousand buffaloes during the day. Some few antelope, which came near our wagons, we killed for food. Their meat was very excellent; but we did not allow ourselves to kill any game, only as we wanted it for food. One buffalo cow we found near our road, which seemed to be sick or weak through old age, although able to stand, yet she did not feel disposed to run; we gathered around her, while some caught her by the horns, but she was too weak and feeble to do any harm. We left her quietly to live or to die. During the afternoon, President Young lost his spy glass; several went back in search, but it could not be found. Young buffalo calves frequently came in the way, and we had to carry them to a distance from the camp to prevent them from following us, and being in our way. \* \* \*

"*Friday, May 7.*—A high north wind renders the weather cold and uncomfortable. About 11 o'clock a.m.

the camp moved on, many of the teams were weak for the want of food, the grass having been eat off by the buffalo; about two thousand are now feeding a short distance from the road, almost every blade of grass being eat off close to the ground. We traveled about six miles and encamped. The glass which was lost yesterday was found by Orrin P. Rockwell and others who were sent back to search. The whole camp were called out and exercised in military tactics. Towards evening, some four or five persons went up the river a short distance, to view the country and search out a road; for since we left Loupe Fork ford we have had to make our own road. The company returned from exploring the road, having encountered no dangerous animals, with the exception of a pole cat, which they shot.

"*Saturday, May 8.*—At 5 o'clock this morning, the thermometer stood at 37°. The weather was fair. We traveled six miles this forenoon. Many of our animals are nearly famished for want of food, for every green thing is eat off by the buffalo; we have seen something near a hundred thousand since morning. During eight or ten days past, we have noticed large patches of the ground covered with efflorescences of salt. The place of our encampment is some two or three miles above the lower end of Brady's Island, or where the bluffs for the first time make up to the river's side. These bluffs are sand hills, almost destitute of vegetation. On the top of some of these sand hills, in the driest places, grew a vegetable, the top of which very much resembled a pine apple; one being dug, the root was about one and a half inches in diameter,

and two feet in length. It was called, by some of the company, a Spanish soap weed. The roots being pounded up, they make a very good suds, and are used in Mexico for washing raiment, etc. The hills or bluffs on the opposite side of the river have increased in elevation, and present a more broken and picturesque appearance. At this season of the year, the buffalo are the most of them poor for the want of sufficient food; we have killed no more of them than what the present necessities of the camp require. The bones and carcasses of the buffalo have been more or less abundant since we left the Loupe Fork, and among them is frequently found human bones, probably those of Indians; several human skulls have been discovered, which were whole and entire. There is some scattering timber upon the islands, principally willow and cottonwood\*.

\*Under this date (May 8th) William Clayton writes: "I have counted the revolutions of a wagon wheel in order to get the exact distance we have traveled. The reason why I have taken this method which is somewhat tedious, is because there is generally a difference of two, and sometimes four, miles in a day's travel between my estimation and that of some others, and they have all thought I underrated it. This morning I determined to take pains in order to know for a certainty how far we would travel to-day. Accordingly I measured the circumference of one of the hind wheels of Brother Kimball's wagon, being the one I sleep in, in charge of Philo Johnson. I found the wheel exactly fourteen feet eight inches in circumference, not varying one eighth of an inch. I then calculated how many revolutions it would require for one mile and found it precisely 360, not varying one fraction, which somewhat astonished me. I have counted all the revolutions during the day's travel and find it to be a little over 111 miles. According to my previous calculations we were 285 miles from Winter Quarters this morning before we started, and after travelling ten miles I placed a small cedar post in the ground with these words inscribed on it with a pencil. 'From Winter Quarters 295 miles. May 8, 1847. Camp all well. Wm. Clayton.' Some have estimated the day's journey at 18 and some 14 miles, which serves to convince more strongly that the distances are overrated. I have repeatedly

"*Sunday, May 9.*—This morning, at 7 o'clock the thermometer stood at 57°. The sky was clear, a brisk wind blowing from the south. We moved on about four miles and encamped during the day upon a small island. Opposite the camp there were a few cottonwood trees, the tops of which we cut off to feed our hungered teams, leaving the main body of the trees to grow for the benefit of others who might perchance pass this route. In many instances, upon this journey, our camp have, for the want of a better substitute, made their fires of the dry excrement of the buffalo, which burns something like dry turf. A meridian observation of the sun places us in latitude 41° 0' 47". In the afternoon, the camp was called together for public worship. They were addressed by several of the Twelve. The wind has changed to the north, and blows high, rendering it cold and uncomfortable. The sky is principally overcast with clouds.

"*Monday, May 10.*—This morning is cold, the thermometer standing at 38°, with a moderate wind from the west, the sky being thinly overspread with clouds. Large fires and overcoats are comfortable. The wind soon changed to the east. Before we left this morning, we wrote a letter addressed to the officers of our next camp, which will follow our track in about six or eight weeks. The letter was carefully secured from the weather, by sawing about five or six inches into a board, parallel to its surface. The board was about six inches wide and eighteen inches

suggested a plan of fixing machinery to a wagon wheel to tell the exact distance we travel, and many begin to be sanguine for carrying it into effect."

long. The letter was deposited in the track made by the saw, and three cleets were respectively nailed upon the top and two sides, and after writing upon the board necessary directions, it was nailed to the end of a pole, four or five inches in diameter, and about fifteen feet in length. This pole was firmly set about five feet in the ground, near our road.

"The company started about 9 o'clock a. m., traveled about two miles in a northwesterly direction, and crossed a clear creek, about fifteen feet wide. After traveling  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles I took a meridian observation of the sun, from which I determined the latitude to be  $41^{\circ} 2' 55''$ . The herds of buffalo are not as extensive here as some twenty miles east; they, having eat out every blade of grass here, were evidently working their way eastward, down the river. The grass here has had some four or five days start since the majority left. But our animals yet find only a very scanty allowance, and many are almost ready to give out. The soil over which we have passed to-day appears somewhat better than usual, and the ground more moist. About one mile west of the place of my noon observation, we crossed a small creek.

"For several days Wm. Clayton and several others have been thinking upon the best method of attaching some machinery to a wagon, to indicate the number of miles daily traveled. I was requested this forenoon, by President Young, to give this subject some attention; accordingly, this afternoon, I proposed the following method: Let a wagon wheel be of such a circumference, that 360 revolutions make one mile. (It happens that one of the requisite dimensions is now in camp.) Let

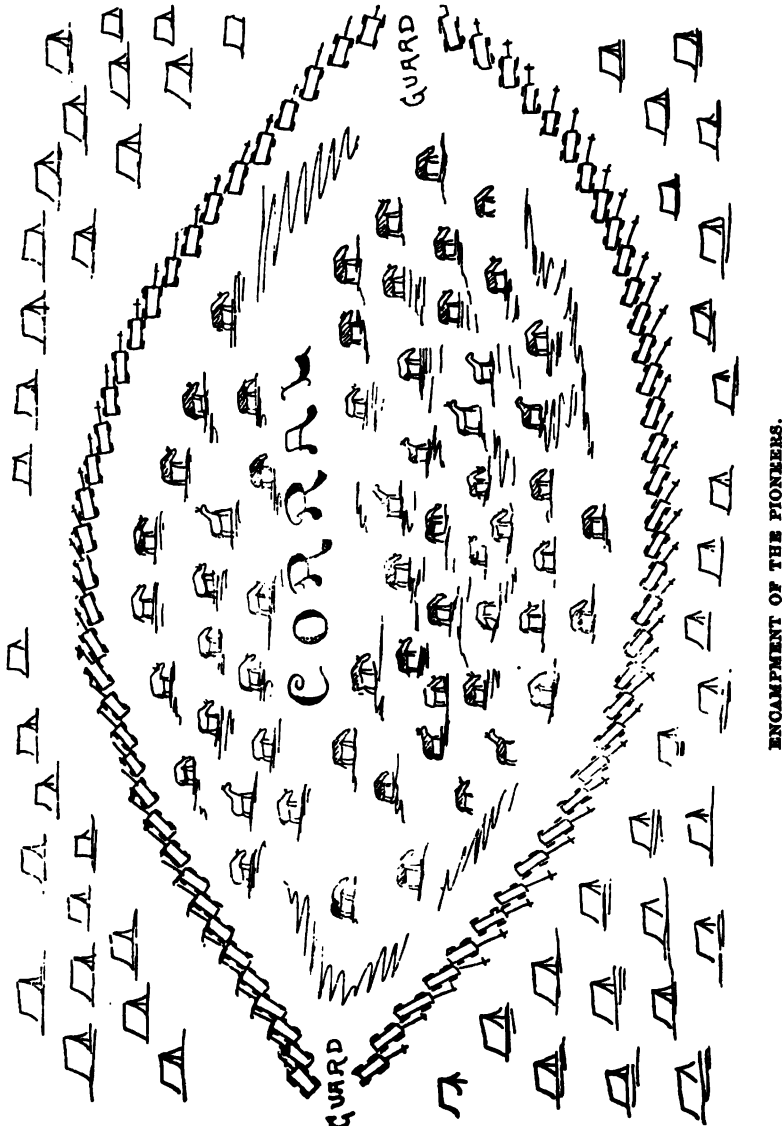
this wheel act upon a screw, in such a manner, that six revolutions of the wagon wheel shall give the screw one revolution. Let the threads of this screw act upon a wheel of sixty cogs, which will evidently perform one revolution per mile. Let this wheel of sixty cogs, be the head of another screw, acting upon another wheel of thirty cogs; it is evident that in the movements of this second wheel, each cog will represent one mile. Now, if the cogs were numbered from 0 to 30, the number of miles traveled will be indicated during every part of the day. Let every sixth-cog of the first wheel be numbered from 0 to 10, and this division will indicate the fractional parts of a mile, or tenths; while if any one should be desirous to ascertain still smaller divisional fractions, each cog between this division, will give five and one-third rods. This machinery (which may be called the double endless screw) will be simple in its construction, and of very small bulk, requiring scarcely any sensible additional power, and the knowledge obtained respecting distances in traveling will certainly be very satisfactory to every traveler, especially in a country but little known. The weight of this machinery need not exceed three pounds.

"We traveled in the afternoon about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The timber on the small islands and on the shore of the river, is more plentiful than usual. In the deep ravines, between the hills on the opposite side of the river, there appears to be clumps of small timber, resembling in the distance cedar or small pines.

"*Tuesday, May 11.*—At 5 o'clock this morning, the thermometer stood at  $38^{\circ}$ . There was a light breeze

from the east, the sky being partially overspread with clouds. The wind soon changed into the south. I started about one hour before the camp, accompanied with guards.

The large kind of wolves are very frequent in this country; we saw several this morning, also antelope and buffalo. Traveled about seven miles, crossing the edge of the bluffs,



ENCAMPMENT OF THE PIONEERS.

which here make up to the river, but soon entered again the prairie bottoms.

In about one mile from this point we crossed a clear stream of water, about fifteen feet wide, with

a sandy hard bottom. The bottoms are a few miles above the junction of the north and south forks of the Ne- for miles are generally covered with saline efflorescences of whitish color.

(To be continued on page 33.)



# The Historical Record.

A Monthly Magazine.

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Andrew Jenson, - - - Editor.

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SALT LAKE CITY, - JANUARY, 1890.

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## VOLUME NINE.

Among the current literature of Utah it is acknowledged by all competent judges, and the public generally, that the HISTORICAL RECORD has a particular and distinct field of its own, and that, too, a very large one. The volumes already published may be considered the mere foundation upon which to erect a gigantic historical structure which will enable future generations to understand the character, motives and labors of that peculiar people, who have turned the vales of Utah into a fruitful field, and made the "desert blossom as the rose." Such a work, bequeathed to posterity, will enable the future historian to deal justly with the early settlers in these mountains. Hence it is the earnest desire of the editor and publishers of the RECORD to gather, compile and publish facts, narrate events as they have actually transpired, and hand down to posterity truths as they are gathered from participants in and eye-witnesses to the events described. But while the main object in the past has been to give exact dates, places and statistics, etc., more attention will in the future be paid to details and description, and the magazine will consequently become very interesting to the general reader.

As a leading feature of Volume Nine, a full and complete account will be given of the journeyings of the Pioneers of 1847, with biograph-

ical sketches of each member, a graphic account of life on the plains, including a number of thrilling events connected with "Mormon" overland travel from the Missouri River to the valleys of the Great Salt Lake; also missionary experiences, statistical and chronological matter, historical and biographical notes, etc., all of which will be completely indexed in due course of time, in order to make it useful as a book of reference, like the contents of preceeding volumes.

In order to insure further success and increase the circulation of the RECORD, a company to be known under the name and style of the Deseret Historical Association is being organized, which will assume the responsibility of publishing the magazine in the future.

We earnestly solicit the aid of Presidents of Stakes, Bishops of Wards and all other influential men in introducing the RECORD among the Saints and people generally; and also in finding local Agents and suitable men to act as corresponding historians in every town and Ward throughout the several Stakes of Zion.

The magazine will be continued as a monthly, and the reading matter in each number be increased to 32 pages, as soon as the subscription list warrants it. A number of portraits and diagrams will also be introduced into the current volume.

The price of subscription is \$1.25 per annum, exclusive of postage, which in this city will be 25 cents extra. Remittances should be made by draft, P. O. money order, or note, or registered letter. All communications should hereafter be directed to the Deseret Historical Association, 154 North Second West Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.

## OUR PORTRAIT GALLERY.



**JESSE NATHANIEL SMITH,**  
President of the Snowflake Stake of Zion,  
born in Stockholm, St. Lawrence Co.,  
N. Y. Dec. 2, 1834. (See biographical  
sketch in *Morgenstjernen*, Vol. 3, page 99.)



**CHRISTIAN GREJS LARSEN,**  
President of the Emery Stake of Zion, born  
in Grejs, Vejle Amt., Denmark Dec. 17,  
1828. (See biographical note in *Morgen-*  
*stjernen*, Vol. 2 page 76 )



**WILLIAM WALLACE CLUFF,**  
President of the Summit Stake of Zion,  
born in Willoughby, Geauga Co., Ohio,  
March 8, 1832. (See biographical sketch  
published in *Morgenstjernen*, Vol. 3, page  
247.)



**N. C. FLYGARE,**  
Counselor in the Presidency of the Weber  
Stake of Zion, born in Ruthsbo. near  
Ystad, Malmöhus Len, Sweden, Feb. 3,  
1841. (See biographical sketch in *Morgen-*  
*stjernen*, Vol. 3, page 231.)

*MISSIONARY REMINISCENCES.*

Mors is the name of the largest island in Limfjorden, or (substituting the English article "the" for the Danish "en") the Limfjord, in the province of Jutland, Denmark. It has an area of about 150 square miles and 20,000 inhabitants. The surface of the island is an undulating prairie, the highest point being only 282 feet above sea level. The soil is very productive, and the inhabitants consist chiefly of a thrifty economizing community of farmers, who are somewhat exclusive in their habits and also quite superstitious and behind the times, like dwellers on islands very often are.

The Limfjord is a most irregular and peculiar salt water system, and bears no resemblance to the other numerous fjords or inlets of the sea with which the coasts of the Scandinavian countries abound. It is actually a channel connecting the Kattegat on the east with the German Ocean on the west, by which the northern portion of the Cimbric peninsula, embracing Vendsyssel, Hanherred and Thyland, becomes an island of the sea. An American traveler, in entering the Limfjord from the east, where the picturesque town of Hals is so pleasantly situated, would naturally think he was entering the mouth of a river, and in sailing westward for about twenty-five miles he might remain under that delusion, as the fjord for that distance has every appearance of a river with an average width of a mile. But beyond the ancient bay of Aalborg, situated on the south side of the fjord, at the base of a dome-shaped and wooded hill, the fjord gradually opens out until it reaches

a width of more than ten miles, where also a number of small inhabited islands are formed; then it narrows in again at a point where the little city of Løgstør is situated, and then suddenly opens anew into "Liv Bredning," a fine body of water from which several arms of the fjord extend north and south, and beyond which lies Mors and other smaller islands. Further to the southwest the fjord is once more reduced to less than a mile in width, but only for a short distance, as it again opens and forms "Nisum Bredning," which on the west is separated from the German Ocean by a sandbar elevated only a few feet above high water mark, through which the waters of the sea cut a deep channel on the 3rd of February, 1825, and which has been open ever since.

It was on the 3rd day of July, 1874, that the little steamship "Ornen," in making one of its regular trips from Aalborg to the several small cities and landing places on the Limfjord, was passing over the placid waters of "Liv Bredning." Among the passengers on that occasion, consisting of two or three merchants, a number of cattle dealers and several representatives of the common peasantry of the country, was a rather tall but slender young man, with light hair and moustache and dressed in a light suit. His only traveling equipage consisted of a small hand satchel and an umbrella. He got on the steamboat at Løgstør, but had so far on the voyage only exchanged a few words with his fellow-passengers, who noticed that he was dividing his time between gazing at the beautiful landscapes, which were

passed, and reading from a small book which he had taken from his pocket. His general appearance and personal bearing gave occasion to some discussion in an undertone among the other travelers. Who could he be, and what was his profession? He was dressed like one of the gentry, but did not seem to put on the airs or have the bearing of such. He was too reserved in his manners to be a business man or a merchant's agent; he might pass for a clergyman or a school teacher, but he appeared to be too young for that. Perhaps he was a student from Rannum going home for vacation.

Curious to know something definite about the stranger, a stoutly built cattle dealer, wearing a fur cap and dressed in a rather long and heavy overcoat for a summer day, stepped up to where the young man stood leaning over the railing of the boat, looking intently forward, as if he was highly interested in the beautiful island ahead, the shores of which were now so near that small objects on the beach could plainly be seen.

"Pardon me, Sir, for interrupting you," said the cattle dealer, addressing himself to the young man, "you seem to be interested in the landscape before you. May I ask, if you are a resident of Mors."

"No, Sir," was the reply; "I am quite a stranger in these parts."

"Ah, I see," said the talkative man of cattle, who by the way was a citizen of Mors. "you are perhaps the new kapellan (assistant clergyman or preacher) whom the good people of Nykjøbing have been anxiously waiting for so long. He was to arrive to-day, I believe."

At hearing this the young man looked at his interrogant with a mis-

chievous smile, saying, "I am a preacher, but I fear I am not the one the good people of Nykjøbing have been looking for."

The cattle dealer, apparently desirous of guessing the profession of the stranger, instead of waiting until he was told, continued, "O, I should judge, then, that you belong to 'Indre Missionen' (the inland mission). Quite a number of preachers belonging to that order have visited the island before, and they generally draw full houses. If you are one of them, I think you will have good success there."

"I don't doubt you for a moment," replied the stranger; "the preachers of 'Indre Missionen' are quite popular with the people, but I don't belong to that class; I am a missionary representing the Latter-day Saints, commonly called 'Mormons'."

"A Mormon," hastily repeated the cattle man, "and going to Mors to preach your doctrines?"

"That is my destination."

"And do you know," continued the man, squaring himself for a long talk, "that the inhabitants of Mors are very hostile to the Mormons and that they have driven their missionaries from the island several times in past years. Why, on one occasion some fishermen on the south side forced a Mormon preacher into a boat on a cold and stormy winter night, pretending that they would take him over to the main land; but instead of doing this, they only took him part of the way across, when they put him off into four feet of water and compelled him to wade several hundred yards to the opposite shore. Poor fellow; he was nearly frozen to death when he reached the beach, and then he had to walk

a long distance before he could find shelter of any kind. But this was not the last. That same Mormon man actually returned to the island some time afterwards and began his preaching anew; whereupon the people, more exasperated than ever, seized him a second time, and, after giving him a severe flogging, tied him behind a boat and rowed him in that position over to a small uninhabited island, or rather a sandbar, in the fjord between Mors and Thyholm, where they left him to his fate. But instead of finding his dead body there the next morning, he appeared to have escaped in some shape or form; nobody knew how, except he should have found the only fording place to the main land, which would be extremely difficult for a stranger to do, the ford being known only to the fishermen in the immediate neighborhood. It was said by some at the time that after finding himself alone on an uninhabited island, he prayed to God, who sent an angel to carry him across to the main land. Others would have that he, like Jesus, walked over dry shod on the surface of the water, but this was of course only gossip started by some foolish person with a view to ridicule the Mormons. At any rate this summary treatment of that man apparently made Mors distasteful to the Mormons, and we have heard but a very little of them now for many years. We began to think that they had all left the country. Now, personally I have nothing against the Mormons, as I am not a believer in any religion, but I would advise you, young man, as a friend, not to attempt any preaching on Mors, for if you do the people will surely be offended and do violence to you."

While relieving himself of this little speech in a kind of good-natured manner, nearly all the other passengers had crowded around, eagerly listening to what was said, and now appeared curious as to what the missionary would say in reply.

"I have heard of this brutal treatment of one of our missionaries before," commenced the Elder, "though the details were narrated a little different; but I had hoped that the people of Mors by this time felt thoroughly ashamed of such acts of barbarism, and that they had learned long ago that the weapons of reason and sound argument are far more becoming a Christian community, and more effectual, than mob rule and personal violence. I thank you for your advice, which I don't doubt is well meant, but I can assure you that I have no fear so far as my own personal safety is concerned. I am commissioned by the highest authority under heaven to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and I mean to do it even on Mors. I have the truth to declare to the people, and would be under condemnation if I did not do my duty."

The conversation now became general, other passengers asking questions in relation to the "Mormons," and the success they met with in Denmark at the present time, which were all promptly answered by the young missionary. And when they learned that he had been in Utah and had returned from there to preach, they became much interested, so that he was kept busy answering their questions about Utah and the "Mormons," and explaining the principles of the Gospel, until the little steamer reached the harbor of Nykjøbing, the only city of Mors. When parting

with his fellow-travelers it was plainly seen that he had gained friends, as he received several invitations to make calls.

The young missionary, whose name we refrain from making public at present, had left his home in Utah the year previous, and upon his arrival at Copenhagen, the headquarters of the Scandinavian Mission, he was assigned to the Aalborg Conference, where he now labored as a traveling Elder. His field of operation was quite extensive, embracing as it did the whole of the conference, consisting of all that portion of Jutland lying north of the Limfjord, and also a large district of country on the south side. The conference consisted of three large branches, and the young traveling Elder was dividing his time between the three, laboring in turn with the local brethren. It was his first mission, and the experience he was gaining was entirely new to him. When he first arrived in the mission he felt himself quite incompetent to the task assigned him, for he had had but little opportunity to qualify himself for the missionary field previous to leaving his home in Utah; but after his arrival in Denmark, he set to work with a will, learning anew the language of his native country, and posting himself on doctrinal points from the Scripture; and now, with one year's missionary experience, he had, through the blessings of the Lord, made considerable progress, and was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his holy calling. Thus he felt anxious that the people in every part of his extensive field of labor should have the opportunity of hearing the sound of the everlasting Gospel; but the western part of the confer-

ence, embracing Thyland and Mors, was dreaded by nearly all the Elders, because of the unkindness and unhospitality of the people and their well known hatred to the "Mormons." Consequently, that section of country had but seldom been visited by the missionaries of late years, and this was particularly the case with Mors. The young Utah Elder, however, was determined to give the island a trial.

On the Nykjøbing wharf he was met by a local Elder by the name of Christensen, who had been sent there a few days ahead with instructions to try for openings to hold meetings. The report he gave of his success was not encouraging. He had tried in vain in a number of parishes for houses to preach in, but the people apparently had no desire to let the peace and tranquility of their little island be disturbed by the presence of "Mormon" Elders.

Elder Christensen had, however, succeeded in getting permission to hold one meeting in a humble habitation in the little village of Eierslev the following Sabbath, with the understanding that the preacher would be a Utah Elder, whom the man of the house felt curious to see, since he himself had a son who had embraced "Mormonism" and gone to Utah.

It was on a Friday evening that the two missionaries met on the Nykjøbing wharf, and instead of putting up in the little city, they struck out in the country at once. Night found them in the village of Jørsby, ten miles to the north, where they found friends who kept them over night.

Early the next morning the house, in which they had slept, was ap-

proached by a crowd of fishermen hailing from the west coast of Jutland. They had been out on the fjord fishing, but a storm had compelled them to seek shelter for a day or so in the village, which was situated on the east coast of the island. These men were known to be a rough set, and when the owner of the house where the missionaries stopped saw them approaching, in their long water-tight boots, their short jackets and heads covered with huge fishermen's storm caps, he felt alarmed, fearing that they came for the purpose of illtreating his guests; and he so expressed himself to them, but the young Utah Elder told him not to fear, as nobody would get hurt.

A loud rap on the door, a response of "vær saa god" (please step in), and in filed a dozen or more strong, weather-beaten sailors, who immediately introduced themselves in their own peculiar way, by saying that they had come out of pure curiosity to see the man from Utah, whom they had been informed stopped at the house.

"Then I am perhaps the man you look for," said the young Elder, as he rose from the table and shook hands with them all. "I shall be pleased to answer any proper question you may wish to put to me concerning Utah and her people."

It must here be borne in mind that common rumor in Denmark at that time had it as positive facts, that the people in Utah were living in a state of abject slavery under the "Mormon" Priesthood, and the most ridiculous stories were told. Thus it was a common saying among the peasantry that the women in Utah were used for pulling the plow, instead of horses or oxen; also that

old women, when they became too old to work, were sold at public auction to the highest bidder, and in some instances they had been disposed of for as little as a bushel of potatoes. Another story—and this was believed in even by some intelligent people—was to the effect, that no one in Utah was permitted to send letters to their friends in the countries from whence they had come, until such had been read and passed upon by the "Mormon" dignitaries; and if anybody attempted to give an unfavorable account of the affairs in "Mormondom," they would be severely punished, and in some instances be put to death. But worst of all was this, that no one was ever permitted to leave the valleys of the Great Salt Lake alive after once getting there.

With this explanation our readers will no longer think it so very strange that these simple-minded sailors should feel curious to see a man who had actually been in Utah and had returned from there; nor must we imagine that the inhabitants of Denmark are more given to believing ridiculous stories about the "Mormons," than people in any other country, for we find equally as absurd stories circulated and believed in by many within the confines of the United States.

We will not attempt to give even a synopsis of the lengthy conversation which took place between that crowd of curious fishermen and the young Utah Elder. Suffice it to say that he gave them a brief outline of the history and doctrines of the Latter-day Saints, explained their present social and political standing, and described the mountains and valleys of the country where the Saints

dwell. And when he told them that Utah embraced within its boundaries an area seven times more extensive than that of the whole of Denmark proper, they seemed to be greatly astonished, as they had imagined that all the "Mormons" lived together in one little town. This reminds us of a short article which appeared as an item of news in a Danish paper several years ago, when the mining town of Alta, in Little Cottonwood Canyon, was burned. The paper referred to stated that the "Mormon" town Utah had been totally destroyed by fire, and the "Mormons" thus made homeless.

The fishermen apparently enjoyed the conversation very much, and realized that they were listening to the truth.

"Then it is not true" at last ventured one of the youngest in the crowd, "that a man can not write what he pleases from the Mormon country? A lady cousin of mine emigrated to Utah, several years ago, and she has since written several letters to her friends here, giving a very favorable account of the affairs there. In fact her letters agree very well with what you have told us this morning; but we all feared that she was not free to write what she desired."

"Neither is it true then," rejoined another, "that women in the Mormon land pull the plow. Why, an old sailor of my acquaintance, who had been around the world, told me and others, that on one of his trips he happened to sail so near by the Mormon colony that he actually could see women harnessed up tugging away at the plow."

"In that case your friend must have had extraordinary good eyes,"

said the missionary with a smile, "as Salt Lake City is about eight hundred miles from the nearest seaport town on the Pacific, with several ranges of very lofty mountains intervening."

A hearty laugh, in which all present freely participated, showed that the answer was appreciated.

"This reminds me," rejoined Elder Christensen, "of a man down in Vendsyssel, who, in a conversation with me not long ago, insisted that his son had been murdered by the 'Mormons' in Utah, in an attempt to get away from them; he knew it to be a fact, for the full particulars of the affair had been communicated to him in a letter written by the son himself. The query naturally arises: How could the man write a letter to his father after he was dead."

The interview ended with the best of feelings, and the visitors, in taking leave, expressed their gratification over what they had heard. Some of them also promised that they would attend the meeting on the morrow.

Sunday came. The time appointed for the meeting was 2 o'clock in the afternoon. A few minutes before that hour the two missionaries were seen wending their way up the hill from the south. The open space around the dwelling where the meeting was to be held was already filled with people, which was something unusual on such occasions, as those who condescended to attend "Mormon" meetings generally came late; but the cause soon became obvious. As the missionaries approached the house, they caught sight of two well dressed personages, with silk hats, standing in the midst of the peasantry conversing in a semi-jocular and serious tone. At first sight the mis-



sionaries were satisfied that here was a representation of the Lutheran clergy and that opposition was intended, for that class never puts in an appearance at a "Mormon" meeting except for that purpose.

The facts in the case were that as soon as it was noised about that a "Mormon" meeting would be held in Eierslev, the parish priest, who was a young man recently appointed to his position, concluded to meet the intruders himself and strike an effective blow at "Mormonism," and thus at the onset arrest its further progress in his parish. With his learning he felt confident that this would be an easy task for him, as all "Mormon" missionaries were supposed to be illiterate and uneducated. So confident was he of victory, that he had caused the people of his parish to be invited, that they might witness the defeat, and all be convinced at once that "Mormonism" was a delusion and a batch of falsehood. He was one of these young Lutheran priests who had never attended a "Mormon" meeting before, and in fact knew nothing of their doctrines, nor the strength of their Bible arguments. Had he been better posted concerning them, he would perhaps have done the same as his more philosophic brethren of the Lutheran clergy generally do: keep at a safe distance. For experience had taught many a Lutheran priest before that: that the most effectual way of obstructing the "Mormon" Elders in Denmark is to treat them with silent contempt, and studiously avoid their meetings. Public debate and

argument have always proven disastrous to the Lutheran cause in that country. But the young Mors priest evidently did not know this; hence, accompanied by the village school master, he proceeded to the place appointed for meeting, and was there, surrounded by the curious populace, when the missionaries arrived.

Lifting their hats politely to the crowd the two Elders entered the lowly cottage, and took their seats at the end of the table furthest away from the door. They were soon followed by the crowd from the outside, and as many as could be accommodated squatted down on the benches and chairs which had been provided, while the rest remained in the door and hallway standing.

At the appointed hour the meeting was commenced by singing and prayer. A few remarks were then made by Elder Christensen, who, however, felt somewhat timid in the presence of the priest and school master and so large a crowd of people. The young missionary from Utah arose and spoke over an hour on the first principles of the Gospel, proving his position by numerous citations from the Bible. He also proved the apostacy of the original Church, as predicted by the Apostle Paul and others, and then referred to the angel which John the Revelator saw flying through the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach; after which he bore a faithful testimony to the restoration of that Gospel, through the instrumentality of the Prophet Joseph Smith.

*(To be concluded in our next.)*

# THE HISTORICAL RECORD.

Devoted Exclusively to Historical, Biographical, Chronological  
and Statistical Matters.

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"What thou seest, write in a book."—*Rev. i, 11.*

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## THE PIONEERS OF 1847.

(Continued from page 23.)

"I traveled this morning about nine miles and halted for noon. A meridian observation of the sun gave for the latitude  $41^{\circ} 7' 44''$ . We are a few miles above the junction of the north and south forks of the Nebraska or Platte.\* At 1 o'clock p. m. the thermometer stood at  $70^{\circ}$ . The main camp came up within half a mile of my station, where they encamped for the night, having traveled during the day  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles. I joined my carriage with the circle as usual. A well was dug at this place and plenty of cold water obtained, about four feet below the surface.

"A human skull was found about two miles east, the teeth were perfectly sound and well set in the jaw. This skull probably was the head of some Indian warrior, who might have fallen in one of the late battles between the Pawnees and Sioux, in which the latter were victorious. From some small scars upon the

bone, it had the appearance of having been scalped.

"Wednesday, May 12.—About 5 o'clock this morning, the thermometer stood at  $44^{\circ}$ , detached thermometer  $41^{\circ}$ , giving for the height of this place, above the level of the sea, 2,685 feet. The wind blows moderately from the east; the sky is clear. The wind changed during the day to the south. William Clayton, with the assistance of Appleton Harmon, a mechanic, has constructed a machine and to-day attached it to a wagon, to indicate the number of miles traveled. It is constructed upon the principle of the endless screw. By the mile machine we came this forenoon about six miles, when I took a meridian altitude of the sun, and determined the latitude to be  $41^{\circ} 9' 44''$ . By various signs we discovered that a large party of Indians had recently been in this vicinity, which accounts for the immense herds of buffalo leaving this place and going down the river; buffalo have been scarce for two days past. The tract of land on the opposite side, between the two forks, appears to be very low and level from the point at the junction to

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\*This is the largest affluent of the Missouri River, and rises in the Rocky Mountains by two branches termed the North and the South Forks which unite about eight hundred miles from the source of the former and principal fork. The whole length is about twelve hundred miles. It is a very shallow stream, except in times of floods, and may be forded in almost every part. It empties into the Missouri near Plattsmouth, about fifteen miles south of Omaha, Neb.

some eighteen or twenty miles west. The breadth of the bottoms vary between one and two miles; the timber upon the banks and islands is very scarce, consisting of willow and cottonwood. We traveled during the day  $11\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and encamped by the side of a clear stream of running water, about fifteen feet wide. A number of small fish, called dace, were caught with hooks in this stream. The Indian horses and buffalo have left the grass rather short.

*Thursday, May 13.*—At 5 o'clock this morning, the thermometer stood at  $49^{\circ}$ . A brisk east wind was blowing and the sky was overspread with thick clouds. The wind soon changed to the northeast, accompanied with a depression of temperature, rendering it cold during the day. The camp left about 9 o'clock, traveled four miles and halted to let the teams feed. Our course to-day has been nearly west. In the afternoon we crossed a clear stream of running water, sandy bottom,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles from our noon halt; and five miles from the last stream we crossed a river\* about twelve rods in width. At our ford, the deepest place did not exceed two feet. The bottom was composed of quicksand, in which several teams were set; other teams were sent to their assistance, and we soon all passed over. It is necessary in fording streams with quicksand bottoms to keep the wagons all the time in motion, for the moment they are stopped they begin to sink in the sand, and require considerable force to extricate them. We camped on the right side of this river, about

one hundred rods from its entrance into the north fork of the Platte. The general course of this river for two or three miles from its confluence with the north fork, is nearly north and south. Its waters bear the same roily muddy appearance as the Platte. It proceeds from between the bluffs about one mile from its mouth. About one mile west of our encampment the bluffs make up to the river, producing a high precipitous bank.

*Friday, May 14*—At 5 o'clock this morning the thermometer stood at  $38.8^{\circ}$ . The wind still continues in the northeast. The sky is thickly overspread with clouds, while distant thunder in the west denotes rain. About 8 or 9 o'clock we were visited with a light shower. The wind changed to the southeast. Our animals suffered considerably by the cold. About 11 o'clock the camp started, being obliged to take a winding circuitous route, over and among the sandy Bluffs, three or four miles, when we again entered the prairie bottoms. I ascended some of the highest of these hills, where a beautiful and extended prospect opened on every side. On the north, the surface of the country exhibited a broken succession of hills and ravines, very much resembling the tumultuous confusion of ocean waves, when rolling and tumbling in all directions by violent and contrary winds. On the east, the low level valley of the two forks of the Platte was visible to the junction, while the high peaks far below were distinctly seen resembling bluish clouds just rising in the distant horizon. On the south, the chain of bluffs beyond the south fork, stretched itself, apparently in one unbroken though gent-

\*This stream, not being mentioned in any of the guide books up to that time, President Young named it North Bluff Fork, by which name it was known for years. It is now called Birdwood Creek.

ly undulating ridge, visible in extent from thirty to forty miles, while the glistening waters of that river were here and there sweeping along its base. The bottom lands between the two forks continue in one unbroken level from the junction eighteen or twenty miles west, where they gradually arise into broken hills, forming the high lands between these two affluents, which are here about six miles asunder. On the west, the roily yellow waters of the North Fork were making their way over and between innumerable beds of quicksand, while the rich, level, green, grassy bottoms upon each side formed a beautiful contrast, extending for miles in length. Here and there small herds of buffalo were grazing upon the hills and in the valleys, and all seemed to conspire to render the scenery interesting and delightful. To-day we traveled  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and encamped for the night. During the evening, as usual, the animating sounds of music, in different parts of the camp, seemed to break gently in upon the surrounding solitudes of these uninhabited regions. Indians have discovered our camp, and are lurking around for the purpose of stealing our horses; during the night one was perceived by the guard creeping towards the camp upon his hands and feet; he was fired upon, and immediately arose and ran.

*"Saturday, May 15.*—The weather still remains cold; the thermometer standing at half past 6 at  $49^{\circ}$ . A moderate wind is blowing from the north. Thick clouds overspread the sky. The most of the forenoon was rainy. We again set out upon our westward course, when three quarters of a mile brought us to the

sandy bluffs, where we were again obliged to wend our way through the sand for three quarters of a mile, when we descended upon the bottoms—crossed a small stream of swiftly running water, proceeding from springs among the hills; and finding an abundance of good grass, we halted for noon. The rain ceased about 11 o'clock. Fresh tracks of Indians were discovered in the sand. It is their custom frequently to follow emigrants hundreds of miles, keeping themselves secreted during the day, and watching the best opportunities for stealing during the night. Our wagons are generally organized in the circumference of a circle—a forward wheel of one locked into the hind wheel of another, forming a circular fortification, in the interior of which our horses are well secured during the night, while the whole camp is strongly guarded by a sufficient number of men. During the day, while our teams are grazing, about fourteen men usually encircle them on all sides, to prevent them from straying or being suddenly frightened away in case of any sudden incursion of Indians, accompanied by their horrid yells, which they frequently practise on purpose to scatter the horses and cattle of emigrants, and afterwards hunt them themselves at their leisure; and in case small parties of two or three go in search of them, they are sometimes fallen upon and robbed of their clothing, and of their saddle horses, if they have any. If they are so fortunate as to escape with their lives, they return to camp naked and in a sad forlorn condition. These are scenes which have frequently befallen the adventurer in these savage and inhospitable wilds. Herds of

buffalo are rather more numerous than for a few days past; deer, antelope, geese, ducks, etc., are still plentiful, and our hunters generally supply the whole camp with all the meat required. We encamped for the night, after having traveled but seven miles. No timber for several days; flood wood and buffalo excrement have been our fuel.

"*Sunday, May 16.*—At 5 o'clock this morning the thermometer stood at 41.5°. The sky is partially over-spread with clouds, with a light northwest wind. Some frost last night. A partial observation of the sun about noon gave for the latitude 41° 12' 30". Our teams have rested to-day. Although within a quarter of a mile of the river, yet four or five wells have been dug near the camp; abundance of good water within four feet of the surface. In the afternoon the people met for public worship. (The speakers were Willard Richards, Stephen Markham, A. P. Rockwood and Heber C. Kimball.)\*

\*Under this date (May 16th) Wm. Clayton writes: "About noon to-day, Brother Appleton Harmon completed the machinery called a roadmeter on the wagon, by adding a wheel to revolve once in ten miles, showing each mile and also each quarter of a mile traveled. He also incased the whole apparatus so as to secure it from the weather. We are now prepared to tell accurately the distance we travel from day to day, which will prove a great satisfaction not only to this camp, but to all who hereafter travel this way. The whole machinery consists of a shaft about eighteen inches long, placed on gudgeons, one in the axeltree of the wagon, near which are six arms placed at equal distances around it, and in which a cog works which is fastened on the hub of the wagon wheel turning the shaft once around at every revolution of the wagon wheel. The upper gudgeon plays in a piece of wood nailed to the wagon box, and near this gudgeon on the shaft a screw is cut. The shaft lays at an angle of 45 degrees. In this screw a wheel works on an axle (fixed in the side of the wagon) of 60 cogs and which makes one revolution for each mile traveled. In the shaft on which this wheel runs four cogs are cut on the forepart which plays in another wheel of 40 cogs, which

"*Monday, May 17.*—At half past 5 o'clock this morning the thermometer stood at 37.8°. A moderate west wind, with clear sky. One and three-quarter miles brought us to the bluffs, where we were the third time compelled to ascend gradually through the sand; and after about three-quarters of a mile, descend again upon the bottoms. On the east edge of these bluffs, we crossed a rapid stream, about eight feet in width. We traveled during the forenoon 6½ miles, and by the reflecting circle determined the latitude to be 41° 12' 50". In the afternoon we traveled six miles; hence 12½ miles has been our distance to-day, and we have passed over quite a number of small clear streams with sandy bottoms, and the prairie in places has been somewhat wet, affording a luxuriant growth of grass.

"*Tuesday, May 18.*—At 5 o'clock this morning the thermometer stood at 37.8°. The morning was calm and clear. A short distance below Cedar Bluffs we this forenoon crossed a rapid stream, about twenty feet wide, which we called Rattlesnake Creek.† This forenoon we traveled 6½ miles, which brought us opposite the upper end of Cedar Bluffs, which are on the south side of the Platte. These bluffs make up to the river, and are thinly covered with small

shows the miles and quarter of miles up to ten miles. The box incasing the whole is 18 inches long, 15 inches high and 3 inches thick."

†Rattlesnake Creek was so named from the following incident: President Young, as he rode up to the bank of the creek, discovered that his horse stepped within a foot of a very large rattlesnake. He turned his horse away without harming it. Soon afterwards another of the brethren came up on foot and stepped within three feet of the same snake. It immediately coiled up and sprang at him and would have struck him (as it sprang 272 feet), had he not jumped to one side. He then took his rifle and shot the reptile dead.

cedars. In the bluffs on the south side of the river, for a few miles, appear to be some rock formations. By a meridian altitude of the sun, the latitude of our noon halt was found to be  $41^{\circ} 18' 44''$ . We encamped for the night  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles above the Cedar Bluffs. Day's journey,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  miles. During the afternoon thunder showers have passed around us in various directions, accompanied with some wind from different quarters. We had an east wind during the night with some rain. Strata of rocks begin to make their appearance in the bluffs upon this side of the river. They are of the limestone formation.

"*Wednesday, May 19.*—This morning, the grass being poor, we moved on early, traveled three miles and halted about 6 o'clock for breakfast. There are two small streams to cross near this place. At half past 6 the thermometer stood at  $55^{\circ}$ . The sky is thickly overspread with clouds—wind east, with rain, which continued during the day without much cessation, and accompanied with some thunder. One and a half miles from our breakfast halt brought us again to where the river sweeps the bluffs, at the eastern edge of which we crossed a stream which we called Wolf Creek,\* about twenty feet wide.

\*Wolf Creek was so named from the following circumstance: When Heber C Kimball went ahead of the company in the morning to search out a road for the wagons, he traveled up the creek about a mile, until he, after crossing a high bluff, found himself in a deep hollow, where, upon turning to his left, he discovered two very large wolves standing at a distance of about five rods, gazing at him. One of them, he said, was nearly as large as a two year old steer. On looking across the creek he saw several others of the same tribe, all staring fiercely at him. This startled him considerably, and more especially because he was unarmed. He attempted to scare them away by making a noise, but they would not run, so he concluded to leave the field to them and move away himself as soon as possible. In doing

We crossed over these bluffs about a mile, and descended upon the bottoms, where we again crossed a small stream. On account of the rain we halted about a mile west of the bluffs. Towards evening we traveled on in the rain two miles further. Our whole distance traveled to-day is only eight miles.

"*Thursday, May 20.*—At 5 o'clock this morning the thermometer stood at  $45^{\circ}$ . There is a moderate west wind, while thick clouds overspread the sky. In less than a mile we crossed a stream about eight feet wide, with considerable depth. This forenoon we traveled  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and halted for noon directly opposite the place where the Oregon road strikes the North Fork. Four of us (Orson Pratt, Luke S. Johnson, Amasa M. Lyman and John Brown) launched our boat and crossed over, being obliged to drag it the most of the way over shoals of quicksands. We found the grave of one of the Oregon emigrants, buried last summer, near the foot of the bluffs, which here make up near the river. These bluffs are composed principally of horizontal strata of limestone, and are thinly covered here and there with some scattering cedars. The Oregon road comes in through an opening in the bluffs, in which there is some ash timber (from which circumstance it is called Ash Creek or Ash Hollow), also mountain cherry, and wild currants. We soon recrossed the river which is here about one-third of a mile wide; generally speaking the river bottoms are wider, and the bluffs not so elevated on the north as on the south

so they did not follow him. A dead carcass which he discovered near by satisfied him that he had interrupted them in their repast. On mentioning this circumstance to Brigham Young, the President named the stream as above stated.

side of the river. A short distance below our noon halt, we passed a lonely cedar tree, upon the north bank of the river, in the branches of which were deposited the remains of an Indian child, with which were also deposited the necessary equipments (according to Indian traditions) to a future land of enjoyment. The grave (if it may be called such) was as solitary as the tree. This afternoon,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles from our noon halt, we crossed a creek (Castle Creek) with about an average width of five rods, from one and a half to two feet deep. We traveled to-day  $15\frac{3}{4}$  miles and encamped for the night.

*"Friday, May 21.*—At half past 5 o'clock the thermometer stood at  $46^{\circ}$ . A light wind was blowing from the north. The clouds are beginning to break away, exhibiting in places a deep blue sky.\* The prairie over which we passed to-day has been somewhat wet, on account of the rain that has fallen in the last few days. The surface of the river bottoms in most places consists of clay intermingled with sand. We traveled this morning  $7\frac{3}{4}$  miles and halted for noon. I took an altitude of the sun, from which I determined the latitude to be  $41^{\circ} 24' 5''$ . During the afternoon we found upon the prairie a large bone which was petrified, belonging, probably, to the mammoth

\*This morning William Clayton put up a guide board where the Pioneers camped during the night with the following inscription: "From Winter Quarters 409 miles; from the junction of the North and South Forks, 91 miles; from Cedar Bluffs (south side of river)  $36\frac{1}{2}$  miles; from Ash Hollow, (south side of the river) 8 miles. According to Fremont this place is 182 miles from Laramie. Camp of Pioneers, May 21. 1847, N. B. The bluffs opposite are named Castle Bluffs." Elder Clayton, in further describing these bluffs on the south side of the river, says in his journal, that they very much resemble the rock on which Lancaster Castle, England, is built.

or some other species; it was the leg bone, from the knee downwards—length  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches, greatest width 11 inches, greatest thickness 6 inches; its weight was 27 lbs. after some had been broken from it. It is a curious specimen of ancient zoology, and, if circumstances would permit, worthy of preservation. Our camp was visited by two or three Indians towards evening; they appeared friendly, and gave us to understand that a large number of them were encamped near us, some of whom we could see with our glasses, some one or two miles distant—they are probably Sioux. We traveled  $15\frac{1}{2}$  miles to-day.

*"Saturday, May 22.*—At a quarter past 5 this morning the thermometer stood at  $48.5^{\circ}$ . There was a light breeze from the south, the sky being partially overspread with thin clouds. This morning a large dog came near our camp, and followed us at a distance during the day; he appears to be almost wild, but by placing meat in a position that he will afterwards find, it seems to entice him to follow us; bread he will not eat; he seems to care but little for the largest of our dogs, and when they come near him, he snaps very spitefully at them, after the manner of the wolf. His head and ears appear somewhat of the form of a wolf, and no doubt he is tinctured with the wolf blood. Five and a half miles from our morning encampment we crossed a stream, which we named Crab Creek;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles further we halted for noon. A meridian observation of the sun placed us in latitude  $41^{\circ} 30' 3''$ . With our glasses, Chimney Rock can now be seen at a distance of 42 miles up the river. At this distance it appears like a

short tower placed upon an elevated mound or hill. Four and a quarter miles further brought us to another place where the river strikes the bluffs; as usual we were obliged to pass over them, and in about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles we again came to the prairie bottoms, and driving a short distance we encamped, having made  $15\frac{1}{2}$  miles during the day. For a number of miles past, the formation, more particularly that of the bluffs, has been gradually changing from sand to marl and soft earthy limestone, the nature of which is beginning to change the face of the country, presenting scenes of remarkable picturesque beauty. The winds and rains have worked the bluffs at this place into many curious forms, some of which resemble cones or pyramids, others exhibiting perpendicular and shelving sides, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet above the base, some standing alone, others in a continuous ridge—the upper surfaces of some, presenting a level of greater or less extent solidified into a soft earthy limestone, while their perpendicular sides exhibit strata of marl yet in its earthy state. I ascended several of these curiously shaped bluffs. Now and then a straggling cedar crowned their tops, standing solitary and alone. The grass upon and near the base of these bluffs seemed to be entirely dry and parched up by droughts or severe frosts, yet quite a variety of flowers seemed to flourish, as though they had found their appropriate soil; many of these emitted the sweetest odors, which, together with their beauty and variety of color, would grace the gardens of our eastern horticulturists. In this vicinity there are quite a number of

smaller mounds or hills, the surfaces of which consist of a great variety of cobble stone of different magnitudes and shapes. From between these bluffs issued the dry sandy beds of several creeks, without water, some of which were forty or fifty yards across. On the top of one of these bluffs, in the branches of a small cedar, a bald eagle's nest was discovered, having one young in it; it was, notwithstanding the cries of the old ones, taken from the nest and carried into camp, and although it has not yet reached its growth, it measures between the tip of its wings 46 inches. A heavy thunder shower passed around us this afternoon; all the inconveniences suffered from it was only from the frequent and sudden gusts of wind. The mouth of a cavern was discovered in one of these bluffs, but having no torches it was not explored, only for a few feet at its entrance.

*"Sunday, May 23.*—To-day, as usual, we let ourselves and teams rest. \* \* \* Several of us again visited the tops of some of these bluffs, and by a barometrical measurement I ascertained the height of one of them to be 235 feet above the river, and 3,590 feet above the level of the sea. Following the example of several of our company, I engraved my name upon the body of a lonely cedar (where I observed the barometer), together with the altitude of the bluffs. Rattlesnakes are very plentiful here, and within a few rods of this tree, one of our men, Nathaniel Fairbanks, was bitten by a large yellow one, and although remedies were soon applied, yet he suffered considerably during the day. Many petrified bones were found in this region. Soon after



dinner we attended public worship, when the people were interestingly and intelligently addressed by Erastus Snow, Brigham Young and others. The latitude of our camp was  $41^{\circ} 38' 3''$ , as determined from a meridian observation of the sun. At 11:30 a. m. the temperature of the air was  $82^{\circ}$ , while the barometer continued falling. At about 7 o'clock p. m., we were visited by a great thunder storm, the wind, having changed to the north, blew a violent gale from that quarter; abundance of rain, mixed with hail from so cold a quarter, rendered both ourselves and animals uncomfortable. The wind continued very high during the night.

*"Monday, May 24.*—At 6 o'clock this morning a few flakes of snow descended. The thermometer stood at  $38^{\circ}$ ., showing a considerable change both in the weight and temperature of the air since yesterday morning. The height of our camp above the level of the sea is 3,370 feet. About 8 o'clock we took our leave of this interesting region, which, on account of its curious shapes and picturesque appearance, we named Bluff Ruins. The forenoon continued cloudy. At our noon halt our camp was visited by two Indians. By signs they gave us to understand that their tribe was a short distance from the river on the opposite side. We gave them some dinner, after which we pointed out to them the dog which came to us last week, and continued to follow us at a distance, but he appeared to be as shy of Indians as of white men. They followed the river, being on foot. Nothing of interest occurred during our afternoon's travel. We encamped early after making  $16\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The two Indians who crossed the river notified their party of our ap-

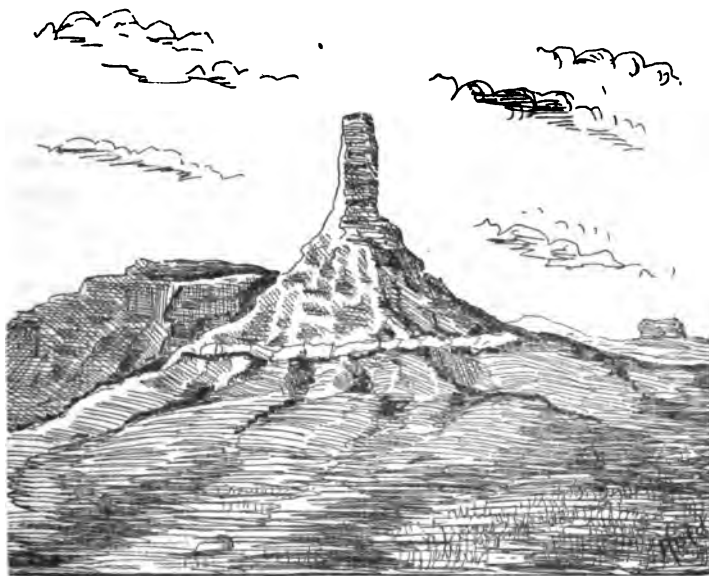
proach. They came to the river and forded it on horseback. They were 35 in number, including a few squaws and boys, being much better dressed than the Indians on the frontiers, many of them wearing broadcloth, blankets and fur caps, ornamented with an abundance of beads and other ornaments, having bows and steel-pointed arrows, together with some fire-arms. They were of the Dacotah tribe, which, interpreted, signifies cut throat, but generally known to whites by the name of Sioux. Their chief's name was Owastote-cha, who soon after dark sent his men a distance from the camp to lodge, while he himself requested the privilege of staying with us over night. We granted him the privilege, and spread a tent for his accommodation.

*"Tuesday, May 25.*—There was a hard frost last night, and at 5:30 o'clock a. m. the thermometer stood at  $35.8^{\circ}$ . The morning is calm with a beautiful clear sky. We fed the whole company of Indians both last night and this morning. They appear very friendly, and have a written recommendation in the French language from Mr. Papan, one of the agents of the American Fur Company. They brought with them the U. S. flag. We traveled  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles, when I halted a few moments to take the sun's meridian, which gave the latitude  $41^{\circ} 41' 46''$ . We traveled seven miles further in the afternoon, and encamped for the night a few miles east of the meridian of Chimney Rock. I here took a lunar distance for the longitude; also, by an imperfect trigonometrical measurement with the sextant, at the distance of about three miles, Chimney Rock appeared to be about two hun-

dred and sixty feet in altitude.\* Musquitoes are troublesome this evening. On account of the late rains the ground has been quite wet during the day. The soil, being of a soft marly formation, causes the water to stand in ponds and pools, which have been numerous for fifteen or twenty miles, making a good harbor for frogs, which by their music seem to enjoy themselves much.

“Wednesday, May 26.—At 7 o'clock this morning the thermometer stood at 56°. The morning is

we arrived at the meridian of Chimney Rock, our road being about three miles to the north of it. The Platte Valley is here about 3,790 feet above the level of the sea. Two and a quarter miles further, and we came to a halt; latitude 41° 45' 58". In the afternoon we traveled five miles and encamped for the night. The prairie is still wet; grass a little better than usual. Grasshoppers seem to be an inhabitant of this country; I noticed that there were plenty in dry places. Prickly pears



CHIMNEY ROCK.

calm and clear. In about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles

\*Chimney Rock, one of the great curiosities of the plains, and remembered by all overland travelers who have seen it, is thus described by Captain Howard Stansbury: "This singular conformation has been, undoubtedly, at one time, a portion (probably a projecting shoulder) of the main chain of bluffs bounding the valley of the Platte, and has been separated from it by the action of the water. It consists of a conical elevation of about one hundred feet high, its sides forming an angle of about 45° with the horizon; from the apex rises a nearly circular and perpendicular shaft of clay, now from thirty-five to forty feet in height. The cone has, I think, been formed by the disintegration of the softer portion of the bluffs, arranging itself at its natural angle in a conical form, while the remainder of the earth has been carried away by the floods and dis-

tributed over the plain, leaving the broad valley which is at present formed between it and the main bluff. The chimney being composed of more tenacious materials, has been left standing in a vertical position, and has been worn into its present circular form by the gradual action of the elements. That the shaft has been very much higher than at present is evident from the corresponding formation of the bluff, as well as from the testimony of all our *Voyageurs* with whom it was for years a landmark or beacon visible for forty or fifty miles both up and down the river. It is the opinion of Mr. Bridger that it was reduced to its present height by lightning, or some other sudden catastrophe, as he found it broken on his return from one of his trips to St. Louis though he had passed it uninjured on his way down."

is no timber on this side of the river, and we are dependent altogether on flood-wood, which is also very scarce, and buffalo excrement, which is also diminishing in quantity as we go west. No buffalo has been seen for several days; but antelope is yet plentiful. The sky is overspread with clouds. The wind is northeast and some few drops of rain fell about sundown.

*Thursday, May 27.*—At half past 5 o'clock the thermometer showed 53°. The morning was calm and the sky clear. Some dew was deposited during the night. A trigonometrical measurement with the sextant gives the width of the river at this place 792 yards. From our last night's camping place, we journeyed 12 miles, which brought us to the meridian of the highest peak of Scott's Bluffs,\* nearest to the river on the south side. By a meridian observation of the sun, I determined the latitude of the north end of these bluffs to be 41° 50' 52". We traveled 1½ miles from the meridian of these bluffs, when perceiving a heavy thunder shower approaching from the northwest, we concluded to camp for the night. One characteristic of all the showers in this country with which we have been visited, is the great winds with which they are accompanied, rushing in fitful and violent gusts, but yet of short duration. To day, the bottoms near the river have looked refreshingly green, affording a luxuriant herbage for our

animals. As you recede from the river, the bottoms assume a more sterile aspect, they produce but little grass or vegetation, with the exception of the prickly pear, which here flourishes in great abundance. The roads this afternoon have been quite dusty, showing that the late rains with which we were visited some forty miles below, did not extend west as far as this. To-day saline efflorescences have again made their appearance in considerable abundance. The bluffs on the opposite side of the river exhibit themselves in a great variety of forms, presenting scenes remarkably picturesque and interesting in their appearance. There can be seen towers and castles of various forms and heights; perpendicular walls, some of whose outlines are circular, others rectilinear. Deep notches, both semicircular and rectangular, seem to be excavated in their summits. Many of these scenes closely resemble the artificial works of man thrown partially into disorder and confusion by some great convulsion of nature. The shower passed to the north, giving us but a slight dash of rain.

*Friday, May 28.*—At 6 o'clock a. m. the thermometer stood at 52°. The morning is rainy with a moderate southeast wind. About 11 o'clock we resumed our journey. The rain having ceased, the wind has changed more into the northeast, and thick heavy clouds overspread the sky. We made 11½ miles during the day, over a soil barren and sterile, according to its present aspect. A very few scattering trees were seen on the opposite side of the river, of what kind we could not tell in the distance; they were, I believe, the first seen for several days, with the

\*Scott's Bluffs are a perpetual monument to the tragedy of the death from starvation of a man of that name deserted by his companions on Laramie Fork being too ill to travel, and the whole party without food. He lived to crawl sixty miles and leave his bones in this place. These bluffs are among the many curious and interesting geological phenomena of the North Platte region, being fantastic shapes in indurated clay and sandstone, having grand architectural effects.

exception of small cedars or pines, which are thinly scattered over and upon the sides of the bluffs, more particularly those on the south side of the river. Small hillocks or ant-hills are numerous; they consist of small pebbles or gravel, accumulated with great industry from the neighboring soil. Mingled with these were found, in different places, small Indian beads, which these insects had collected to beautify and adorn their habitations, I say collected, for it cannot be supposed that they were a home manufacture of their own ingenuity. The air in places has been much perfumed by an herb, called by some 'southern wood,' which grows in large quantities, generally preferring, with the prickly pear, a dry barren soil. Dandelions, pig-weed, pepper-grass, dock and various other plants common to the east, are to be seen in this country. The prickly pear has a very good flavor, and with sugar makes a very good substitute for fruit.

"*Saturday, May 29.*—The forenoon has been rainy; the wind is still in the east. At 10:30 o'clock the thermometer stood at 48.5°. About noon the people were called together and addressed by several of the Twelve,\* upon the necessity of a prayerful, faithful and upright

course before the Lord; and instead of spending time in idleness and vanity, to lay up a store of useful knowledge from every thing that was seen and heard. About 1 o'clock p. m. we resumed our journey, and traveled  $\frac{1}{2}$  miles. There was no grass of any consequence except near small streams, one of which, about twelve feet wide, runs near our camp. A little to the east of this our road passed near the bluffs, in which we saw some soft greyish sandstone; many of the hills consist of large quantities of cobble stone. One of the sandstone rocks projected from the bluffs, very much resembling the stern of a steam boat, and from this circumstance I called it Boat Rock. This evening a thunder shower passed over.

"*Sunday, May 30.*—This day we appointed as a day of fasting and prayer; the people met in prayer-meeting in the forenoon, and in the afternoon there was some preaching and exhortation. The sacrament was also administered. In the course of the day, the Twelve, with some others, made two excursions among the bluffs, where we all called upon the Lord.\* At 8 o'clock a. m. the

\*The speakers on that occasion were Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt and Willford Woodruff. The brethren entered into a solemn covenant with the Lord that they would "repent of their follies, cease their evils and serve God according to His laws." In doing this the brethren voted according to their ranks in the Priesthood, and it was found that there were present 8 Apostles, 4 Bishops, 15 High Priests, 78 Seventies and 8 Elders. The Apostles voted first, and then the Bishops and High Priests, followed by the Seventies, Elders and the other members of the Church. Two of the brethren were away hunting and one at least (Benjamin Rolfe) was not a member of the Church. All covenanted with uplifted hands without a dissenting vote.

\*One of these meetings is described by William Clayton as follows: "Soon after the sacrament meeting we (Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith, Willford Woodruff, Amasa M. Lyman, Ezra T. Benson, Phineas H. Young, John Pack, Charles Shumway, Shadrach Roundy, Albert P. Rockwood, Erastus now William Clayton, Albert Carrington and Orrin P. Rockwell) went on the bluffs and selecting a small circular level spot, surrounded by bluffs and out of sight, we clothed ourselves in our Priestly garments and offered up prayers to God for ourselves, this camp and all pertaining to it, the brethren in the army, our families and all the Saints, President Young being mouth. Albert Carrington and O. P. Rockwell, not having any clothing with them, stood guard at a little distance from us to prevent interruption. When we started for the bluffs there was a heavy black thunder cloud rising from the southwest, and to all appearances it might storm any minute,

thermometer stood at 64°; the morning was calm and the clouds breaking away, the deep blue sky is seen in places. Towards evening there was a thunder shower; and just as I was retiring to rest, there came up another small shower of rain from the west. The moon shone in brightness in the east, being about half an hour above the horizon, and by the refraction of its mild rays through the falling drops it produced a beautiful lunar rainbow in the west, but little inferior in brightness to a solar rainbow. Chimney Rock, though forty miles distant, can be seen from the bluffs, while the lowering peaks of the Black Hills, west of Laramie, present themselves like blue clouds stationary in the horizon.

"Monday, May 31.—At 5 a. m. the thermometer stood at 35.8°. A very gentle breeze from the northwest, with a clear blue sky and a frosty carpet of grass, renders the morning serene and pleasant. We traveled nine miles this forenoon, and halted about 1½ miles from the bank of the river, in latitude 42° 4' 30'', and in the afternoon traveled 7¾ miles further and encamped by the side of a stream of water about one rod wide, shallow, and having a swift current. The bottom is a mixture of gravel and sand; the water having the same muddy, yellow color as that in the Platte. The most of our journey to-day has been over a sandy soil, with but little vegetation, making it very laborious and

but the brethren believed it would not rain till we got through, and it did not; but we had no sooner got our clothes on, than the rain began to descend briskly, and after we got to camp it rained hard, accompanied by strong wind. Since we started on this journey I have never noticed the brethren so still and sober on a Sunday as to-day. There is no jesting, laughing or nonsense. All appear to be solemn and to remember their covenants."

fatiguing to our animals. The monotony of the landscape has been somewhat relieved by a few straggling cottonwood trees, and larger quantities of willow than usual.

"Tuesday, June 1.—At 20 minutes past 5 the thermometer stood at 42°. The morning was calm and clear. We traveled 5½ miles and halted directly opposite or north of an old trading post, situated on the right bank of the North Fork. This trading post is now in ruins—some few chimneys yet standing. The latitude of the left bank is 42° 9' 24''. In the afternoon we traveled 6½ miles, which brought us opposite Fort Platte,\* or about forty rods below, where we encamped, making 227½ miles above the junction of the North and South Forks."

This camping place was about two miles from Fort Laramie,† and Wil-

\*Fort Platte was built about the year 1842 by Sabelle Adams and company on the point of land formed by the junction of Laramie Fork with the Platte, or rather on the right bank of the North Fork, about half a mile from its junction with the Laramie Fork. Its exterior dimensions were 103 by 144 feet, and the walls, which were 11 feet high, were built of clay or adobes. It was never completed, having one side open toward the river. When the Pioneers passed here in 1847, it was fast crumbling to ruins.

†Fort Laramie, or as it was formerly called Fort William and later Fort John, was the first permanent post erected in what is now Wyoming Territory. It was established by William Sublette and Robert Campbell in 1834 with the design of monopolizing the trade of the Indian tribes who roamed over the country from the Missouri River on the northeast to the Sweetwater on the west of the Black Hills, namely Arapahoes, Cheyennes and Sioux. Being strong and warlike nations, it was necessary, while inviting their commerce to guard against their attacks. The fort was situated on Laramie Fork, an affluent of the Platte a clear and beautiful stream winding through meadows where grew the wild currant and gooseberry, and which was dotted here and there with groups of larger trees. It consisted of a palisade 18 feet high, with bastions in two diagonally opposite corners, and a few small adobe houses inside. It was called Fort William, after Sublette. In 1835 the establishment was sold to Milton Sublette, James Bridger and three other fur hunters, who had united with the American Fur Company, after an active rivalry of several years,

William Clayton called it 548½ miles from Winter Quarters, which distance the Pioneers had traveled in seven weeks lacking half a day, without accident, except the loss of two horses stolen by Indians and two others killed.

Soon after camping several men came down from Fort Laramie, and made themselves known as part of the Mississippi company of Saints, who had wintered at Pueblo the past winter. They consisted of Brother Crow and family—17 souls

miles to the south and traveled to Laramie with the intention of crossing the mountains in company with the Pioneers. They had waited at the fort two weeks. From them the Pioneers received information in relation to the welfare of the detachments of the Mormon Battalion which had wintered at Pueblo. It was expected that they would soon be ordered to march to Upper California, by way of Fort Laramie and the South Pass.

By a small party of traders, which



FORT LARAMIE.

with five wagons—who had left their companions at Pueblo, about 250

during which these two powerful associations had driven all the other American fur traders out of Wyoming. The fort was rebuilt in 1834 by the new owners, at an outlay of \$10 000 and was called by a part of the company Fort John but the name never could be made acceptable to the majority. The clerks in the eastern office settled the difference unintentionally by making out their bills for Fort Laramie, the name of the river on which it was situated, and much more likely to be understood than William or John which might be anywhere. It continued to be a fort of the American Fur Company until 1849, when it was sold to the government.

Laramie Fork of the Platte was named after a French trapper by the name of Laramie, who in the earliest fur-hunting times was killed by the Arapahoes on this stream,

had arrived at Fort Laramie from Fort Bridger (on the west side of the South Pass), the Pioneers also learned that, two weeks before, the snow was several feet deep on the Sweetwater and still deeper in the mountains, in consequence of which these men had found it necessary to

which near the fort is about forty yards wide. On account of Indian aggressions and the great drought to which this country was subject, agriculture was at the time the Pioneers passed through entirely neglected, the few inhabitants being dependent on the buffalo for meat and on the States for articles of produce. The timber in this region is scarce, consisting of a few ash and cottonwood.

leave their wagons in charge of a portion of their company and rush through with their horses to Fort Laramie, in order to find grass to sustain them; most of the men had just left the fort on their return to their wagons.

*Wednesday, June 2.*—Quite early in the morning several of the Apostles and other brethren crossed the North Fork in their skiff of sole leather\* and walked up to Fort Laramie, where they were kindly received by James Bordeaux and others, and invited into a neat and comfortable room. After a social and cheerful conversation with Mr. Bordeaux and others they walked down to see his flat-boat, which the brethren engaged at the reasonable price of \$15 to ferry the wagons of the Pioneer company across, as they had learned that traveling further upon the left bank of the North Fork would, if not altogether impracticable, be attended with much difficulty. Mr. Bordeaux informed the brethren that the Crow Indians were in the habit of making annual excursions to the fort, and stealing all the horses and mules they could lay their hands upon. Some weeks before the arrival of the Pioneers they had succeeded in stealing all the horses and mules belonging to the fort, to the number of 24, and in course of a few years they had stolen upwards of two hundred horses from them. Mr. Bordeaux told the Pioneers that Ex-Governor Boggs, of Missouri, had recently passed with

his company; he had said much against the "Mormons," and cautioned Mr. Bordeaux to take care of his horses and cattle. As Boggs and his company were quarreling continually and many had deserted him, Mr. Bordeaux remarked to the ex-governor, that let the "Mormons" be what they might, they could not be worse than himself and his men. "Is it not a little singular," asks E. W. Tullidge, "that this exterminating governor of Missouri should have been crossing the plains at the same time as the Pioneers? They were going to carve out for their people a greater destiny than they could have reached either in Missouri or Illinois—he to pass away, leaving nothing but a transitory name."

By his astronomical instruments Orson Pratt determined the latitude of Fort Laramie to be  $42^{\circ} 12' 13''$ , and longitude  $104^{\circ} 11' 53''$ , differing from Captain J. C. Fremont only  $3''$  or 18 rods. By a mean of several barometrical observations he also calculated the altitude of the fort to be 4,090 feet above the level of the sea.

While the Pioneers were encamped near the fort, blacksmith shops were set up and some necessary repairing done for the camp. It was decided to send Amasa M. Lyman, with several other brethren, to Pueblo, to meet the detachment of the Mormon Battalion encamped there, and hurry them on to Laramie to follow the track of the Pioneers.

*Thursday, June 3.*—The morning was cloudy, with a high southeast wind blowing; the thermometer stood at  $51.5^{\circ}$ . Early in the morning, the Pioneers commenced ferrying across the North Fork, which at that point was 108 yards wide, being deeper

\*This boat had been the property of Ira Eldredge, who carried his family outfit across the Mississippi and Missouri rivers in it. The Pioneers, who called it the *Revenue Cutter*, used it in crossing Loupe Fork and also on other occasions. It had been brought by them from Winter Quarters as a wagon box.

than usual; they averaged about four wagons an hour.

From a small party (three or four persons) of white men, who had arrived at Fort Laramie the day before and who had made the journey from the States in 17 days on horseback, the Pioneers learned that a large number of emigrants were on the road, the gentlemen referred to having passed about two thousand wagons in detached companies, on their way to Oregon. One small company expected to reach Fort Laramie the next morning, another larger the next day and one still larger the day following. It was understood that these emigrants were principally from Missouri, Illinois and Iowa. Many other companies were making preparations to leave the frontiers soon after these gentlemen left.

About noon Elders Amasa M. Lyman, Thomas Woolsey, John H. Tippets and Roswell Stevens started on horseback and mules for Pueblo. Apostles Young, Kimball, Richards and Pratt accompanying them to the Laramie Fork, where they held a council, had prayer and blessed the departing brethren, who then forded the river and pursued their journey, while the four Apostles returned to the camp. In the afternoon the camp was visited by a thunder storm from the west, accompanied with high wind and hail.

*Friday, June 4.*—The Pioneers resumed their labor of ferrying their wagons across before 5 o'clock in the morning, and by 8 o'clock the last wagon was over.\* About 11

\*Elder Clayton put up a guide board on the north side of the river at the ferry with the following inscription on it. "Winter Quarters, 84½ miles, junction of the Forks, 2¾ miles; Ash Hollow, 142½ miles; Chimney Rock, 70½ miles; Scott's Bluffs, 50½ miles. William Clayton, June 4, 1847."

o'clock Brother Crow's company came from the fort and joined the second division of the camp. It consisted of 17 persons, whose names are as follows:

Robert Crow.  
Elizabeth Crow,  
Benjamin B. Crow,  
Harriet Crow,  
Elizabeth Jane Crow,  
John McHenry Crow,  
Walter H. Crow,  
William Parker Crow,  
Isa Vinda Exene Crow,  
Ira Minda Almarene Crow,  
George W. Therikill,  
Matilda Jane Therikill,  
Milton Howard Therikill,  
James William Therikill,  
Archibald Little,  
James Chesney,  
Lewis B. Myers.

This little company had 5 wagons, 1 cart, 11 horses, 24 oxen, 22 cows, 3 bulls and 7 calves.

With the addition of these seventeen persons and the deduction of the four who went to Pueblo, the Pioneer company, when leaving Fort Laramie, consisted of 161 souls.

At 12 o'clock noon, the Pioneers resumed their journey, following the Oregon road. After traveling three miles they found good feed and turned their animals loose to graze a little. Continuing the journey later in the afternoon, they found the road very sandy and were obliged to wind their way over the bluffs, making it quite laborious for the teams. During the day they traveled 8½ miles and encamped, after descending a very steep hill, upon the river bottoms. Soon after stopping they were visited by another thunder storm. Otherwise the day was quite warm.

*Saturday, June 5.*—At 5 o'clock a. m. the thermometer stood at 51°. The morning was calm and cloudy;



some slight showers of rain fell during the day. "We resumed our journey," writes Orson Pratt, "and soon entered the dry bed of a stream, and continued up the same for some distance, till at length we reached a copious stream of water, which a short distance below was lost in the sand. We followed this stream to its fountain, where it issues from the left bank. The name is 'Warm Spring'; the water is not so cold as one would expect. The quantity is nearly sufficient to carry a common flour mill, being very clear. By our road it is 15 miles from the junction of Laramie River and North Fork. Its latitude as determined by a meridian observation of the sun is  $42^{\circ} 15' 6''$ . While our cattle were grazing here, a small company of Oregon emigrants, consisting of 11 wagons, came in ahead of us, having taken another branch of the road leading from Laramie, and intersecting our road a short distance above the spring. A short distance from this spring, and on the opposite side, we saw an old lime-kiln, where probably lime had been procured for the use of the fort. The bluffs in its neighborhood were principally of a soft limestone formation, and on the right bank it rose to a considerable height. In the afternoon we traveled  $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and encamped about half a mile west of the little company of Oregon emigrants. Day's journey, 17 miles. From the left bank, by the side of the road, issued a clear and cold spring of water. The grass is very good; timber much more plentiful than below Laramie. It consists of ash, cottonwood, willows and box elder in low places, with mountain cherry, wild currants, pine and ce-

dar thinly scattered upon the bluffs. The wild sage grows in great quantities, and increases in size as the country increases in elevation. The wild rose flourishes in great abundance. The principal herbs and plants of this elevated region are highly odoriferous, perfuming the atmosphere with their fragrance. A thunder shower passed over just after sundown.

"*Sunday, June 6.*—The forenoon was dedicated to fasting, prayer and exhortation. In the afternoon we traveled five miles and encamped. About noon we had a heavy thunder shower from the west. Our course has been nearly west along the bank of the stream (Cottonwood Creek) on which we camped last night. About noon another company of 21 Oregon wagons passed us. The two companies are now encamped near us upon each side.

"*Monday, June 7.*—At 5 o'clock the thermometer stood at  $44^{\circ}$ . The morning is calm and partially cloudy. A heavy dew deposited during the night. In the forenoon we traveled  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles without water and halted to noon by the side of a small spring in latitude  $42^{\circ} 21' 51''$ . This forenoon we have gained in elevation very fast. Laramie Peak, about twelve or fifteen miles to the southwest, shows from this position to good advantage. Its top is whitened with snow, that acts the part of a condenser upon the vapor of the atmosphere which comes within its vicinity, generating clouds which are precipitated in showers upon the surrounding country. This peak has been visible to our camp for eight or ten days, and I believe that almost every afternoon since, we have been visited with thunder showers, which

seem to originate in the vicinity of this peak. Another company of Oregon emigrants, consisting of 13 wagons, passed us during our noon halt. In the afternoon we traveled  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles, mostly descending, and encamped on the bottoms of Horse Shoe Creek, by the side of a large and very excellent spring of clear cold water. Here we found a more luxuriant growth of grass than we had seen upon our journey. The timber is cottonwood, willow, ash and box elder; considerable quantities of pine grow on the higher grounds. Another heavy thunder shower occurred just after we camped, from the direction of Laramie Peak. The roads have been somewhat rough, on account of the large quantities of stone which are scattered over the surface of the uplands.

"*Tuesday, June 8.*—About 6:15 o'clock the thermometer showed  $58^{\circ}$ . The morning is calm; the sky partially covered with clouds, but a clear blue sky in the west indicates a pleasant day. This forenoon we saw a buffalo, the first we have seen for upwards of two hundred miles. Black tailed deer and antelope are the principal game of the country. We traveled  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles, and halted for noon in latitude  $42^{\circ} 29' 58''$ . In the afternoon we traveled  $8\frac{3}{4}$  miles, which brought us to La Bonte or Big Timber Creek. We encamped upon the left bank. This creek is about thirty feet wide, twenty inches deep, with a stony gravelly bottom. Our road to-day has been quite hilly. The Black Hills range on our left, which, with their broken ragged cliffs and conical peaks, form a scenery grand and interesting. From the most elevated positions of our road we had an extensive view of the

surrounding country. On the north and east the landscape stretches out for thirty or forty miles in a succession of gentle hills and valleys. About one mile from our encampment a small company of wagons, loaded with peltries and furs from Fort Bridger, on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, were encamped. They were going to Fort Laramie, being the same as mentioned above. There is considerable timber fringing all the small streams in these parts.

"*Wednesday, June 9.*—At half past 4 o'clock the thermometer stood at  $44^{\circ}$ . A moderate west wind, with a clear sky, renders the morning serene and pleasant. We started about sunrise and traveled about one mile to find better grass, where we stopped for breakfast. We have made  $19\frac{1}{2}$  miles to-day. Crossed a stream in the forenoon about twenty feet wide, called 'Little Timber,' and finding the banks rather steep, as we descended into the stream, we soon bettered them with our spades, hoes and pick-axes. We think that we fully work our road tax, for we have ten or twelve men detached daily, whose business it is to go in advance of the company with spades, iron bars and other necessary implements to work the road; moreover, we have measured the road with our mile machine, and placed mile boards for every ten miles since we left Laramie. About one mile before camping we crossed a small stream. We encamped to-night on the right bank of a creek 24 feet wide, called 'A la Parele.' The grass on the bottoms of this stream is very good. The timber is about the same in quantity and kind as described on former streams in this country. Just above

the camp this stream runs through a mountain, which forms a natural bridge. Our road this forenoon passed over a red clay formation. Numerous strata of rocks appeared, in various directions, of the same red argillaceous formation. Three men with fifteen horses, the most of them carrying packs, passed us to-day. They were from Santa Fe, and bound for San Francisco in Upper California, by the way of the Great Salt Lake. We observed some stalks of wild flax to-day in blossom, the first that we have seen.

*"Thursday, June 10.*—At 6 o'clock the thermometer stood at 57.8°. The morning is calm, with a beautiful clear sky. Considerable dew deposited during the night. Eight miles and three quarters brought us to a stream about twenty feet wide, called 'Fourche Boisee,' in latitude 42° 51' 5". We halted here for noon. A few miles brought us on to the Platte bottoms. The rock in the bluffs at this place would make excellent grindstones, being a fine grit sandstone. Nine miles from our noon halt brought us to Deer Creek, about sixty feet wide and two feet deep; coarse gravel or pebble stone bottom. We encamped on the left bank. On the right bank, and about three quarters of a mile from our ford, we found an extensive bed of bituminous coal of a superior quality. There is considerable cottonwood on this creek; it grows large and tall. The latitude of the mouth of Deer Creek is 42° 52' 50", as given by the meridian altitude of Arcturus.

*"Friday, June 11.*—At half past 4 o'clock a. m. the barometer stood at 25.077°, attached thermometer 50°, detached thermometer 46°, giv-

ing for the elevation above the level of the sea 4,864 feet. The morning is fine and pleasant, with a beautiful clear sky and a light breeze from the east. The wind soon changed to the west. We traveled 9½ miles in the morning, and halted for noon in latitude 42° 51' 47". Half a mile west of our halting place we crossed a small creek of roily water. Traveled in the afternoon 7½ miles, and encamped for the night. A short distance above us, two small companies which had passed us a few days before, were encamped; they were building a raft to cross at that place. The day before their teams took a fright by the running of a horse, upsetting two of their wagons; one woman and two children were considerably injured, but no bones were broken; some crockery, etc., was destroyed.

*"Saturday, June 12.*—At half past 5 o'clock the thermometer stood at 47.5°. The weather was calm and clear, with considerable dew. We traveled 7½ miles and halted for noon; latitude 42° 51' 44". In the afternoon we traveled four miles, which brought us to the place where the Oregon road crosses the Platte, being 124 miles from Fort Laramie. The Platte at this place is usually forded, but now it is quite high. The channel has about fifteen feet depth of water in it, and the water is about one hundred yards wide. Here we overtook one of the foremost companies of the Oregon emigrants. Three days before we had sent a small detachment of our camp in advance to this place; they arrived about four hours before any of the emigrants, and having a skiff of sole leather that would carry 1,500 or 1,800 pounds, they were employed

to ferry the emigrants over, carrying their goods in the skiff, and swimming the empty wagons, which were frequently whirled several times over by the force of the current."

These emigrants paid the Pioneers \$1.50 for each wagon and load, in flour at \$2.50 per 100 lbs; yet flour was worth \$10 per hundred at least at that point. They divided their earnings among the members of the camp equally, which amounted to 5½ pounds of flour each, 2 pounds of meal and a small piece of bacon. "It looked as much of a miracle to me", writes Wilford Woodruff, "to see our flour and meal bags replenished in the Black Hills, as it did to have the children of Israel fed with manna in the wilderness. But the Lord had been truly with us on our journey, and had wonderfully blessed and preserved us."

These little stores of flour were supposed to have saved the lives of some of the Pioneers, for they were by this time entirely destitute of the staff of life.

A few miles from the ferry the hunters succeeded in killing three buffaloes and two antelopes, the meat of which was divided among the different messes or companies as usual. The hunters also killed a grizzly bear and three cubs. Bears were quite numerous on the Black Hills at that time. Since leaving Fort Laramie the hunters had killed a number of antelopes every day.

*Sunday, June 13.*—The Pioneers held a meeting in the camp circle and much good instruction was given by Heber C. Kimball and Orson Pratt, who were the speakers. The emigrants, whom the brethren had crossed over the river, continued their journey in the morning, and

were followed a few hours later by the other company which had crossed about eleven miles below.

These two Missouri companies, who kept up a regular warfare between themselves on the route, were a suggestive example to the Pioneers. President Young, in speaking to the people of the camp, in one of their Sabbath meetings, made this the subject of his discourse. He said of the two Missouri companies:

"They curse, swear, rip and tear, and are trying to swallow up the earth, but though they do not wish us to have a place upon it, the earth might as well open and swallow them up; for they will go to the land of forgetfulness; while the Saints, though they suffer some privations here, if faithful, will ultimately inherit the earth, and increase in power, dominion and glory."

*Monday, June 14.*—The Pioneers commenced crossing the river, carrying some of their empty wagons on light rafts made of pine poles, lashed together, and swimming others, but it was soon demonstrated that the current was too rapid to swim wagons without injuring them, and the brethren were obliged to resort wholly to the slower process of rafting. During the day 23 wagons were set across. Towards evening the camp was visited by a very heavy thunder shower from the west, accompanied with hail and a severe gale of wind, but no particular damage was done, except wetting the contents of many wagons.

*Tuesday, June 15.*—The morning was fine but very windy. The brethren continued to ferry wagons over on the raft and also built two other rafts for ferrying purposes, but the wind being so high they could not get along very fast. In the afternoon they commenced driving some of the horses and cattle belonging to Brother Crow's company over. One

horse was drowned by the operation ; the rest all got safely across, but had all they could do to keep up against the strong current. By working hard nearly twenty wagons were ferried across during the day.

It was concluded to leave several of the brethren at the ferry to make a boat and keep a ferry until the next company of Saints came up, by which means they hoped to make enough to supply a large company with provisions.

*Wednesday, June 16.*—The day was fine, but a strong west wind was blowing. The ferrying continued all day, but with great difficulty, on account of the strong wind blowing down stream. While Brother Goddard's wagon was being ferried over on the raft and had got nearly half way across, James Craigh, who was on the raft steering it with a pole together with Brother Wardsworth, was thrown in the river, but after struggling hard with the swift current he finally succeeded in swimming ashore. The wind and current carried the raft down the river about two miles in spite of Brother Wardsworth's manly exertions, but it was finally landed by the help of the *Revenue Cutter* and without damage. Three rafts were used during the day, two of them being manipulated by oars, which were found to be superior to poles. At the close of the day there was still a number of wagons on the south side.

*Thursday, June 17.*—The morning was fine, but windy and cold. The brethren renewed the ferrying early in the day and soon after noon they had got the last wagon safely across, which was a matter of great rejoicing to the whole camp.

By this time two other companies

of Missourians had arrived and made application to be set over. They offered to pay \$1.50 per load, for which they agreed to let the Pioneers have provisions at Missouri prices. The brethren accepted the offer, and commenced ferrying for the Missourians at once, which work was continued all night, notwithstanding the strong cold wind. Besides the \$1.50 per load, the ten men who were engaged in ferrying received a further remuneration of 50 cents per man for their own pockets.

*Friday, June 18*—The morning was very cold and windy. Some of the brethren continued working at the new boat, while others were still engaged in ferrying the wagons of the Missourians over ; and it was concluded to wait another day, to assist in finishing the new boat and to take the provisions which would be realized from the ferrying. In the evening a council meeting was held, and the following named brethren were appointed to remain at the ferry: Thomas Grover, John S. Higbee, Luke S. Johnson, Appleton M. Harmon, Edmund Ellsworth, Francis M. Pomeroy, William Empey, James Davenport and Benjamin F. Stewart. Besides these nine men, Eric Glines insisted upon remaining with them, contrary to the wish of President Young and the other brethren. Thomas Grover was appointed their captain.

On the same occasion President Young gave the young Elders some timely advice, and a letter of instruction was given to the brethren who were to remain.

The new boat made for ferrying the emigrant wagons across was now finished ; it consisted of two large cottonwood canoes, which were

placed parallel to each other, a few feet apart, and then pinned firmly with cross pieces, on the top of which were nailed flat slabs running lengthways of the canoes. Then attaching a rudder and oars, with a little iron work, the boat was made of sufficient strength to carry over the loaded wagons of the emigrants.

While stopping at the ferry, Orson Pratt, with the aid of his astronomical instruments, calculated that the place was 4,858 feet above sea level. This high altitude and the proximity of the Laramie Mountains, which run east and west south of the ferry, and near the summits and peaks of which large banks of snow still lay unmelted, accounted somewhat for the cold nights that the Pioneers experienced while encamped at the ferry.

A great quantity of fish abounded in a creek running into the Platte from the right hand side, only a short distance below the ferry. On one occasion a man with a hook caught fifty in a short time, averaging about one pound each.

*Saturday, June 19.*—At 8 o'clock a. m. the Pioneers resumed their journey once more, leaving the ten men already mentioned in charge of the ferry. These men were instructed to come on with the next company of Saints, who were expected in a month or six weeks. In the meantime they were to take every precautionary measure to protect themselves, horses and substance from Indian aggressions. Elder Clayton writes:

"The camp started out in good health and spirits, and the teams were in very good order. It was remarked by several of the men that their stock had fattened so much while stopping at the ferry that they hardly knew them. The first six miles of the road

from the ferry runs nearly due west over several high bluffs, then it turns suddenly to the south and crosses a very high bluff, the ascent of which is fully a mile from foot to summit. There is some interesting scenery on the top of this bluff, especially a range of rough, coarse and sandy rocks of a dark brown color, rising abruptly above the surface of the land in huge masses. The descent on the south side was rough, crooked and uneven. After passing over several other steep pitches and rises, we halted for noon at 1 o'clock p. m. on a spot of good grass about a quarter of a mile from a small spring. This was the first water we came to after leaving the ferry, 11½ miles distant.

"The Red Buttes are nearly opposite to this place towards the southeast, and appear to be two high bluffs of red earth or sand, presenting a very singular yet interesting appearance. After stopping about an hour it was decided to move on to the spring, and we started accordingly. We found it to be a small stream of water rising out of the quicksands. At the distance of twelve miles from the ferry there is quite a lake of water supposed to be supplied by springs in the bottom. Indeed we could see the water bubbling up out of the mud in several places. The grass on the banks of this lake was good and plentiful, but no timber within two miles or upwards.

"After watering our teams at the lake we resumed our journey about 3 o'clock p. m., bearing near a southwest course over rolling prairie. At the distance of eight miles from the spring there is a steep descent from a bluff, and at the foot there is a high ridge of sharp pointed rocks running parallel with the road for nearly a quarter of a mile, leaving only sufficient space for the wagons to pass. At 20 minutes to 8 o'clock p. m. we formed our encampment in a small spot surrounded by high bluffs, having traveled this afternoon 10½ miles and during the day 21½ miles, which is the longest distance traveled in one day since we left Winter Quarters; and this is considered by all to be the worst camping place we have had on the journey; but we were obliged to take it, for there has been neither wood, grass or water since we left the spring, the land being perfectly sandy and barren and nothing growing but wild sage and a small prickly shrub. There is some grass in this place for our teams, but no wood, so the brethren have to make use of the sagebrush and buffalo chips to do their cooking. There are two small streams, one of which contains pretty good water, but in the other the water is so strongly pregnated with salt and

saleratus and smells so bad that the cattle will not drink it. The banks of this creek are so soft and miry that an animal going down to drink will immediately sink in the thick filthy mud. It is, in fact, one of the most horrid swamps and stinking places I ever saw. It was found necessary to keep a guard out to prevent the cattle from getting into it, but notwithstanding this precaution several oxen were nearly mired to death there in the evening. The mosquitoes are very bad indeed at this place, which adds to the loathsome solitary scenery around.

"During the afternoon and evening four buffaloes were killed by the hunters.

"*Sunday, June 20.*—The morning was fine, but mosquitoes very bad. Two more oxen were found almost buried in the mud. All hands appear desirous of leaving this place and at 5:15 a. m. we moved out. The first mile was bad and dangerous traveling, there being several steep pitches in the road. A number of brethren went ahead with picks and spades and improved the road some. After traveling 3½ miles we halted for breakfast at 7 o'clock beside a small clear stream of spring water. The feed on the banks is good and plentiful, but no wood yet.

"Elder Kimball states that when he and Ezra T. Benson were riding ahead last evening to look out a camping ground they came within a quarter of a mile of this place, but were not near enough to discover the water. While they were riding slowly along, they saw six men suddenly spring up from the grass to the left of the road, dressed in white and blue blankets. They had every appearance of being Indians, and the brethren at first thought they were such. Mounting their horses the six men started on in a direction parallel with the road. The brethren also kept on their course. In a little while one of the supposed Indians left the rest and rode toward the brethren, while he motioned with his hands for them to go back. But as the brethren kept on their course, paying no attention to this warning, the man wheeled around, and after joining his companions, all six put spurs to their horses and were soon out of sight, behind an adjacent piece of rising ground. As soon as they had disappeared, Elders Kimball and Benson spurred up their horses and rode to the edge of the ridge, when they discovered a camp of the Missourians about a quarter of a mile to the left of the road, and the six 'Indians' just entering the camp. The brethren were now satisfied that the six men were Missourians, who had attempted to

play Indians with a view to keep us back from this good camp ground. We consider it an old Missouri trick and an insult to our camp; and if they undertake to play Indians again, it is most likely they will meet with Indian treatment. Their camp left here a little before we arrived this morning, and it is now President Young's instruction to press on a little faster and crowd them up a little.

"At 9:15 o'clock a. m. we continued our journey, and after traveling three miles we arrived at the Willow Springs and halted a little to get water. This spring is about two feet wide and the water ten inches deep, perfectly clear, ice cold and good tasting. There is a willow grove extending for some distance above and below it; the grass is good and plentiful.

"After leaving this beautiful spring we ascended a steep and high hill, from the top of which we could see a vast extent of country to the southwest and north; the view was one of romantic beauty. After descending this hill on the south side and traveling some distance further we crossed a miry slough. At 8 o'clock p. m. we halted to feed in a ravine where there was plenty of grass and a good stream of water about three hundred yards south of the road. We traveled this forenoon nine miles over barren sandy land.

"During the halt it was decided that President Young should take the lead with his wagon and try to proceed a little faster; we started at 5 o'clock p. m. I would here remark that the order of our traveling is, that each company of ten go forward in their turn, the first ten in the first division taking the lead one day; then, on the second day, it falls in the rear of the first division and the second ten takes the lead; and thus it continues till each company of ten has taken the lead one day apiece. Then the first division falls in the rear of the second division, which also begins by companies of tens to take the lead on the road as stated above, and when all the tens have had their day the second division again falls in the rear of the first. Thus every man has his equal privilege of traveling.

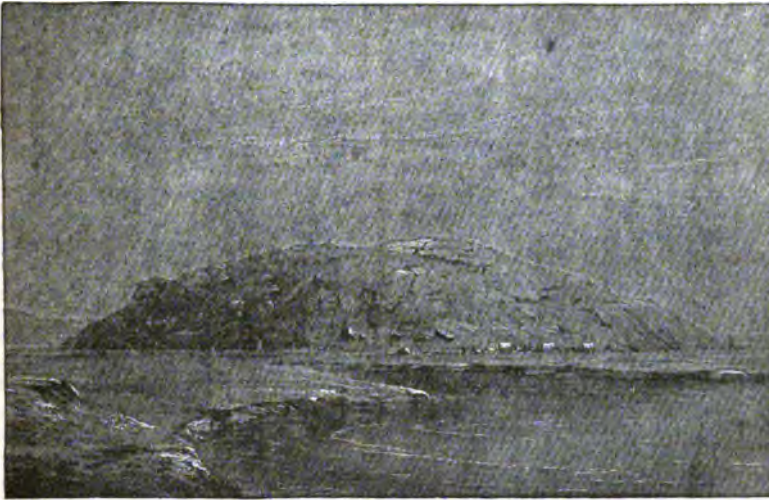
"This afternoon we crossed over a rapid stream about ten feet wide, with sufficient water to carry a flour mill. Towards evening, not finding grass for our animals, we turned off from the road about half a mile and encamped about dark near the bottoms of the stream last mentioned. We traveled 7½ miles this afternoon and during the day 20 miles. Some anxiety was felt on account of the absence of Elders Wilford Woodruff

and John Brown who went ahead on horseback this morning. They have not been seen or heard of since.

"Monday, June 21.—The morning was fine and warm. At 8:35 o'clock a. m. the camp proceeded onward and after traveling 3½ miles we found ourselves in the neighborhood of vast quantities of saleratus; a number of bushels gathered up by the camp was said to be of good quality. We traveled 7½ miles this forenoon over a very sandy road which brought us to the banks of the Sweetwater at a point 1½ miles below Rock Independence.\* The distance from the upper ferry of the Platte to this place is 49 miles by the roadometer Elders Woodruff and Brown again joined us on our arrival here; they had spent the night in one of the

Gentle Camps who are now some miles ahead of us.

"After dinner, I, in company with others of the brethren, walked to view the Rock Independence, which is situated on the north bank of the river, the extreme southeast corner reaching to within three rods of the same, and running thence in a northwesterly direction, while the river at this place runs nearly east. The rock is composed of the same barren granite as other masses in this region; it is probably four hundred yards long, eighty yards wide and one hundred yards high, as near as I could guess. The ascent is difficult all around; travelers appear to have ascended mostly on the southeast corner where several hundred names of persons who have visited it are painted on



INDEPENDENCE ROCK

the projecting surfaces, some with black, others with red and others again with yellow paint. There are names of both sexes. About half way up there is a cavern nearly twelve feet long, and three feet wide at the bottom and ten feet at the top, and eighty feet high. It is undoubtedly formed by a heavy mass of rock having sometime fallen over an opening or cavity, leaving scarcely room enough for a man to enter. There are also a number of names painted with black paint inside the cavern. On the top of the rock the surface is a little rounding—some-

\*Independence Rock, in the Sweetwater Valley, was thus named from the circumstance of its being ascended by a party who there celebrated the anniversary of American Independence, on the 4th of July.

thing like a large mound—with masses of loose rock lying scattered around.

"At 3 o'clock the company resumed the journey, and in passing the rock we put up a guide board with this inscription on it.

"To Fort John 175½ miles. Pioneers, June 21, 1847, W. R."

"After traveling on the banks of the river a mile beyond the rock, we forded over, the water being nearly three feet deep in the channel. We then continued a southwest course 4½ miles further and arrived opposite Devil's Gate, which lies a little to the west of the road, and a quarter of a mile beyond this the road passes between two high ridges of granite, leaving a surface of about two rods of level ground on each side of the road, which then bends to the west and soon



passes over a small creek. We proceeded on a little further and at 6:35 o'clock p. m. formed our encampment on the banks of the river, having traveled this afternoon 7½ miles and during the day 15½ miles. The feed here is good and plentiful."

*Tuesday, June 22.*—At 4 o'clock a. m. the thermometer stood at 42°. The morning was calm and clear. Orson Pratt writes:

"Early this morning, I visited the top of the Devil's Gate Rock, having with me my barometer and thermometer. By a barometrical measurement, the perpendicular walls were about four hundred feet high above the river, which here cuts through a granite rock, forming a chasm nine hundred or a thousand feet in length, and 180 feet in breadth. The rock upon the right bank runs back from the river about a quarter of a mile, and consists of alternated and perpendicular strata of gray granite and scoriated trap rock. I observed five alternate strata of trap rock trending to the northeast and southwest; these varied in breadth from one to five rods. The bed of the river in this chasm is nearly choked up by massive fragments of rock, which have been precipitated from above. About a quarter of a mile from the river, near the point of this granite hill, appeared some sandstone and conglomerate formations. The mountainous aspect of the country is certainly very picturesque and beautiful. The valley of the Sweetwater varies in breadth from five to eight or ten miles, bounded upon the north and south by mountainous ridges, isolated hills, and ragged summits of massive granite, varying from 1,200 to 2,000 feet in height, those upon the southern boundary being the highest, and are partially covered with snow and well timbered with pine, while those on the north are entirely bare, with the exception of here and there an isolated pine or cedar in the clefts or benches of the hills. The river seems to hug the base of the hills on the north, and although its general course is to the east, its short and frequent meads give it a serpentine appearance; its average breadth is about sixty feet, its average depth about four feet, with a rapid current; its bottom consists of fine sand and gravel, while the bottom land for a few rods upon each bank generally affords sufficient grass for the emigrants; but the rest of the plain, for several miles in width, is of a sandy, barren, sterile aspect, with scarcely any vegetation but artemisia or wild sage, which seems

here to flourish in great abundance, growing in places to the enormous size of eight or ten inches in diameter, and eight or ten feet in height. There is no timber upon the Sweetwater, and we are dependent altogether upon the drift wood, buffalo excrement, and artemisia; the latter burns extremely well, with a clear bright flame. We traveled ten miles and halted for noon, in latitude 42° 28' 25". In the afternoon I caught a glimpse of Wind River Mountains, but the air was too smoky to discover anything but a faint blue outline. We passed over two or three small streams and encamped after having made 20½ miles over a sandy road, which has made it quite laborious for our teams. Towards night, mosquitoes were very troublesome, but after sundown they soon dispersed, the air becoming too cold for them.

*Wednesday, June 23.*—At 6 o'clock a. m. the thermometer stood at 48°, the morning was calm and clear. At 7 o'clock the camp moved on; crossed during the forenoon a small stream, and passed by several small hills, situated upon the plain, of fine-grained calcareous sandstone, very friable. We traveled nine miles and stopped to noon directly at a place where the river proceeds from between the hills, which rise very abruptly from each side. Latitude 42° 31' 20". Our road here bends off a short distance to the south, and then again assumes a westerly direction; and after a journey of eight miles during the afternoon, through deep sand, we again struck the Sweetwater, and encamped upon its right bank for the night. The grass is good, but no wood; we therefore resorted to the wild sage for our fires. Two companies of Oregon emigrants are encamped a short distance above us. The Wind River chain of mountains exhibit in the distance their towering peaks whitened by perpetual snow, which glittering in the sunbeams resemble white fleecy clouds.

*Thursday, June 24.*—At 5:30 o'clock the thermometer stood at 42°. The morning is calm and clear. The country over which we passed to-day is very sandy and barren, and not finding good grass we made no noon halt, but traveled 17½ miles and encamped on the Sweetwater. The road here crosses this stream. We passed in the forenoon Sulphur Springs (sometimes called Ice Springs.) We took a spade and dug down about one foot, and found the ground frozen and large quantities of ice. A few rods west of this we saw two or three small lakes or ponds, the water in them was very salt and of a bitterish taste. The soil is covered in many places with saline efflorescences of

considerable depth. President Young had the misfortune, after we had encamped, to have one of his best horses accidentally shot, which died during the night. It was one of the best horses in camp. Two camps of the Oregon emigrants are but a few rods distant. Dense patches of willows grow upon the margin of the stream.

"*Friday, June 25.*—At half past 5 o'clock the thermometer stood at 51°. The morning is clear with a moderate breeze from the west, which soon, however, increased to a high wind. The country to-day begins to assume a more broken aspect, but not as mountainous and rugged as it is some fifty miles to the east; the hills here being more numerous and rolling, while at the former place they are more collected in chains. We traveled 8½ miles and halted for noon, in latitude 42° 28' 36". To the right of our road we saw several rocks of a white marl formation, and during the day we saw earthy limestone, ferruginous and grey compact sandstone, having a dip of about 30° to the north. A short distance to the north of this was an extensive formation of red mineral clay; and a few rods from the road was a formation of red and whitish fine-grained sandstone, commonly called gritstone; excellent grindstones might be formed from it. We also passed by a species of bluish limestone, very compact; also large masses of trap rock, with some syenite. We traveled in the afternoon 11½ miles, and encamped upon a small tributary of the Sweetwater. The water was clear and cold. Frequent banks of snow are upon the hills in our immediate neighborhood. Just below us is quite a large and beautiful grove of aspen or poplar. The evening is cold, rendering our overcoats quite a necessary appendage. The perpetual snows, which completely covers the Wind River chain, gives the scenery a cold wintry aspect.

"*Saturday, June 26*—At 4:45 o'clock a. m. the thermometer stood at 28°. The grass is whitened with frost, and the sudden change from the high temperatures of the sandy valleys below us is most severely felt by both man and beast. We resumed our journey, traveled two miles, and, being on the highest elevation that our road would pass over for several miles, I took an observation of the barometric column, which stood at 23.046°, attached thermometer 51°, detached thermometer 46.5°. We traveled during the forenoon 11 miles, crossing the main branches of the Sweetwater, which were quite high, produced by the melting snows which were accumulated in places upon its banks, as well as in the mountains.

At the largest and last of the main branches of the Sweetwater we halted to noon, in latitude 42° 22' 42". It was quite interesting to see an abundance of good grass intermixed with various plants and flowers upon the bottoms of this stream, while upon the same bottoms, and only a few yards distant, were large banks of snow several feet in depth. This is eight miles east of the South Pass\*. Myself with several others came on in advance of the camp, and it was with great difficulty that we could determine the dividing point of land which separates the waters of the Atlantic from those of the Pacific. This country called the South Pass, for some fifteen or twenty miles in length and breadth, is a gently undulating plain or prairie, thickly covered with wild sage from one to two feet high. On the highest part of this plain over which our road passes, and which separates the waters of the two oceans, is a small dry basin of fifteen or twenty acres, destitute of wild sage, but containing good grass. From this basin, about half a mile to the east and to the west, the road gently rises about forty or fifty feet, either of which elevations may be considered as the highest on our road in the Pass. On the western elevation the barometer stood at 23.101°, attached thermometer 58.5°, detached thermometer 56°, giving for the elevation above the sea, 7,086 feet. The distance of this pass from Fort Laramie, as measured by our mile machine, is 275½ miles. I went on with my carriage, accompanied by three or four men, and encamped about two miles west of the Pass, while the main camp succeeded in finding an abundance of water and good grass near the Pass, a short distance to the north. At the place of my encampment the water and grass were good but quite miry. By some this is called Pacific Spring, by others Muddy Spring. A few rods from us were encamped a small company of men from Oregon on their way to the States. They were performing the journey on horseback, and had left the settlements in Oregon on the 6th of May. Major Harriet, a trapper and hunter, accom-

\*While the camp was nooning Eric Glines, who in disobedience to council, had remained with the brethren at the ferry, arrived in camp, having left his companions at the ferry the Wednesday morning previous. He camped one night alone and the other nights with Missourians. It appears that he had repented of his disobedience and concluding to obey council he set out to overtake the brethren.

†Moses Harris was a famous scout and trapper, well known in the mountains among the fur traders and trappers as Black Harris. He rendered efficient service as guide

panied them to this point; and from here he intended to act as a guide to some of the emigrant companies, if they wished to employ him. Having wandered and resided in different parts of this mountainous country for twenty or twenty-five years, he had acquired an extensive and intimate knowledge of all the main features of the country to the Pacific. We obtained much information from him in relation to the great interior basin of the Salt Lake, the country of our destination. His report, like that of Captain Fremont's, is rather unfavorable to the formation of a colony in this basin, principally on account of the scarcity of timber. He said that he had traveled the whole circumference of the lake, and that there was no outlet to it."

The main camp, after traveling  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles in the afternoon and  $18\frac{1}{2}$  miles during the day, encamped on the headwaters of the Sweetwater about a quarter of a mile north of the road and about two miles east of the dividing ridge, which divides the headwaters of the stream falling into the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Elder Pratt's camp that night was about five miles further west, on the west side of the pass.

*Sunday, June 27.*—The morning was fine but cold. At 9:30 o'clock a. m. the thermometer stood at  $63^{\circ}$ . The ox-teams started about 8 o'clock a. m. and the remainder a little later. They soon met eight of the Oregon men on their way to the States, having over twenty horses and mules with them, mostly laden with packs of robes, skins, etc. Several of the brethren sent letters back by these men. Having traveled  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles, the camp arrived at the dividing ridge where Elder Pratt had taken a barometrical observation. Two miles further brought them to the spring where Elder Pratt had camped the

for many emigrant companies, and was well versed in the Shoshone dialect. He returned to the States in 1847 and died at Independence, Missouri.

previous night, on the headwaters of Green River. Wm. Clayton writes:

"Although the stream is small, we have the satisfaction of seeing the current run west instead of east. Since leaving the Pass we have descended considerably, winding round and between high bluffs or hills, but the road is good. One of the Oregon men, whose name is Moses Harris, is returning with us to-day, intending to wait for the next company of travelers to act as pilot for them. He appears to be a man of intelligence and to be extensively known in Oregon and well acquainted with the western country. He presented a file of the Oregon papers, commencing with Feb. 11, 1847, and five following numbers, for our perusal, and also a number of the *California Star* published at Yerba Buena (afterwards San Francisco) by Samuel Brannan and edited by E. P. Jones. Mr. Harris says he is well acquainted with the Bear River Valley and the regions around the Great Salt Lake. From his description, which is very discouraging, we have little chance to hope for even a moderate good country anywhere in these regions. He speaks of the whole region as being sandy and destitute of timber and vegetation, except the sage brush. He gives the most favorable account of a small region under the Bear River mountains called the Cache Valley, where trappers and traders have been in the habit of caching their robes etc. to hide them from the Indians. He represents this valley as a fine place for wintering cattle. After halting some time we proceeded on and crossed the stream which is about three feet wide; then halted on its banks at 12 o'clock having traveled 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The day is warm; the latitude of this place is  $42^{\circ} 18' 58''$ .

"At 2:25 o'clock p. m. we started again, and after traveling nine miles (and during the day  $15\frac{1}{2}$  miles) we formed our encampment on a small stream called the Dry Sandy at 6:40 p. m.

"It is three years to-day since our brethren Joseph and Hyrum Smith were taken from us, and it was a general feeling in camp to spend the day in fasting and prayer; but the Gentile companies being close in our rear and feed scarce, it was considered necessary to keep ahead for the benefit of our teams. Many minds, however, have reverted back to the scenes of Carthage jail, and it is a satisfaction that we have so far prospered in our endeavors to get from under the grasp of our enemies.

*Monday June 28.*—The morning is fine but cold. Many of the brethren are trading

with Mr. Harris for pants, jackets, shirts, etc., made of buckskin, and also the skins themselves. He sells the skins at \$1.50 apiece, pants at \$3.00 a pair, etc. He will take rifles, powder, lead, caps or calico, and domestic shirts in exchange, at his own price. At 7:30 a. m. we proceeded on our journey, Mr. Harris waiting for the other companies. After travelling six miles we came to a point where the road forks, one continuing in a westerly direction the other taking a southwest course. We took the left hand road which leads to California. This junction of the road is 29 $\frac{1}{4}$  miles from Fort John. We then continued our travel until 1 o'clock p. m., when we arrived and halted for noon on the east bank of Little Sandy, having traveled 18 $\frac{1}{4}$  miles over a sandy and gravelly plain without signs of wood, water or feed for our teams. This stream is 20 feet wide on an average, but at the fording place 3 rods wide and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep. The grass is scarce. We saw a few antelopes this morning, but the frequent travel in this country makes them wild.

"At 4:15 p. m. we resumed our journey and forded the river. Then, after traveling a little over a mile, we met Colonel James Bridger,\* of Bridger's Fort, on his way to Fort John, in company with two of his men. Being informed that we had designed to call at his place to make some inquiries about the country, etc., he said if we would turn off here and camp, he would stay with us

\*James Bridger is described by Captain R. B. Marcy as an illiterate man, tall, thin, wiry, with a complexion well bronzed by toil and exposure, with an independent, generous, open cast of countenance, indicative of brave and noble impulses." P. W. McAdow, of Billings, Montana, who knew Bridger well, says he was born in Washington, D. C., in 1807, and joined Ashley's fur company for the mountains in 1828. In his long experience in the western wilds, as an explorer, trapper, hunter and guide, he became well acquainted with nearly every part of the mountains and had the reputation of being the most skillful and reliable guide known. While in the East in 1856-57 he purchased a farm near Westport, Mo., but the change in his habits was unendurable, and he returned to the mountains, and resumed the occupation of guide, which he followed until age compelled him to abandon it, when he went to live upon his farm. He died at his home near Westport in 1881. For some reason or other, Bridger was hostile to the Saints, and when the Indian war broke out in 1848, he was accused of furnishing the savages with arms and ammunition to be used against the "Mormons". This was nothing less than treason, and when this became known Mr. Bridger found it necessary, for the sake of his personal safety, to abandon Fort Bridger and get out of the Territory.

till morning. A camping place was consequently selected, and we turned off from the road about a quarter of a mile and formed our encampment near the Sandy at 6 o'clock p. m., having traveled this afternoon 11 miles and during the day 15 $\frac{1}{4}$  miles.

"Soon after forming our encampment, the Twelve and several others had an interview with Mr. Bridger, the object being to make inquiries concerning our future route, and the country ahead, but it was impossible to form a correct idea of either, owing to the very imperfect and irregular way in which he gave his description, but the general items are in substance as follows:

"We will find better grass as we proceed; there is no blacksmith shop at his fort at present; there was one but it was destroyed. Nearly a hundred wagons have gone over the Hastings route through Weber's Fork. They crossed the Black's Fork, and went a little south of west from his place. It is impossible for wagons to follow down Green River. Neither can it be followed in boats. \* \* \* From Bridger's Fort to the Great Salt Lake, Hastings said, was about one hundred miles. Bridger himself had been through fifty times, but could form no correct idea of the distance. Mr. Hastings' route leaves the Oregon road at Bridger's. We could pass over the mountains further south, but in some places we would meet with heavy bodies of timber and would have to cut our way through. In the Bear River Valley there is oak timber, sugar trees, cottonwood and pines. There is not an abundance of sugar maple, but plenty of beautiful pines. There is no timber on the Utah Lake, but some on the streams emptying into it. Into the outlet of the Utah Lake three well timbered streams empty. In the valley southeast of the Salt Lake there is an abundance of blue grass and red and white clover. The outlet of the Utah Lake does not form a large river, neither a rapid current, but the water is muddy and the banks of the river low. Some of his men have been around the Salt Lake in canoes. But while they went out hunting, their horses were stolen by the Indians. They then spent three months going round the lake in canoes hunting beavers, the distance being 550 (?) miles. The Utah tribe of Indians live around the lake and are a bad people; if they catch a man alone they are sure to rob and abuse him, if they don't kill him, but parties of men are in no danger. These Indians are mostly armed with guns. \* \* \* There was a man who had opened a farm in Bear River valley, where the soil is good and likely to

produce grain, were it not for the excessive cold nights. There is a good country south of the Utah Lake or southeast of the Great Basin. Three rivers unknown to travelers enter into the Sevier Lake. There is also a splendid country north of the California mountains, calculated to produce every kind of grain and fruit, and there are several places where a man might pass from it over the mountains to the California settlements in a day \* \* \* The great desert extends from the Salt Lake to the Gulf of California, which is perfectly barren. Mr. Bridger supposes it to have been an arm of the sea. There is a tribe of Indians in that country who are unknown to either travelers or geographers. They make farms and raise an abundance of grain of various kinds. He can buy any quantity of the very best wheat from them. \* \* \* This country lies south of Salt Lake, distant about twenty days travel, but the country through which one would have to go to reach it is bad, and there would be no grass for animals to subsist on. He supposes there might be access to it from Texas. \* \* \* He never saw any grapes on the Utah Lake, but there are plenty of cherries and berries of several kinds. He thinks the region around the Utah Lake is the best country in the vicinity of the Salt Lake, and the country is still better the further south one goes until the desert is reached, which is upwards of two hundred miles south of the Utah Lake. There is plenty of timber on all the streams and mountains and an abundance of fish in the streams. \* \* \* He passed through the country a year ago last summer in the month of July; there is generally one or two showers of rain every day, sometimes very heavy thunder storms but not accompanied by strong winds. \* \* \* He said we would find plenty of water from here to Bridger's Fort, except after crossing Green River, when we have to travel about twenty miles without water, but there is plenty of grass. \* \* \* We need not fear the Utah Indians, for we could drive the whole of them in 24 hours. Mr. Bridger's theory was not to kill them, but make slaves of them. The Indians south of the Utah Lake raise as good corn, wheat and pumpkins as was ever raised in old Kentucky.

"Such was the information we obtained from Mr. Bridger, but we shall know more about things and have a better understanding when we have seen the country ourselves. Supper having been provided for Mr. Bridger and his men, the council was dismissed, Mr. Bridger going with President Young to supper. The remainder of

the Pioneers retired to their wagons conversing on the subjects touched upon. The evening was fine and mosquitoes plentiful.

"*Tuesday, June 29.*—The morning was pleasant. Later in the day it was very hot. We started at 7:40 o'clock a. m. and traveled over a very good road through a barren country until nearly 11 o'clock, when we halted for noon on the banks of the Big Sandy, in latitude 42° 6' 42", having traveled 61 miles. This stream appears to be about five rods wide at this place and about three feet deep in the channel. There is some timber on its banks and plenty of grass in places for teams.

"At 1:30 p. m. we again proceeded, President Young and some others going ahead in the *Cutter* wagon to look out a camp ground for night. Our course still lay southwest; the road is generally good, passing over gently rolling and hard, sandy land; in some places the surface is covered with loose fragments of hard rock. After traveling 9½ miles President Young rode up and reported that we would have to go at least six miles further before we could get feed. Consequently we traveled till after dark over a hilly country, and at 9:05 o'clock p. m. we formed our encampment on the right bank of the Big Sandy, having traveled since noon 17 miles and during the day 23½ miles, which is the greatest day's journey we have made since leaving Winter Quarters. The camp was formed by moonlight. The grass here was good, but no wood for fuel upon this bank. Towards sundown mosquitoes were exceedingly troublesome, but the coolness of the evening soon quieted them.

"Many of the brethren have been seized with sickness within the past three days, and a number more were feeling ill this evening. They generally begin with headache, succeeded by violent fever, and some go delirious for a while. Brother Fowler was seized this afternoon and this evening he is raving. There has been no cases considered dangerous yet, nor any of long duration.

"*Wednesday, June 30.*—At 5:30 o'clock this morning the thermometer stood at 46°. As the sun rose higher, the day became very warm. Several new cases of sickness were reported. We resumed our journey at 8:30 a. m., President Young, Kimball and others going on ahead again. We found the roads very good but sandy, filling the wagons with dust. At 11:30, having traveled eight miles, we arrived on the banks of Green River and formed our encampment in a line under the shade of the cottonwood timber.

(To be continued on page 65.)

# The Historical Record.

A Monthly Magazine.

Andrew Jenson, - - - Editor.

SALT LAKE CITY, - MARCH, 1890.

Immediately after the April Conference we contemplate starting on a prolonged trip to distant parts of Utah and to surrounding Territories, for the purpose of gathering historical information, preparatory to writing histories of all the Stakes of Zion. This trip will occupy several months, and while we are absent the

RECORD will be issued regularly in numbers containing 16 pages each, while such other reading matter as we intend to give our subscribers will be reserved until the end of the year, when it will be forwarded as a supplement. We repeat our kind request to presiding officers and influential men in all parts of the country to assist us in getting the RECORD introduced among the Saints. Our circulation has almost been confined to this and other valleys centrally located, but hereafter we hope to have a universal circulation in all the organized Stakes of Zion.

## MISSIONARY REMINISCENCES.

(Continued from Page 32.)

While the first part of his discourse was being delivered, the priest, who sat opposite the table, facing the speaker, appeared very uneasy, and was continually gnawing away at the head of his walking cane; occasionally he also jotted down a few items on a piece of paper which he took from his pocket book. But as soon as the name of Joseph Smith was mentioned, he could contain himself no longer. Rising suddenly from his seat, he interrupted the speaker by saying that he wanted to offer explanations; but the Elder promptly checked him, requesting him to keep quiet until the meeting was closed, then it would be his privilege to ask any question he might desire.

"Well, how much longer do you intend to continue?" stammered out the priest. "You have already spoken too long, and it is getting late."

"I will soon get through, but keep quiet," said the missionary.

The priest reluctantly sat down while the Elder bore testimony to the organization of the true Church

in the last days with Prophets, Apostles and other officers, like the ancient Christian Church, and also declared that the gifts and blessings of the Gospel, which followed the faithful anciently, were enjoyed by those who yielded obedience to the same principles of truth at the present time. He then closed with an earnest appeal to all present to further investigate the doctrines that had been explained, and pray to God for wisdom and understanding, that they might know for themselves whether they had listened to the truth or not.

As soon as the word "Amen" was uttered the priest, now being in a perfect rage, jumped up and demanded the floor.

"Not yet," said the missionary, "we wish to close our meeting with a hymn and a short prayer."

"I will wait no longer," cried out the priest; "it is getting late and I must speak to these people before they disperse." Then, turning his face toward the audience, he commenced.

"This young man," said he, "has occupied nearly two hours (only one hour) and.—"

"We insist upon order being kept until we have closed our meeting properly", interrupted the young Elder in tones that could be distinctly heard by all present. "We have the permission of the owner of this house to hold a meeting here, and this gentleman has no right to disturb us until we are through. If he is really a gentleman he will respect our rights. We insist upon his sitting down, and that he cease speaking until we have closed our meeting."

But he would not; his temper had got the best of him, and he continued to talk in a most insulting and defiant manner.

As quick as possible the missionaries gave out a hymn and having pretty strong voices commenced singing, a few of the congregation joining. This compelled the pastor to cease his harangue, but he did not sit down. No sooner had the last lines of the hymn been sung than the Elder with a few and appropriate words hurriedly closed the meeting by prayer.

The priest by this time had become thoroughly exasperated. He felt his dignity insulted, not having succeeded so well as he had expected; for the meeting had been terminated properly, and would have been orderly throughout, except for his interruption. He now began a tirade of abuse, calling Joseph Smith a liar and impostor, and his followers dupes, ignoramuses, rascals, etc. This was more than the young Utah Elder could stand. "I demand of the pastor," said he, "to prove his assertions; he has no right to vilify and ridicule any one in this manner.

He must bring proofs, or his accusations are not intitled to belief."

"Stop interrupting me," cried out the priest, "you have had your say, I have the floor now, and I will be heard."

"But you should confine yourself to doctrinal points," continued the Elder. "To attack Joseph Smith, whom you know nothing about, except through hearsay, is not becoming a gentleman. Attack the principles we have advanced, disprove them by Bible arguments, and give the people an opportunity to judge between us."

"I want you to understand," said the priest, "stamping his foot violently on the floor, that it is not your prerogative to dictate to me what I shall say. This is my parish and I have a right to speak to the people as I please."

He then continued his vile abuse in a most scandalous manner, until at last the young Elder stepped up to where the priest stood, and, tapping the vilifier gently on the shoulder, again requested him to confine himself to doctrinal points, and cease abusing Joseph Smith, Brigham Young and others, whose characters he was not acquainted with.

This made the priest turn right upon the Elder. Says he: "Here is a man who professes to be a preacher of the Gospel, and he has not even got a grammatical knowledge of the Danish language. He says that he and his people believe in the Bible. We Lutherans believe the Bible, but believe in God, not in a book, like he says he does. Of course we know what he means, but he ought to speak correctly, when he puts himself up as a public teacher. Now I propose that we take up a collection

MISSIONARY REMINISCENCES.

for him right here and send him to school, that he may at least get a common school education."

This personal insult aroused the indignation of the village blacksmith, a dark complexioned and muscular man, who occupied a seat on the inside of the table near the missionaries. This man was somewhat inclined to infidelity, and consequently did not look up to the parson with the same degree of reverence as most of the others who were present, but he seemed to be a fair and just-minded man; and when the priest was dealing out his personal abuse, this man arose in all his dignity; brought his fist down upon the table with great force and said with emphasis: "This is going too far, Hr. Pastor, I want to see fair play. This personal insult to Mr.—is uncalled for. He is not an ignorant person. He excels as a speaker, and I would rather listen to him than to the pastor. His sermon has made a deep impression upon my mind, and I will not sit still and see him abused in this manner."

This unexpected stand on the part of the brawny blacksmith put a new feature on the whole situation. The people became uneasy and began to move about in the room, for they all knew the blacksmith to be a brave determined man, who on many previous occasions had expressed his dislike to the clergy, whom he stigmatized as impostors, who were getting a fat living for doing no good.

The pastor, who had been in the parish only a short time, knew perhaps less of the blacksmith than the village people, or he would not have attempted to ridicule him as he did. But he soon learned that he was attacking the wrong man, and that his

own personal safety depended upon getting out of the room as soon as convenient. Consequently, he soon brawled out: "All you who are not 'Mormons', follow me." He then made for the door, followed by nearly the entire congregation, for although a number of those who were present were friendly disposed to the missionaries, they would not submit themselves to be classed as "Mormons." A few, however, including the blacksmith, remained, who now came forward and shook hands with the Elders, congratulating them upon their success and expressing their disapproval of the parson's demeanor. The blacksmith assured the missionaries that he was their friend and would go and hear them again if they should hold another meeting in the neighborhood. There was some hooting and yelling on the outside, and some talk of dipping and whipping, but the crowd soon dispersed; the parson and school master, looking quite sober and crestfallen, were seen walking off together toward the parson farm. The attempt to annihilate "Mormonism" had proven an absolute failure.

\* \* \*

One year passes away. Two men are engaged in an animated conversation in front of the village blacksmith shop. In the tall dark-complexioned person, standing with a pair of heavy pincers in one hand and a hammer in the other, we easily recognize the features of the man who defended the Elders at the meeting the year previous; but the other is a stranger to us, although he has attended the same meeting, and is a resident of a neighboring village.

"How is Pastor Jensen now," asked the blacksmith.



"He is getting worse all the time", was the reply. "Ever since he became so excited in that Mormon meeting a year ago, he has been unable to attend to his duties in the pulpit. In fact he has never preached a single sermon since. At times he seems to be fairly out of his mind, and his sleep at night is very much disturbed. On several occasions, while lying in a kind of stupor, he has been heard to cry out 'Mormon Mormon', while his facial features would indicate severe mental suffering. He is now speaking of going to Copenhagen with a view to getting relief."

"My friend," said the blacksmith, "I tell you what I have been thinking about. You know that I am somewhat skeptical in my views, but I don't deny the existence of a God in some shape or form. Now, you remember that Hr.—(meaning the Elder), in speaking at that famous meeting a year ago, declared that the gifts and blessings of the ancient Gospel had been restored, and that the Mormons had power to lay hands upon the sick to bless them, and so on. Now, mind you, I do not say that they have that power, but I tell you what I believe. If Hr.—had power to lay hands on people to bless them, he could also employ that same power to curse; and did you notice, when the priest was railing so terribly against Joseph Smith and the Mormons, that Hr.—stepped up and tapped him on the shoulder. Now, I would just as soon believe that that young Mormon Elder cursed the priest on that occasion, as I would

believe any thing else, and that this is the cause of Pastor Jensen's ailment."

"That is indeed a new idea to me," responded the other man, "I never thought of such a thing before. Why, Pastor Jensen himself actually dates his sickness back to that very time, and says he got so excited on the occasion of that Mormon meeting that he has never thoroughly got over it."

The rest is soon told. Pastor Jensen went to Copenhagen for the benefit of his health, but found no relief, until death put an end to his sufferings, about two years after his adventure with the Mormon Elders.

It should, however, be understood that the young Utah Elder did not curse the priest, as the blacksmith imagined; the Elders of Israel are supposed to use their Priesthood for blessing their fellow-men and never for bringing evil upon them. But we find the following recorded as a kind of soliloquy in the young Elder's journal, after he has given a brief account of the meeting mentioned: "How long shall these priests of Babel be permitted to keep the people in darkness and ignorance and close the door of the kingdom of Heaven for even the honest in heart. I could feel to say: The Lord punish them for their great evils, and may their hypocrisy and dishonesty soon be revealed."

We will conclude by saying that a number of people have since been baptized into the true Church on Mors, and the prospects are that more will join in the near future.

# THE HISTORICAL RECORD.

Devoted Exclusively to Historical, Biographical, Chronological  
and Statistical Matters.

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"What thou seest, write in a book."—*Rev. i, 11.*

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No. 4.

APRIL, 1890.

VOL. IX.

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## THE PIONEERS OF 1847.

(Continued from page 60.)

"Green River is very high, there being in the channel from twelve to fifteen feet of water; the width of the stream is about eighteen rods, with a very rapid current. Its banks are well lined with cottonwood, but none large enough to make a canoe. The grass grows good and plentiful, but still not so much as has been represented. This river is 338½ miles from Fort John. After dinner the brethren commenced making two rafts, one for each division, and soon afterwards Samuel Brannan arrived in camp, having come from the Bay of San Francisco on the Pacific Coast to meet us, obtain counsel, etc. He is accompanied by a Mr. Smith and another young man. They have come by way of Fort Hall."

Samuel Brannan was the man who was appointed in New York City the previous year to take charge of a company of Saints, consisting of over two hundred persons, and conduct them by ship to Upper California by way of Cape Horn. For that purpose he engaged the ship *Brooklyn*, which sailed from New York Feb. 4, 1846, and arrived in California July 31st following. "Since that," writes Orson Pratt, "Brother Brannan had for most of the time been engaged in locating a colony of the Saints on the San Joaquin River; and having brought a good printing press with him, he published a paper called the *California Star*, 16 numbers of which he had issued and brought with him

to our camp. He left the Bay of San Francisco expressly to meet us, on the 4th of April last, accompanied by only two persons; and, having at this early season of the year braved the dangers of the deep snows upon the mountains, and the wild and savage tribes of Indians that roam over these terrific regions, he arrived in safety at our camp; having also passed directly over the camping ground where about forty or fifty California emigrants had perished, and been eaten up by their fellow-sufferers only a few days before. Their skulls, bones and carcasses lay strewed in every direction. He also met the hindmost of one of these unfortunate creatures making his way into the settlements. He was a German, and had lived upon human flesh for several weeks."

Toward evening the Pioneer camp was visited by a heavy wind storm. The first division finished their raft before dark. Some of the brethren caught some very nice fish in a slough a short distance below the camp.

*Thursday, July 1.*—The brethren commenced ferrying, but only succeeded in getting 14 wagons across because of the very high wind.

*Friday, July 2.*—The day was more pleasant than the preceding one and the ferrying continued more rapidly. In the afternoon the Twelve had a council and decided to send three or four men back to act as guides to the next company.

*Saturday, July 3.*—The brethren continued ferrying, and before noon all the wagons had got across without accident. In the afternoon the camp traveled three miles down the river and encamped on its right bank, opposite the point where Big Sandy empties into Green River, where there was good grass. The mosquitoes were more troublesome than ever; they were so numerous that they literally covered everything, and both men and beast suffered considerable through their annoyance. In the evening the camp was called together, and such of the brethren as felt desirous to return and meet their families were given the privilege of doing so. The families were expected to be in the next emigration camp, supposed to be several hundred miles in the rear. Five volunteered to return, namely: Phineas H. Young, George Woodward, Aaron F. Farr, Eric Glines and Rodney Badger. President Young also gave the brethren some instructions about trading at Fort Bridger when they should arrive there. The five men who expected to return were to take the *Cutter* wagon instead of a horse each, as so many animals could not be spared by the camp.

*Sunday, July 4.*—The day was fine and warm. In the morning the five brethren started back, taking with them instructions to the Saints whom they should meet, and also a short synopsis from some of the brethren's journal as a reference,

containing the distances, good camping places, etc.; and if they should meet the detachment of the Mormon Battalion, under Captain Brown, one was counseled to return as a guide to the detachment, if desired. President Young, Kimball and others returned with the brethren to ferry them over the river. While they were gone, the camp met for public worship under the presidency of the Bishops. At 2:30 p. m. the brethren returned from the ferry, accompanied by twelve of the Battalion brethren who had wintered at Pueblo. They, together with the rest of the detachment, had been ordered to march to the Pacific and had started for the mountains, but thirteen men had been detached by Captain Brown to go in advance of the main body, in order to obtain some horses that had been stolen from them while at Pueblo. The thieves, they had learned, were at Fort Bridger. These thirteen brethren met the five returning Pioneers at the Green River ferry, and one of them, William Walker, returned with the Pioneer brethren to meet his wife. When the twelve soldiers arrived at the Pioneer camp they were greeted with three hearty cheers.

*Monday, July 5.*—The morning was calm and clear. The Pioneers left their camping ground at 8 o'clock a. m. and traveled  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles, following the right bank of Green River. Elder Pratt writes:

"Here we came to a short halt and watered our animals, and again started, leaving Green River, and gradually ascended the bluffs, and continued over a gently undulating sandy plain, destitute of grass and water, for 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles, when we gradually descended upon the left bank of Black's Fork. This stream is about seventy feet wide, swift current, and its waters somewhat roily. The most of the mountain streams of any size

have at this stage of water a muddy appearance, although when low they are represented to be very clear. We encamped for the night on the left bank of Black's Fork; grass not very good and no timber. Several of the camp have for a few days been slightly afflicted with fever, probably occasioned by the suffocating clouds of dust which rise from the sandy road, and envelope the whole camp when in motion, and also by the sudden changes of temperature; for during the day it is exceedingly warm, while the snowy mountains, which surround us on all sides, render the air cold and uncomfortable during the absence of the sun. \* \* \*

*"Tuesday, July 6.*—The morning is calm and very pleasant. We traveled 3½ miles, and forded Ham's Fork, which is now about thirty-five or forty feet wide, and about two feet deep. In 1½ miles we came to Black's Fork ford, which is about 2½ feet deep in the channel. We proceeded on about thirteen miles and recrossed Black's Fork, the depth about the same as below. We camped upon the left bank. The grass was good; some dense clusters of willow and four or five cottonwood trees stood near our camp. Around our encampment we noticed considerable quantities of flax. A number of fish, (by some called salmon-trout,) weighing from one to ten pounds have been caught with the hook in the different streams on this side of the South Pass."

*Wednesday, July 7.*—Orson Pratt started ahead of the camp this morning for the purpose of taking some observations. The camp resumed the journey at 8 o'clock a. m. and after traveling 2½ miles forded Black's Fork once more. A further travel of 2½ miles brought them to a stream about two rods wide and two feet deep, which they also forded, and then continued the journey until noon, when they halted on the banks of the last stream, having traveled nine miles over a pretty rough road. In the afternoon the journey was continued, and after traveling 7½ miles they arrived on the right bank of Black's Fork, where nine Indian lodges stood a few feet apart, occupied by the families of the trappers and hunters who had taken

squaws for wives. A number of half-breed children were seen playing about their lodges. The camp halted awhile at this point, and among the trappers located there they found a Mr. Goodale, who had passed the Pioneers at the Platte ferry. Continuing three-quarters of a mile further in a westerly direction, the camp, after crossing four branches of Black's Fork, without any road but a footpath, arrived at Fort Bridger,\* which, according to the Pioneer roadometer is 397 miles from Fort Laramie or Fort John. The teams here turned to the south, and after crossing three more branches of the river encamped within half a mile of the post.

"Black's Fork," writes Elder Pratt "is here broken up into quite a number of rapid streams, forming a number of islands, all containing seven or eight hundred acres of most excellent grass, with considerable timber, principally cottonwood and willow. Bridger's post consists of two adjoining log houses, dirt roofs, and a small picket yard of logs set in the ground and about eight feet high. The number of men, squaws and half-breed children, in those houses and lodges, may be about fifty or sixty. I took some astronomical observations, which gave for the latitude of the post 41° 19' 13". By a mean of two barometrical observations, taken on the 7th and 8th, the calculated height above the level of the sea was 6685 feet. The distance from the South Pass is 109½ miles. Mosquitoes very numerous and troublesome.

*"Thursday, July 8.*—The morning is cold. Ice was formed during the night, which, however, was soon melted by the rising sun, the thermometer standing at 9 o'clock at 66°, with a brisk wind from the southwest. Several large speckled trout were caught with the hook this morning. Our blacksmiths are busily engaged in setting wagon tires, shoeing horses, etc., and preparing for

\*Fort Bridger was the second permanent post established on the great overland road of travel, Fort Laramie only antedating it. It was erected on a delta formed by several branches of Black's Fork of Green River. It was occupied by James Bridger during the interesting period of the earliest migration to the Pacific Coast. He abandoned it in 1853.

a rough mountainous road, in a southwesterly direction towards the Salt Lake

*"Friday, July 9.*—Samuel Brannan, Thomas Williams, one of the Battalion brethren, and a few others returned towards the South Pass, to meet the main detachment of the Battalion. We again resumed our journey, taking Mr. Hastings' new route to the Bay of San Francisco; this route is but dimly seen, as only a few wagons passed over it last season. We continued gradually to ascend, and in  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles came to a small brook, formed by a spring and melting snow, which lay in places upon its banks. In about three quarters of a mile we crossed this brook, and ascended a long steep hill for about half a mile, at the top of which I obtained the latitude, which was  $41^{\circ} 16' 11''$ , after which our road led across a comparatively level table land for two or three miles. We then descended 150 or 200 feet down a very steep hill. We traveled  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the station where I took the latitude, descending 400 or 500 feet, and crossed a stream about fifteen feet wide and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep—very clear water; this is said to be a branch of Muddy Fork. Some few willows are growing upon its bank. We encamped on the left bank for the night, it being 13 miles from Bridger's. The grass is good; there is a quantity of large grass, which very much resembles wheat, having heads and nearly as tall; our animals are very fond of it. We discovered now and then a little of this kind of grass on the Sweetwater, but as we continue our journey it increases in quantity. There is another species of fine tender grass, which the animals are also extremely fond of. We saw to-day considerable cedar upon the hills, on each side of our road; it is low and scrubby. No game is to be seen. A short distance from where we encamped, we saw an abundance of fine grit sandstone, of very excellent quality for grindstones.

*"Saturday, July 10.*—We commenced gradually to ascend, passing a small spring which we called Red Mineral Spring, from the extreme redness of the soil out of which it issued; its taste was very disagreeable, and no doubt poisonous, on account of the great percentage of copperas which it contained; from the taste, I should judge it at it also contains considerable alum. After a journey of five miles we attained the summit of a ridge between two branches of Muddy Fork. The barometric height above the sea was 7,315 feet, 230 feet higher than the South Pass. From this summit we commenced descending for about one mile, and came upon a small level valley, from thirty

to fifty rods wide; there was some water in places in this valley, proceeding principally from mineral springs. From the ridge we had descended three or four hundred feet. We followed up this valley to the southwest, and halted for noon three miles from the last named ridge, latitude  $41^{\circ} 14' 21''$ . We continued on for five miles, our road ascending gradually for awhile, and then quite abruptly, until we attained the summit of the dividing ridge between the waters of the Gulf of California and those of the Great Salt Lake, or the branches of Muddy Fork on the east and Bear River on the west. The barometric elevation of this ridge above the sea is 7,700 feet, being 615 feet higher than the South Pass at the head of the Sweetwater. From this summit we commenced descending very abruptly at first, and then more gradually. We continued down this narrow valley in a southwesterly direction for about four miles; no running water, but some standing in pools; the grass was good. From this ravine we crossed a slight elevation on the left, and descended gradually upon a small tributary to Bear River; here we encamped for the night. About twenty-five rods south of this stream, coming out of the bluffs on the left bank, is a most excellent cold spring of pure water; good grass. Some few willows, with the wild sage, was our fuel as usual. On the side of the hills to the northwest, about one hundred rods, are some few cedars. We are now five miles from the summit of the last dividing ridge. We traveled 18 miles to-day. Just before our encampment, as I was wandering alone upon one of the hills, examining the various geological formations, I discovered a smoke some two miles from our encampment, which I expected arose from some small Indian encampment. I informed some of our men, and they immediately went to discover who they were; they found them to be a small party from the Bay of San Francisco, on their way home to the States. They were accompanied by Mr. Miles Goodyear, a mountaineer, as far as this point, where Mr. Goodyear, learning from us that the Oregon emigration was earlier than usual, and that they, instead of coming by way of Bridger's had taken a more northern route, concluded to go down Bear River and intersect them for the purpose of trade.

*"Sunday, July 11.*—Mr. Craig and three others proceeded on their journey for the States. Mr. Goodyear and two Indians went down Bear River. The morning is clear, calm and pleasant, although it was cold during the night, and considerable ice was formed. About  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles south we discov-

ered a mineral tar spring, and a few rods to the northeast some sulphur springs. At this point the roads fork, a few wagon tracks bearing off to the south, while a few others bore down the small creek on which we were encamped.

"*Monday, July 12.*—This morning we resumed our journey, taking the right hand fork of the road down the creek, which is represented as being the nearest, and 11 miles brought us to Bear River ford. The river here is about sixty feet wide, 2½ feet deep; a very rapid current and the bottom completely covered with rounded boulders, some of which were about as large as a human head. The height above the sea is 6,836 feet. Some speckled trout were caught in the stream this morning. The road again forks at this place. We took the right hand, which bore a few degrees south of west. For about two miles our road gradually ascended, and crossing a ridge we commenced descending, following down for several miles a ravine in which there was little water. Plenty of grass, of an excellent quality, is found in almost every direction. The country is very broken, with high hills and valleys, with no timber excepting scrubby cedar upon their sides. Antelope again appear in great abundance, but rather wild; ten or twelve were brought in by our hunters in the course of the day. The road is exceedingly difficult to find excepting in places where the grass has not completely obscured it. We halted for noon a little east of a pudding stone formation. This ledge is on the right of the road, which passes along at its base. The rocks are from one to two hundred feet in height, and rise up in a perpendicular and shelving form, being broken or worked out into many curious forms by the rains. Some quite large boulders were cemented in this rock. President Young, being sick, concluded to stop a few hours and rest; several wagons stopped with him for company, the rest being requested to move on.

"We continued down the ravine but a short distance, where it empties its waters into a small tributary of Bear River, which we crossed and again began to ascend for some distance, when we crossed another ridge and descended rather abruptly at first but afterwards more gradually into another ravine, at the head of which was a spring of cold water. We continued descending this ravine until towards evening, when we encamped at the foot of a ledge of rocks on the right. Here is the mouth of a curious cave in the centre of a coarse sandstone fronting to the south, and a little inclined from the

perpendicular. The opening resembles very much the doors attached to an out-door cellar, being about eight feet high and twelve or fourteen feet wide. We called it Redding's Cave, a man by that name being one of the first in our company who visited it. We went into this cave about thirty feet, where the entrance becoming quite small, we did not feel disposed to penetrate it any further. On the under side of the roof were several swallows' nests. President Young did not overtake us to-night.

"*Tuesday, July 13.*—Early this morning we despatched two messengers back to meet President Young, being unwilling to move any further until he should come up. The barometer here indicates quite a fall since leaving Bear River, the thermometer standing at 6:30 a. m. at 60.5°. The morning is calm and clear. The two messengers returned, and Heber C. Kimball with them. They reported that President Young was getting better, but that he did not think of moving to-day. Those of the Twelve present directed me to take 23 wagons and 42 men, and proceed on the journey, and endeavor to find Mr. Reed's route across the mountains, for we had been informed that it would be impracticable to pass through the canyon (Weber) on account of the depth and rapidity of the water. About 3 p. m. we started, and proceeded down Red Fork (Echo Creek) about 8½ miles and encamped. At present there is not much water in this fork thus far. The height of our encampment above the sea is 6,070 feet."

Following are the names of those who went ahead in Elder Pratt's advance company to look out and make a road:

Orson Pratt (commanding).  
 Stephen Markham (aid),  
 Brown, John  
 Barnum, C. D.  
 Burk, Charles  
 Boggs, Francis  
 Chessley, A. P.  
 Crosby, Oscar  
 Curtis, Lyman  
 Chessney, James  
 Crow, Walter  
 Crow, John  
 Crow, Robert  
 Crow, Walter H.  
 Crow, Benjamin B.  
 Eldredge, John S.  
 Egbert, Joseph  
 Fairbanks, Nathaniel  
 Freeman, John S.  
 Flake, Green

Gleason, John S.  
 Grant, David  
 Hansen, Hans C.  
 Jackman, Levi  
 Kelsey, Stephen  
 Kendall, Levi N.  
 Lay, Hark  
 Matthews, Joseph  
 Myers, Lewis B.  
 Newman, Elijah  
 Power, David  
 Rockwell, O. P.  
 Redding, Jackson  
 Roundy, Shadrach  
 Stewart, James W.  
 Summe, Gilbert  
 Thornton, Horace  
 Thorpe, Marcus B.  
 Therikill, George W.  
 Taylor, Norman  
 Taft, Seth  
 Thomas, Robert

Total: 42 men with 23 wagons. Also Brother Crow's family of women and children.

The main camp remained at the head of Echo Canyon, while President Young and those with him were still encamped where they nooned on the 12th.

*Wednesday, July 14.*—Elder Orson Pratt's advance company traveled  $6\frac{3}{4}$  miles and halted for noon in latitude  $41^{\circ} 1' 47''$ . In the afternoon they traveled  $6\frac{1}{4}$  miles further, which brought them to the junction of Red (Echo Creek) and Weber's Forks. "We have been shut up in a narrow valley (Echo Canyon)," writes Elder Pratt, "from ten to twelve rods wide, while upon each side the hills rise very abruptly from eight to twelve hundred feet, and the most of the distance we have been walled in by vertical and overhanging precipices of red pudding-stone, and also red sand-stone, dipping to the northwest in an angle of about  $20^{\circ}$ , (the valley of the Red Fork being about southwest). These rocks were worked into many curious shapes, probably by the rains. The country here is very mountainous in every direction.

Red Fork, towards the mouth, is a small stream about eight feet across; it puts into Weber's Fork from the right bank. Weber's Fork is here about seventy feet wide, from two to three feet deep; a rapid current, stony bottom, consisting of boulders; water very clear; its course bearing west-northwest. Height of the junction above the sea, 5,301 feet. The road has been quite rough, crossing and recrossing the stream a great number of times. There is some willow and aspen in the valley and upon the side hills, and some scrubby cedar upon the hills and rocks as usual."

The main company remained in camp.

*Thursday, July 15.*—Orson Pratt's advance company resumed the journey down the Weber, crossing to the left bank. Elder Pratt writes:

"We traveled about six miles, and encamped about one mile above the canyon, which at the entrance is impassable for wagons. The road, crossing the river to the right bank, makes a circuit of about two miles, and enters the canyon at the junction of a stream (Lost Creek) putting in from the right bank, about one-third as large as Weber's Fork. I rode on horseback, in company with John Brown, about five miles down from our encampment, and being convinced that this was the ten mile canyon which had been spoken of, we returned to camp. In the meantime Stephen Markham, with one or two others, had gone up the river on the right bank, in search of Reed's trail across the mountains, leading down to the southeastern shores of the Salt Lake. Brother Brown and I also went in search, traveling along the bluffs on the south. We soon struck the trail, although so dimly seen that it only now and then could be discerned; only a few wagons having passed here one year ago, and the grass having grown up, leaving scarcely a trace. I followed this trail about six miles up a ravine, to where it attained the dividing ridge leading down into another ravine, in a southerly direction, and returned again into camp. There is some cottonwood timber fringing the shores of Weber's Fork, and also thick

clusters of willows, making very close thickets for bears, which, from their large tracks and the large holes they have made in digging for roots, must be very numerous."

In the morning of this day President Young, and those who had remained behind with him (8 wagons), joined the main company at the encampment at the head of Echo Canyon. The President was much better. In the afternoon the journey was resumed and the company traveled  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles down Echo Canyon, and camped at the foot of a high red bluff and near a beautiful spring of good clear water. Several very refreshing showers of rain purified the air in the afternoon.

*Friday, July 16.*—From Pratt's advance company Orrin P. Rockwell was sent back to report to the rear camps that the new route, which it had been anticipated would be difficult to discover, had been found. "We resumed our journey," writes Orson Pratt, "up a small stream on Reed's route, sending in advance of the wagons a small company of about a dozen with spades, axes, etc., to make the road passable, which required considerable labor. We traveled about six miles, and, crossing the ridge, began to descend another ravine. Traveled down about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles, which took about four hours' labor, and encamped for the night. There was plenty of grass and water; some antelope; small willows in abundance. After we had encamped Elijah Newman and myself walked down the ravine to examine the road. We found that Mr. Reed's company last season had spent several hours' labor in spading, etc., but finding it almost impracticable for wagons, they had turned up a ravine, at the mouth of which we had encamped,

and taken a little more circuitous route over the hills."

The main company traveled down Echo Canyon about sixteen miles. In crossing the creek one of the wagons broke down, but with some delay was repaired. While nooning  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the previous night's encampment, Orrin P. Rockwell met them from the advance company. The evening's encampment was formed about a mile above the junction of Echo Creek and the Weber River.

*Saturday, July 17.*—Orson Pratt writes:

"We had a severe frost last night. Early this morning I started out alone, and on foot, to examine the country back, to see if there was not a more practicable route for the companies in the rear than the one we had come. I was soon satisfied that we had taken the best and only practicable route; met a large grey wolf about four rods from me. I returned to camp and counseled the company not to go any further until they had spent several hours' labor on the road over which we passed yesterday afternoon; and all who were able to work labored about two-thirds of the day upon the same. Leaving orders for the camp towards night to move on, Elder Brown and myself rode on to explore. About  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles brought us down upon the right bank of the creek, which was about twenty feet wide and had a swift current. This creek (East Canyon Creek) passes through a canyon about forty rods below, where it is for a few rods shut up by perpendicular and overhanging walls, being a break in a mountain, which rises several hundred feet upon each side. The creek plunges underneath a large rock which lays in its bed, near the foot of the canyon, blockading the same, and making it wholly impassable for wagons or teams. We followed the dimly traced wagon tracks up this stream for eight miles, crossing the same 13 times. The bottoms of this creek are thickly covered with willows, from five to fifteen rods wide, making an immense labor in cutting a road through for the emigrants last season. We still found the road almost impassable, and requiring much labor. The mountains upon each side rise abruptly from six hundred to three thousand feet above the bed of the stream. Leaving



our horses at the foot, we ascended to the summit of one which appeared to be about two thousand feet high. We had a prospect limited in most directions by still higher peaks; the country exhibited a broken succession of hills piled on hills, and mountains on mountains, in every direction. We returned and met our camp about 4½ miles from where they were encamped in the morning. They were encamped about two miles above the canyon, on the left bank of Canyon Creek. At this place there is a small rivulet which runs down from the mountains; the water is pure and cold."

In the main camp a forge was set up, and some of the wagons were subjected to the process of repairing. "The cattle and mules seem very uneasy," writes William Clayton, "and continue lowing and braying all the morning. I suppose it is in consequence of the singular echo resounding in the mountains, they no doubt thinking they are answered by other animals in the distance. At 9:40 o'clock a. m. we resumed our journey, and after traveling a mile we arrived at the junction of Red Fork with the Weber River, after which we turned to the right, traveling in a northwesterly direction. We have traveled through this narrow ravine (Echo Canyon) for a distance of 23 miles. President Young, who is still very sick, could not endure traveling further. Accordingly an encampment was formed on the banks of the river, only 2½ miles from the encampment of the previous night. In the afternoon Elders Kimball, Richards, Smith, Benson and others went on to a neighboring mountain and prayed for the recovery of President Young and others who were sick in camp.

*Sunday, July 18.*—The morning was cold and the ground whitened with snow. Meetings were held in both camps. The members of the main camp were called together in

the morning and addressed by Heber C. Kimball, who proposed to the brethren that instead of their scattering off—some hunting, others fishing and others climbing mountains—they should meet together to pray and exhort each other, asking the Lord to turn away the sickness that infested the camp, and especially heal the President, that the company might proceed on their journey. It was decided that the brethren should assemble at the sound of the bugle at 10 o'clock a. m., in a little grove of shrubbery which had been prepared for the purpose opposite the wagons. During the meeting Elder Kimball proposed to the brethren that the whole camp, except President Young and eight or ten wagons with brethren enough to take care of him, proceed on the following day over the mountains, and after finding a suitable place begin to plant potatoes, etc., as there was but little time to spare. This proposition was accepted by unanimous vote. In the afternoon another meeting was held, and Elder Kimball prophesied good things concerning the camp. The sacrament was also administered and a good spirit prevailed. The weather was very hot."

*Monday, July 19.*—Elders Pratt and Brown started from the advance camp soon after sunrise to examine the road and country ahead. "We continued along the road which we explored the day before," writes Elder Pratt, "and ascertained that the road left Canyon Creek near the place where we stopped the day before, and ran along in a ravine to the west. We ascended this ravine gradually for four miles, when we came to the dividing ridge. Here we fastened our horses, and ascend-

ed on foot a mountain on the right for several hundred feet. Both from the ridge, where the road crosses, and from the mountain peak, we could see over a great extent of the country. On the southwest we could see an extensive level prairie, some few miles distant, which we thought must be near the Lake. We came down from the mountain and mounted our horses, and rode down on the southwest side of the mountain; the descent is very rapid at first. We traveled down several miles and found that the small stream we were descending passed through a very high mountain, where we judged it impossible for wagons to pass; and after searching awhile, we found that the wagon trail ascended quite abruptly for about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and passed over a mountain, and down into another narrow valley, and thus avoided the canyon; after making these explorations we returned to our camp, which we met  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles from their morning encampment, having performed a great deal of labor on the road. Elder Rockwell had returned, bringing us the intelligence that the most of the Pioneer wagons were within a few miles of us. A fresh track of a buffalo was discovered in this ravine; he had rubbed off some of his hair upon the brush in his path, probably the only one within hundreds of miles."

The main camp—leaving the wagons of President Young, Kimball and a few others behind—moved on, and after traveling  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles forded the Weber. The course was then changed to the west and the company traveled up a canyon over a very rough and dangerous road. About  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the fording of the Weber, the brethren stopped to build a bridge

over a mountain stream, and after traveling with much difficulty  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles further, they arrived at the summit of the dividing ridge where they put up a guide board with this inscription, "80 miles to Fort Bridger." They found the descent quite steep and dangerous, and in going down a steep pitch George A. Smith's wagon broke down. The company nooned at 2 p. m. by a small creek, after traveling  $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles that day. In the afternoon they traveled  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles over steep hills and very rough roads and finally camped on "a small spot surrounded by willows." The day was hot and the traveling extremely hard that day.

*Tuesday, July 20.*—The morning was frosty. Orson Pratt wrote a description of the road and country he and others had traversed for several miles ahead, and left the same deposited in a conspicuous place for the benefit of the camp which were soon expected to pass. The advance company resumed the journey about 9 o'clock in the morning, being hindered more than usual by some cattle which had strayed a short distance. They traveled during the day about six miles over the mountains, laboring diligently upon the road. By his usual observations with his instrument, Orson Pratt determined the altitude of the camp to be 7,245 feet above sea level.

In the main camp a number of wagons were repaired, including George A. Smith's which broke down the day before. One of Brother Crow's men arrived from Elder Pratt's advance company, which he reported about nine miles ahead. The main company traveled  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles over the worst road yet experienced by the Pioneers, and crossed Can-

yon Creek 11 times. "The road," writes Elder Clayton, "is one of the most crooked I ever saw; there are very many sharp turns, and the willow stubs standing makes it very rough for the wagons." The encampment for the night was formed on a ridge.

President Young's rear company started early in the morning and stopped for breakfast after a five mile's drive. President Young traveled in Wilford Woodruff's carriage, and although the fever was still on him, he stood the journey well. After breakfast the company traveled about ten miles over a very rough, mountainous road.\*

*Wednesday, July 21.*—Orson Pratt's advance company resumed the journey. "We traveled  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles," writes Elder Pratt, "and ascended a mountain for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles; descended upon the west side one mile; came

\*The following incident illustrating the excessive toil endured by the camp hunters in providing food occurred on Canyon Creek: "There was no meat in camp," writes James A. Little in his little work entitled 'From Kirtland to Salt Lake City,' "and Joseph Hancock left it early one morning to make an effort to supply the want. He felt impressed that on the top of a high ridge which loomed up in the distance, in the clear mountain air, he would be successful. Arriving there, for the first time he saw a portion of Salt Lake Valley, and realized his anticipations of the morning by killing a large elk. Making it lighter by leaving the offal he got the carcass on his back and started in the direction of the camp. He traveled well into the night without finding it. Attempting to cross a creek on a beaver dam, he broke through and found himself astride a large log with his extremities in the water below. He was relieved of his burden as it lay on the log at his back. Excessively weary he felt content to rest. Unconsciously his head dropped back on to the elk and he was sleeping as only the weary can sleep. The first sound that greeted his senses was the crowing of a cock. This was assurance that he was not far from friends, and a little reflection showed him that he had been thus detained by a kindly Providence, instead of making fruitless exertions in the darkness to find the object of his toil. As day was breaking he dragged the elk across the dam and again resumed his burden. By this time he was discovered by some of the men who were stirring early in the camp."

upon a swift running creek, where we halted for noon; we called this Last Creek. Brother Erastus Snow (having overtaken our camp from the other camp, which he said was but a few miles in the rear) and myself proceeded in advance of the camp down Last Creek  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles, to where it passes through a canyon and issues into the broad open valley below. To avoid the canyon the wagons last season had passed over an exceedingly steep and dangerous hill. Brother Snow and myself ascended this hill, from the top of which a broad open valley, about twenty miles wide and thirty long, lay stretched out before us, at the north end of which the broad waters of the Great Salt Lake glistened in the sunbeams, containing high mountainous islands from twenty-five to thirty miles in extent. After issuing from the mountains, among which we had been shut up for many days, and beholding in a moment such an extensive scenery open before us, we could not refrain from a shout of joy, which almost involuntarily escaped from our lips the moment this grand and lovely scenery was within our view. We immediately descended very gradually into the lower parts of the valley, and although we had but one horse between us, yet we traversed a circuit of about twelve miles before we left the valley to return to our camp, which we found encamped  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles up the ravine from the valley, and three miles in advance of their noon halt. It was about 9 o'clock in the evening when we got into camp. The main body of the Pioneers who were in the rear were encamped only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles up the creek from us, with the exception of some wagons containing some

who were sick, who were still behind."

The main company broke camp at 6:30 o'clock a. m. and crossed what afterwards was known as the Big Mountain. "From the top of this ridge," writes William Clayton, "we can see an extensive valley to the west, bounded on every side by high mountains, many of the peaks of which are white with snow. We halted on the ridge a little while and then prepared to descend, and in doing so many of the teamsters locked both hind wheels of their wagons. We found the road very steep and rendered dangerous by the many stumps of trees left standing in the road. About a mile and a half from the top is a spring and a stream of very good cold water, where we halted to let the teams drink. After this we found the road was not so steep but still very rough, winding between high hills or mountains, through willows, brush, wood and rocks and also over soft places, crossing the creek a number of times. After traveling  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the top of the ridge we came to a good spring of cold water, plenty of grass and a good place to camp. Our teams have now been in the harness about ten hours without eating, and some of the brethren desired to camp by the spring, but others wished to go further and so we continued, turning suddenly to the right. We soon began to ascend another high ridge (Little Mountain), and while ascending some of the teams commenced to fail, but all succeeded in reaching the top. The descent from this ridge is not so steep as the other one. After descending we came to another small creek and a very rough road. At 7 p. m. we formed our encamp-

ment near the creek, having traveled 14 miles in 13 hours. Orson Pratt's company is camped about half a mile ahead of us. Colonel Markham joined us from the rear camp and reported several new cases of sickness, but most of the brethren were getting better."

President Young's rear company laid over for the day in consequence of the sick.

*Thursday, July 22.*—"This morning," writes Orson Pratt, "George A. Smith and myself, accompanied by seven others, rode into the valley to explore, leaving the camp to follow on and work the road, which here required considerable labor, for we found that the canyon at the entrance of the valley, by cutting out the thick timber and underbrush, connected with some spading and digging, could be made far more preferable than the route over the steep hill mentioned above. We accordingly left a written note to that effect, and passed on. After going down into the valley about five miles, we turned our course to the north, down towards the Salt Lake. For three or four miles north we found the soil of a most excellent quality. Streams from the mountains and springs were very abundant, the water excellent, and generally with gravel bottoms. A great variety of green grass, and very luxuriant, covered the bottoms for miles where the soil was sufficiently damp, but in other places, although the soil was good, yet the grass had nearly dried up for want of moisture. We found the drier places swarming with very large crickets, about the size of a man's thumb. This valley is surrounded with mountains, except on the north; the tops of some of the

highest being covered with snow. Every one or two miles streams were emptying into it from the mountains on the east, many of which were sufficiently large to carry mills and other machinery. As we proceeded towards the Salt Lake the soil began to assume a more sterile appearance, being probably at some seasons of the year overflowed with water. We found as we proceeded on, great numbers of hot springs issuing from near the base of the mountains. These springs were highly impregnated with salt and sulphur; the temperature of some was nearly raised to the boiling point. We traveled for about fifteen miles down after coming into the valley, the latter parts of the distance the soil being unfit for agricultural purposes. We returned and found our wagons encamped in the valley, about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles from where they left the canyon."

The main company broke camp at 8:30 o'clock a. m. and soon came up with Elder Pratt's advance company. There were several bad places in the road, and the brethren spent considerable time in fixing them. Elder Clayton writes:

"It is evident that the emigrants who passed this way last year must have spent a great deal of time cutting a road through the thickly set timber and heavy brushwood. It is reported that they spent 16 days in making a road through from Weber River, a distance of 85 miles. It has taken us over three days to travel that distance as we had to spend many hours in improving the road. After traveling 12 miles we found the road crossing the creek again to the south side and then ascend a very steep hill—so very steep that it was almost impossible for heavy wagons to ascend, and so narrow that the least accident might precipitate a wagon down a bank of three or four hundred feet, in which case it certainly would be dashed to pieces. To avoid this very dangerous place the brethren set to work making a new road down the canyon, along the creek, which took them about four hours, after

which the company resumed their journey and soon emerged into the open valley, traveled  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles further and encamped by a small creek. Days' journey  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles."

President Young's rear company again resumed the journey, traveled a few miles and camped in East Canyon.

*Friday, July 23.*—This morning John Pack and Joseph Matthews were dispatched as messengers to the rear camps to inform President Young and the brethren who were with him about the progress of the advance companies and of their discoveries and explorations. The camp moved about two miles north and encamped on the stream subsequently known as City Creek, in what is now part of the Eighth Ward of Salt Lake City.

Here the camp was called together, and Orson Pratt offered up prayer and thanksgiving in behalf of the Pioneers, all of whom had been so wonderfully preserved on the whole journey from the Missouri River to the Valley, and he dedicated the camp and the land unto which they had come to the Lord, imploring His blessings upon their labors and all that pertained unto them. The meeting was then addressed by Willard Richards and Orson Pratt, after which various committees were appointed to attend to different branches of business, preparatory to putting in crops. About two hours after the arrival on the banks of City Creek, their camp ground, plowing was commenced a short distance northeast of the camp, three plows having been rigged for that purpose. Wm. Carter, Geo. W. Brown and Shadrach Roundy ran the first furrows that were plowed by white men in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. This first plowing was done where

Main Street now is and in front of where Godbe's drug store now stands. The soil was exceedingly dry and several plows were broken during the day. In the afternoon some of the brethren, who had been appointed for that purpose, built a dam across City Creek in order to convey the water from that stream on to the land which was being plowed. After soaking the ground the plowing was comparatively easy. Three plows were kept going most of the day. Towards evening the camp was visited by a thunder shower from the west; not quite enough rain fell to lay the dust. The two messengers who had been dispatched in the morning returned, bringing word that the remainder of the wagons belonging to the Pioneer company were only a few miles distant, and would arrive the next day. At 3 o'clock p. m. the thermometer stood at 96°.

President Young's rear company left their encampment in East Canyon and crossed the Big Mountain. When on its summit the President directed Elder Wilford Woodruff, in whose carriage he was lying sick, to turn it around so that he could have a view from that point of a portion of Salt Lake Valley. The spirit of light rested upon him and hovered over the valley, and he felt that there was the place where the Saints would find protection and safety. From the summit of this mountain they traveled six miles, when they came to a beautiful spring, in a small birch grove where they encamped for the night. Here they met Elders Pack and Matthews from the advance camps, who reported that the brethren ahead had explored the Great Salt Lake Valley as far as

possible, and made choice of a spot to put in crops.

*Saturday, July 24.*—In the forenoon the Pioneers commenced planting potatoes, after which they turned the water from the creek upon them and gave the ground a good soaking.

About noon President Young, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, Lorenzo D. Young and the other brethren who constituted the rear company, arrived at the Pioneer encampment on City Creek. The President and others who had suffered with sickness were improving quite fast, and were now able to walk around. Apostle Wilford Woodruff, in describing his entrance into the Valley that day, writes:

"This is one of the most important days of my life, and in the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. After traveling six miles through a deep ravine ending with the canyon, we came in full view of the valley of the Great Salt Lake; the land of promise, held in reserve by God, as a resting place for his Saints.

"We gazed in wonder and admiration upon the vast valley before us, with the waters of the Great Salt Lake glistening in the sun, mountains towering to the skies, and streams of pure water running through the beautiful valley. It was the grandest scene that we had ever beheld till this moment. Pleasant thoughts ran through our minds at the prospect that, not many years hence, the house of God would be established in the mountains and exalted above the hills; while the valleys would be converted into orchards, vineyards, and fruitful fields, cities erected to the name of the Lord, and the standard of Zion unfurled for the gathering of nations.

"President Young expressed his entire satisfaction at the appearance of the valley as a resting place for the Saints, and felt amply repaid for his journey. While lying upon his bed in my carriage, gazing upon the scene before us, many things of the future concerning the valley were shown to him in a vision.

"After gazing awhile upon this scenery, we moved four miles across the table land into the valley, to the encampment of our brethren who had arrived two days before

us. They had pitched upon the banks of two small streams of pure water and had commenced ploughing. On our arrival they had already broken five acres of land, and had begun planting potatoes in the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

"As soon as our encampment was formed, before taking my dinner, having half a bushel of potatoes, I went to the plowed field and planted them, hoping, with the blessing of God, to save at least the seed for another year.

"The brethren had dammed up one of the creeks and dug a trench, and by night nearly the whole ground, which was found very dry, was irrigated.

"Towards evening, Brothers Kimball, Smith, Benson and myself rode several miles up the creek (City Creek) into the mountains, to look for timber and see the country.

"There was a thunder shower, and it rained over nearly the whole valley; it also rained a little in the fore part of the night. We felt thankful for this, as it was the generally conceived opinion that it did not rain in the valley during the summer season."

*Sunday, July 25.*—The morning was fine and pleasant. At 10 o'clock a. m. the Pioneers met for public worship in the circle of the encampment, and were addressed successively by Apostles George A. Smith, Heber C. Kimball and Ezra T. Benson. The speakers all expressed their feelings of gratification at the prospects before them, and were well satisfied with the country to which they had come. Elder Kimball referred specially to the manifold blessings with which the brethren had been favored during their travels. Not a man, woman or child had died on the journey. In the afternoon the whole congregation partook of the sacrament of the Lord's supper for the first time in the Valley, and the people were addressed by Wilford Woodruff, Orson Pratt and Willard Richards. Remarks were also made by Lorenzo D. Young, John Pack and others. Elder Pratt spoke from the text:

"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings; that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good; that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth! Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing; for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion." (Isaiah 62: 7, 8.)

This text was very appropriate for the occasion, and Elder Pratt in his able discourse, proved that these words of Isaiah were literally fulfilled in the fact that the Saints were now being located in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains.

Though still feeble with that most languishing of diseases, the mountain fever, and scarcely able to stand upon his feet, President Young was still the lawgiver on the first Sabbath in the Valley. If he had not strength to preach a great sermon like that of Apostle Pratt, he could in a few words give some timely advice. "He told the brethren," says President Wilford Woodruff, "that they must not work on Sunday; that they would lose five times as much as they would gain by it. None were to hunt on that day; and there should not any man dwell among us who would not observe these rules. They might go and dwell where they pleased, but should not dwell with us. He also said, that no man who came here should buy any land; that he had none to sell; but every man should have his land measured out to him for city and farming purposes. He might till it as he pleased, but he must be industrious and take care of it."

*Monday, July 26.*—The brethren commenced plowing and planting early. Lorenzo D. Young went further up City Creek to a spot where a scrubby oak tree was standing,

near where the bridge now crosses the creek at the northeast corner of the Temple Block. This spot seemed a more desirable camp ground than the one then occupied. He returned to camp and by permission, moved his wagons on to the ground. President Young, riding with Apostle Woodruff in the latter's carriage, and others, soon after came along, and being also pleased with the location, directed the company to move on to it, which was subsequently done. Near this new camp ground the brethren made choice of a spot for a garden, which they began to till the same day.

About 10 o'clock a. m. President Young, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Ezra T. Benson, Willard Richards, Albert Carrington and William Clayton started from camp on a short exploring expedition. Ascending the mountains northward, they reached (about five miles from camp) the top of a high peak, on the edge of the mountains, which they considered a good place to raise an ensign, so they named it "Ensign Peak," a name by which it is still known. Wilford Woodruff was the first person to ascend this hill. President Young became very tired and weary in climbing it, on account of his recent sickness. The view of the lake and valley from Ensign Peak was very pleasing to the brethren.

From this point the explorers descended to the valley below and then started north, to visit the Hot Sulphur Springs. After spending considerable time in that vicinity they returned to camp about 5 o'clock p. m., quite weary with their day's explorations.

During the day Elders Joseph

Matthews and John Brown crossed the valley to the mountains westward. They returned in the evening and reported that the distance to these mountains was about fifteen miles. They found the land on the west side of the valley to be of a poorer quality than that on the east side. A horse, which they found near the mountains, was brought by them to camp. It had undoubtedly strayed from the emigrants who had passed that way the year previous.

During the day, the brethren who were engaged in farming, planted about three acres more with potatoes and also several acres with corn, peas and beans.

Some of the hunters who had visited in the mountains reported that there was plenty of good timber in all the canyons adjacent to the valley; such as sugar maple, ash, oak, fir and pine.

A number of the brethren bathed in the warm sulphur springs about three miles northwest of the encampment, and some of the sick were greatly benefitted by so doing.

*Tuesday, July 27.*—Early in the morning two of the Utah Indians came into camp to trade. Two ponies were bought of them for a rifle and musket. At 8:30 o'clock Amasa M. Lyman, who, it will be remembered, left the Pioneer camp at Fort Laramie to visit the detachment of the Mormon Battalion at Pueblo, arrived in camp. He was accompanied by Samuel Brannan, Rodney Badger and Roswell Stevens. These brethren reported that the Pueblo company would arrive in a day or two.

The Twelve, accompanied by Samuel Brannan and several others, started about 9 o'clock a. m. on an exploring expedition, taking with



them one carriage, several horses and mules, with some provisions and blankets. Orson Pratt, who was one of the company, writes:

"We directed our course west. Two or three miles brought us to a river called the Utah Outlet; it is about six rods wide and three feet deep at the ford, gravel bottom; its current is not very rapid, and the water not quite so transparent as the mountain streams generally in this valley; its course is north towards the Salt Lake, into which it empties. About thirteen miles further across a level prairie, with here and there the bed of a lake, which is now perfectly hard and dry, we came to the north point of a range of mountains which forms the western boundary of this valley. At the foot of these mountains, at the north point, there is a stream of fresh water; very little brackish. We halted here a short time for the horses to feed. About six miles further west, following the emigrant trail, brought us to the Great Salt Lake, which here made up near the base of the mountains. We all bathed in the salt water, which is fully saturated with salt; its specific gravity is such as to buoy us up in a remarkable manner; the water was very transparent; the bottom is sandy. We continued on about four miles further, when we reached a valley (Tooele Valley), putting up to the southward from the lake. This valley we judged to be about twelve miles in diameter. On the south there was a small opening, which we supposed might be a continuation of the valley, or an opening into a plain beyond. It was nearly dark, and we concluded to return to the place of our noon halt, where we encamped for the night."

The brethren at the main camp continued plowing and planting. Burr Frost, who had put up his forge, was busy (in connection with the carpenters) rigging up plows and other farming implements. A company of brethren who had been to the mountains for the purpose of getting timber, with which to build a skiff, returned in the evening, bringing a very handsome pine log, measuring about twenty inches in

diameter. They went to work immediately preparing a saw pit in which to saw the log and intended to make a skiff as soon as possible.

During the afternoon several other Indians came into camp to trade. Some of them remained with the Pioneers over night.

*Wednesday, July 28.*—The brethren of the exploring party arose refreshed and feeling well after having slept in the open air. Apostle Wilford Woodruff, having lost his carriage whip the night before, started on horseback to go after it. As he approached the spot where it was dropped, he saw about twenty Indians coming toward him. At first they looked to him in the distance like a lot of bears, and as he was unarmed he wheeled his horse around, and started back on a slow trot. The Indians called to him, and one, mounting his horse, came after him with full speed. When he got within twenty rods, Elder Woodruff stopped and met him, telling him by signs that his camp was near by; the Indian then accompanied him to camp, followed in the distance by the other Indians. They were Utes and wanted to trade. The Indian wanted to smoke the pipe of peace with the brethren, who soon started on, leaving the Indian to wait for his companions. The explorers traveled about ten miles south along the eastern base of the Oquirrh Mountains; they found a barren country and no water. Orson Pratt ascended a ridge about three miles south of a point where the company halted for noon.

*(To be continued on page 81.)*

# THE HISTORICAL RECORD.

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"What thou seest, write in a book."—Rev. i, 11.

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## THE PIONEERS OF 1847.

(Continued from page 80.)

From the top of this ridge which Elder Pratt ascended, he could see the Utah Lake. Striking eastward across the valley the explorers returned to the main camp, arriving there tired and weary about 4 o'clock p. m., after having traveled during the day 30 miles. On this trip the brethren saw about one hundred goats, sheep and antelope playing about the hills and valleys.

After returning from this trip the brethren were more satisfied than ever that they were already encamped upon the spot where their contemplated city should be built. Apostle Woodruff writes:

"After our return to the camp, President Young called a council of the quorum of the Twelve. There were present: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, Geo. A. Smith, Amasa M. Lyman and Ezra T. Benson.

"We walked from the north camp to about the centre between the two creeks, when President Young waved his hand and said: 'Here is the forty acres for the Temple. The city can be laid out perfectly square, north and south, east and west.' It was then moved and carried that the Temple Lot contain forty acres on the ground where we stood. It was also moved and carried that the city be laid out into lots of ten rods by twenty each, exclusive of the streets, and into blocks of eight lots, being ten acres in each block, and one and a quarter in each

lot. It was further moved and carried that each street be laid out eight rods wide, and that there be a sidewalk on each side, twenty feet wide, and that each house be built in the centre of the lot twenty feet from the front, that there might be uniformity throughout the city. It was also moved that there be four public squares of ten acres each, to be laid out in various parts of the city for public grounds.

"At 8 o'clock the whole camp came together on the Temple ground and passed the votes unanimously, and, when the business part of the meeting was closed, President Young arose and addressed the assembly upon a variety of subjects. In his remarks he said that he was determined to have all things in order, and righteousness should be practised in the land. We had come here according to the direction and counsel of Brother Joseph, before his death; 'and,' said the President, 'Joseph would still have been alive if the Twelve had been in Nauvoo when he recrossed the river from Montrose.'

"During his remarks President Young observed that he intended to have every hole and corner from the Bay of San Francisco to Hudson Bay known to us."

The Apostles were appointed a committee to lay off the city, etc.

*Thursday July 29.*—President Young, with a number of brethren, mounted their horses and started out to meet the Battalion detachment under the command of Captain James Brown. They met the advance columns of the soldiers about four miles from camp, and proceeding further they met Captains Brown and Hig-

gins, Lieutenant Willis and the main company some distance up in Emigration Canyon. There were 140 of the Battalion and about one hundred of the Mississippi Saints who came with them from Pueblo. They had with them 29 wagons, 1 carriage, 100 horses and mules and 300 head of cattle, which greatly added to the strength of the Pioneer camp, increasing the number of souls there to about four hundred.

Before the companies emerged from the canyon, a water-cloud burst, which sent the water into the creeks from the mountains, with a rush and roar like thunder, resembling the opening of a flood gate. The shower spread over a large portion of the valley.

The Pioneer brethren returned at the head of the companies and marched into camp with martial music. The soldiers appeared in military order, and many of them were mounted. They arrived at the lower camp of the Pioneers about 4 o'clock p. m., and subsequently made their encampment on City Creek, between the upper and lower Pioneer camps. As many of their wagons were broken and their teams failing, they were under the necessity of stopping until further orders, although they had intended to proceed at once to the Bay of San Francisco. The Twelve returned to the upper camp at 5 o'clock p. m. The meeting between the brethren of the Pioneers and the Battalion boys was indeed a joyful one.

*Friday, July 30.*—This morning the Twelve met in council with the officers of the Battalion, and afterwards about thirty brethren visited the Hot Springs. In the evening a general meeting of the camps was

held, and President Young, who spoke, directed his remarks more particularly to the soldiers. He considered that the brethren of the Battalion had been the means of saving the Saints from destruction, and felt very kindly disposed toward them for the sacrifice they had made. This meeting was opened by shouts of hosannahs, and at the close the brethren of the Battalion were requested to build a bowery on the Temple Block on the morrow, in which the people could assemble for worship.

*Saturday, July 31.*—The Battalion brethren constructed a bowery on the Temple Block a little southwest of the upper Pioneer camp. It was about forty feet long by twenty-eight wide—sufficiently large to accommodate all the members of the camp.

President Young and others visited the Battalion camp, where Solomon Tindall, Thomas Richardson and other soldiers lay very sick. During the day about twenty Shoshone Indians visited this camp with several squaws, and were trading with the brethren, when a dispute arose between two of the young warriors, who commenced fighting very fiercely. One broke his gun-stock over the head of the other, and it began to look serious, until an old man, the father of one of the combatants, came up and commenced plying his heavy whip very freely about the heads and faces of both fighters. The antagonist of the son struck the old man, who immediately seized a long pole and broke it over the warrior's head. They were finally separated. The cause of this trouble was afterwards explained to the brethren as follows: When the Sho-

shone Indians arrived in camp in the morning, there were four or five Utes there already. One of these Utes had stolen a horse from one of the Shoshones, who had seen the thief in camp. He had traded the stolen horse for a rifle, and now, when caught at it, was unwilling to give up either the horse or rifle. Hence the quarrel and fight as described above. After the old man had separated the fighters, the thief went down and hid himself in the camp below; but soon afterwards he saw another horse walking by which he knew belonged to the Shoshones. He quickly mounted his own horse and drove the other before him toward the mountains on the southeast as hard as he could. The Shoshones were informed of this new theft, and four of them immediately started in pursuit, and as the thief got in between the mountains they closed on him, and one of the pursuers shot him dead, while another shot and killed his horse. Returning to camp they reported what they had done to others of the tribe who were there, and at the same time exhibited the fresh blood on one of the rifles. They appeared to be much excited and were continually on the watch. Finally, the men who had done the killing sat down and made a meal of some of the large crickets. The Shoshones appeared to be displeased because the brethren had traded with the Utes. The Shoshones claimed that they were the owners of the land and that the Utes had come over the line to interfere with their rights. They signified to the brethren by signs that they wanted to sell them the land for powder and lead.

Colonel Markham reported that there were three lots of land, contain-

ing altogether 58 acres, already plowed. Two thirds of a lot of 35 acres was planted with buck wheat, corn, oats, etc., another lot of eight acres with corn, potatoes, beans, etc, and four acres of a plowed lot of ten acres with garden seeds. About three acres of corn was already up about two inches above ground, and some beans and potatoes also began to show itself. This was the result of eight days' labor, besides making a road to the timber, hauling and sawing timber for a boat, making and repairing plows, etc. Thirteen plows and three harrows or drags had been worked during the week.

*Sunday, August 1.*—The past night was cold and windy. At 10 o'clock a. m. the Saints assembled for meeting under the bowery on the Temple Lot. All the Apostles were present except Brigham Young who was quite sick again. The assembly was addressed by Heber C. Kimball, who inquired whether there was a guard out around the cattle; if not, he advised that one be placed immediately, as the Indians had left camp very suddenly in the morning, without assigning any reasons. He was followed by Orson Pratt, who spoke in substance as follows:

"It is with peculiar feelings I arise before so many of the Saints in this uncultivated region, inhabited by savages. My mind is full of reflection on the scenes through which we have passed, and after being brought through the deserts of sage to this distant land. God's ways are not as our ways. It is not well that the Saints should always foresee the difficulties they have to encounter. We expect the revolutions to take place, which are foretold in the Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants, and we are to congregate among the remnant of Joseph. We did think that our wives and children would be built up among the strongholds of the Gentiles, and that we should be as missionaries to them by dwelling in their midst. But Jehovah had differ-

ent purposes, He designed that the Saints should be brought out almost as an entire people. And the Book of Mormon could not have been fulfilled if the Saints had not left the Gentiles; for when the Gentiles should reject the Gospel, it was to be taken among the Lamanites. As long as the Gospel, the Priesthood and the main body of the Saints remained with them, the fulness of the Gospel was not taken away from the Gentiles; hence our removal hither is one of the greatest events that has ever taken place among this people. I feel thankful as one of the Twelve for the privilege of coming as one of the Pioneers to this glorious valley, where we can build up a city to the Lord. Isaiah says, in speaking of Zion, that it shall be called 'sought out,' a city not forsaken. (Isa. 62: 12.) If ever there was a place sought out it was this. We have inquired diligently and have found it. This can not refer to Jerusalem, but to this very place, point and spot that the Pioneers have found, where a city shall be built unto the Lord, where righteousness will reign and iniquity not abound. Isaiah and Joel both spoke very plainly on this subject: 'It shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the tops of the mountains, etc.' In what part of the earth could it be established better than in this place, where this congregation is now gathered? In the midst of the spurs of the mountains we have found a place large enough to gather thousands of the Saints. You may travel through Europe, Asia, Africa and America, but you can not find a place higher in altitude than this, where any people can raise crops and sustain themselves. The house of the Lord will indeed be established in the tops of the mountains, when we shall have one reared here. The Lord himself must give the pattern of such a building and give directions to His servants concerning its details. I verily believe I shall see such a house reared here and behold thousands flocking to it, to learn the way of salvation; and I desire to live and see thousands of Saints raise their voices in praises to God in this consecrated land. Isaiah says, 'He that walketh righteously \* \* \* shall dwell on high, his place of defence shall be the mountains of rocks; bread shall be given him; his waters shall be sure.' (Isa. 33: 15, 16.) Isaiah was on the Eastern Continent when he spoke this, and was referring to a very distant place.

It will be pretty difficult to get a ship of war up to this place. When we get used to this healthy climate, the people will grow in strength or vigor, and sickness will cease

to trouble them. The wilderness shall become as a fruitful field and a fruitful field as a forest. The time shall come when the great Jehovah will cause springs of water to gush forth from the desert land and cause it to bring forth in abundance, while the curse of God shall rest upon the lands that the Gentiles have defiled. Isaiah speaks of the heritage of Jacob being in a high place. We are here more than four thousand feet above sea level, and the high mountains will still 'catch the hail,' and we be preserved in a 'low place.' We will not feel discouraged, but stand bold and fearless in the strength of our God, who will bless and prosper us in these mountains, if we will but keep His commandments."

Elder Kimball enjoined upon the brethren to comply with the counsels they had received and should receive hereafter. He advised them not to dispose of their guns and ammunition to the Indians, as some had already done, for they would use the weapons thus obtained for shooting the cattle of the settlers. He referred to the fact that some of the visiting Indians had stolen guns the day previous, and told the brethren to be on the watch against a repetition of such things. He discouraged the idea of paying the Indians for the lands, for if the Shoshones should be thus considered, the Utes and other tribes would claim pay also. "The land," said the speaker, "belongs to our father in heaven, and we calculate to plow and plant it; and no man will have power to sell his inheritance, for he can not remove it; it belongs to the Lord. We will all have farms and cultivate them and plant vineyards; and if we are faithful, five years will not pass away before we are better off than we ever were in Nauvoo. I thank the Lord that there are so many of the soldiers here. If they had tarried in Winter Quarters, there would have been many more deaths among them. We brought many of the Pioneers here

to save their lives, for when we started several of them were so sick that they had to be carried out of their beds and put in the wagons. They have since mostly recovered their health, and we have been prospered and all permitted to arrive here alive. None has died on the journey, nor yet an ox, horse, or any other animal, except one of Brother Crow's oxen, which was poisoned, and several horses, which were lost by accident. And those of us who go back shall be prospered also on our return trip, if we are faithful, and we shall see and enjoy the society of our families again."

In the afternoon the congregation again assembled, and the sacrament was administered by the Bishops, after which Apostle Willard Richards read the "Word and Will of the Lord," as given in Winter Quarters. Heber C. Kimball then made some remarks, and the brethren voted by uplifted hands that they would receive and obey the revelation. Amasa M. Lyman then addressed the meeting.

Heber C. Kimball again arose to lay before the brethren some items of business, whereupon it was decided that the three companies should form into one camp and labor unitedly together; that the officers should act as a committee to form the corral or camp, and that this be done on the morrow; that the horses and mules be tied near the camp at night; that the brethren build houses instead of living in wagons during the coming winter, and that they go to work at once to erect dwellings; that the houses be built in such a manner as to form a stockade or fort to keep out the Indians; that the women and children be treated

properly, and the Indians let entirely alone.

Colonel A. P. Rockwood remarked that a log house, 16 by 18 feet, would cost \$40, and one of adobes half as much. Captain Brown was in favor of setting men to work building both log and adobe houses, in order to hasten the work. Captain Lewis, Lieutenant Willis and Samuel Brannan spoke in favor of erecting adobe houses. The latter remarked that he had a man in California, who, with three men, would agree to make adobes for a 30 foot house, build the house and put a family in it in a week. His printing office was put up in 14 days and a paper printed. After some remarks by Willard Richards, it was voted to put up a stockade of adobe houses. Samuel Gould and James Dunn reported themselves as lime burners, and Sylvester H. Earl, Joel J. Terrill, Ralph Douglas and Joseph Hancock as brick makers.

Elder Kimball then remarked that those who intended to send ox teams back to Winter Quarters must be ready to start them off in a week. The assembly was then dismissed.

*Monday, Aug. 2.*—This morning the wagons all moved up and formed in an oblong circle between the two creeks (two branches of City Creek), a little east of where the upper Pioneer camp had been located. It was decided to send Ezra T. Benson, with a company of horsemen, back to meet the next company of immigrating Saints. They started about noon, carrying the following letter of instruction with them:

"PIONEER CAMP, Valley of the  
Great Lake, Aug. 2, 1847.

"To General Charles C. Rich and the Presidents and officers of the emigrating company:

"Dear Brethren.—We have delegated our beloved brother, Ezra T. Benson, and escort to communicate to you by express the cheering intelligence that we have arrived in the most beautiful valley of the Great Salt Lake; that every soul who left Winter Quarters with us is alive, and almost every one enjoying good health. That portion of the Battalion that was at Pueblo are here with us, together with the Mississippi company that accompanied them, and they are generally well. We number about four hundred and fifty souls, and we know of no one but what is pleased with our situation. We have commenced the survey of a city this morning. We feel that the time is fast approaching when these teams that are going to Winter Quarters this fall should be on the way. Every individual here would be glad to tarry if their friends were here, but as many of the Battalion as well as the Pioneers have not their families here, and do not expect that they are in your camp, we wish to learn by express from you the situation of your camp as speedily as possible, that we may be prepared to counsel and act in the whole matter. We want you to send us the name of every individual in your camp, or in other words a copy of your whole camp roll, including the names, number of wagons, horses, mules, oxen, cows, etc., and the health of your camp; your location, prospects, etc. If your teams are worn out, if your camp is sick and not able to take care of themselves, if you are short of teamsters, or if any other circumstance impedes your progress, we want to know it immediately, for we have help for you, and if your teams are in good plight, and will be able to return to Winter Quarters this season, or any portion of them, we want to know it. We also want the mail, which will include all letters and papers and packages belonging to our camp, general and particular. Would circumstances permit, we would gladly meet you some distance from this, but our time is very much occupied, notwithstanding we think you will see us before you see our valley. Let all the brethren and sisters cheer up their hearts and know assuredly that God has heard and answered their prayers and ours, and led us to a goodly land, and our souls are satisfied therewith. Brother Benson can give you many particulars that will be gratifying and cheering to you which I have not time to write, and we feel to bless all the Saints. In behalf of the council.

"BRIGHAM YOUNG, President.

"WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk."

In the morning Orson Pratt and

Elder Sherwood commenced surveying the city, beginning with the Temple Block, but finally concluded to wait until the chain could be tested by a standard pole, which had to be brought from the mountains. Some of the brethren were preparing mounds and commenced making adobes. Towards evening Elder Kimball's teams returned from the mountains with some good house logs and poles for measuring, etc. The whole camp was full of life and activity. The day was very warm.

In surveying the Temple Block, forty acres appeared so large that a council was held to determine whether or not it would be wise to reduce it one half. Not being decided in their views, the Twelve held council again, two days later, when they gave as their natural opinions that they could not do justice to forty acres; hence ten acres was decided upon for the Temple Block.

*Tuesday, Aug 3.*—The brethren were busy making adobes and preparing for building their contemplated stockade. Albert Carrington went into the mountains to look for lime stone.

*Wednesday, Aug. 4.*—William A. King commenced making a new road-ometer, which he finished on the 7th. This new machine could tell the distance traveled for one thousand miles without keeping any account. It was to be used on the return trip to Winter Quarters.

*Thursday, Aug. 5.*—Jesse C. Little and others who had returned from an exploring tour to the Utah Lake, reported that there was a fine country east of that lake and that the land there was well adapted for cultivation. They also reported that they were not sure that the stream

running a few miles west of the Pioneer Camp (the Jordan) was the Utah outlet, as they had followed it to its junction with the lake.

*Friday, Aug. 6.*—The day was very warm. The Pioneers were busy making adobes, hauling and cutting house logs, etc. On this day the Twelve were rebaptized. "This," writes Apostle Woodruff, "we considered a privilege and a duty. As we had come in a glorious valley to locate and build up Zion, we felt like renewing our covenants before the Lord and each other. We soon repaired to the water, and President Young went down into the water and baptized all his brethren of the Twelve present. He then confirmed us, and sealed upon us our Apostleship, and all the keys, powers and blessings belonging to that office. Brother Heber C. Kimball baptized and confirmed President Brigham Young. The following were the names and order of those present: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith and Amasa M. Lyman. Ezra T. Benson had been dispatched several days before to meet the companies on the road.

*Saturday, Aug. 7.*—This morning fifteen of the brethren commenced building a dam in the creek a short distance above the camp, in order to bring the water around and inside the camps. After finishing their work in the afternoon a pleasant little stream of cold water was flowing on each side of the wagons all around the camp. Where the water overflowed the banks of the ditches the ground soon became so soft and miry that cattle would sink a foot or more in mud.

About noon a terrible whirlwind struck the camp and did considerable damage. It whirled a chicken high up in the air, tore some of the tents and wagon covers and shook the wagons violently.

In the afternoon the Twelve walked to the Temple Block to select their inheritances. President Young took a block east of the Temple, and running southeast, to settle his friends around him; Heber C. Kimball a block north of the Temple; Orson Pratt, south and running south; Wilford Woodruff, a block cornering the Temple Block, the southwest corner joining Orson Pratt's; Amasa M. Lyman took a block forty rods below Wilford Woodruff's; George A. Smith one joining the Temple on the west, and running due west. It was supposed that Willard Richards would take his on the east, near President Young's. None others of the Twelve were present in the camp.

During the same evening the Twelve went to the place in City Creek where the brethren had built their dam, and Heber C. Kimball baptized 55 members of the camp, for the remission of their sins; they were confirmed under the hands of President Young, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith and Amasa M. Lyman. President Young being mouth.

*Sunday, Aug. 8.*—Under this date Apostle Woodruff writes:

"The whole camp of Israel renewed their covenants before the Lord by baptism. There were 224 baptized this morning, making 284 rebaptized during the last three days. In the afternoon we partook of the Sacrament. At the close of the meeting 110 men were called for to go into the adobe yard, and 76 volunteered."

*Monday, Aug. 9.*—Samuel Brannan, Captain James Brown and several others started for San Francisco.



Elder Jesse C. Little and others went with them, with the intention of accompanying them to Fort Hall. The Twelve had decided on a name for their location and a caption for all letters and documents issued from the Valley, namely, Salt Lake City, Great Basin, North America.

*Tuesday, Aug. 10.*—This morning President Young and Heber C. Kimball went to the adobe yard to commence building houses in that vicinity. President Young laid the foundation of four houses. Heber C. Kimball four and Colonel Markham, Willard Richards and Lorenzo Young one apiece. This was the commencement of the building of what subsequently was known as the Old Fort, in the Sixth Ward, Salt Lake City. A number of logs had already been hauled on the ground.

Colonel Markham reported that in addition to the plowing done the first week, 30 acres more had been plowed and planted, thus making 83 acres altogether. The plowing ceased the second week, and the brethren were now directing most of their attention to making adobes, hauling logs and preparing to build houses. Henry G. Sherwood and his aids were busily at work surveying the city; Tanner and Frost, the blacksmiths of the camp, were engaged in setting wagon tires for the company preparing to start east, and this day they set 52.

In the evening some of the brethren who went to the lake the day before to boil down salt returned and reported that they had found a bed of beautiful salt ready to load into wagons. It laid between two sandbars and was about six inches thick.

*Wednesday, Aug. 11.*—Early this morning a large company of Utah

Indians came to visit the camp, and it was with difficulty they could be kept outside of the wagons. Some of them had no clothing on except the breech cloth, and they were nearly all small of stature. One of them was detected in stealing some clothing laid out on the brushes to dry. When they found they were not permitted inside the circle, they soon moved off to their own camp, which was located about three miles northwest of the Pioneer camp.

The brethren commenced laying the adobe wall, which was to be 27 inches thick and 9 feet high; the adobes were 18 inches long, 9 inches broad and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. In the camp the brethren finished a skiff, which they had been building for some days past, and launched her in the creek to soak.

About 5 o'clock p. m., a three-year-old child of Brother Therlkill (a grandchild of Brother Crow) was found in the creek south of the camp drowned. Various efforts were made to restore it to life, but they were not successful. The parents mourned bitterly over the accident, which was the first death in the valley. The day was very hot, but as usual a strong cool wind from the northeast commenced blowing at sundown.

*Thursday, Aug. 12.*—Orson Pratt and William Clayton spent the forenoon in taking observation to ascertain the height of the Temple Block. It was found to be 4,309 feet above the level of the sea, and 65 feet above the Utah outlet. The altitude one mile up the creek from the Temple Block was 214 feet above the Temple grounds.

The blacksmiths were busy shoeing oxen, preparing to starting the ox teams back on the following Mon-

day. Some of the soldiers began to get quite anxious about their families and were desirous of starting back as soon as possible.

Willard Richards laid the foundation of another house; George A. Smith commenced two and Wilford Woodruff two houses, making 17 houses so far in course of erection. Most of these were 14 feet wide and from 12 to 17 feet long. These first houses were built on the east line of the stockade or fort, and commencing at the northeast corner, in the following order: Brigham Young 4 rooms, Lorenzo D. Young 2, Heber C. Kimball 5, Willard Richards 2, Wilford Woodruff 2, George A. Smith 2, Amasa M. Lyman 2, and Erastus Snow 1.

Two loads of good salt were brought in from the lake, for the brethren to take with them east.

Brother Crow's grandchild, who was drowned in the creek the day before was buried, this being the first funeral that took place in the valley.

*Friday, Aug. 13.*—The Twelve held a council, at which it was decided that each member of that quorum should make choice of the blocks they were to settle their friends upon. President Young took a tier of blocks running south through the city and Heber C. Kimball selected several blocks on the north and northwest of the Temple Block. Orson Pratt took four blocks, Wilford Woodruff eight, George A. Smith eight, and Amasa M. Lyman twelve blocks, according to the companies organized with each.

*Saturday, Aug. 14.*—As it was the intention to start the ox teams on the return trip the following Monday, all the brethren who were going back with them went on an excursion

to the "Salt Lake." They found the distance 22 miles.

Jesse C. Little, Joseph Matthews, John Brown, Lieutenant Willis and John Buchanan, who had accompanied Captain Brown, Samuel Brannan and others as far as Bear River, on their way to California on the previous Monday, returned to the Pioneer camp. They had been on an exploring expedition as far as Cache Valley, of which they gave a favorable account. Lewis B. Myers and another man also returned from the same country. Some of these brethren had visited a settlement made by a mountaineer (Miles Goodyear) on "Weber's Fork," a short distance east of the lake.

*Sunday, Aug. 15.*—Several of the brethren who had gone to Utah Lake for fish and to explore, returned in the morning, giving good reports of the country in that vicinity.

At 10 o'clock a. m. a meeting was held in the bowery, President Young preached a most interesting discourse on the "law of adoption," the death of Brother Crow's grandchild giving occasion for the same. In the afternoon the congregation was addressed by Heber C. Kimball and Orson Pratt. In the evening those of the Pioneers and Battalion who were to start back to Winter Quarters with the ox teams on the morrow met at President Young's tent and received their instructions. They were to travel leisurely to Grand Island, and there wait for the other company (the horse teams), which would start a few days later. Shadrach Roundy and Tunis Rappleyee were voted in as captains of the company.

*Monday, Aug. 16.*—Most of the wagons going to Winter Quarters with ox teams started during the

day, and traveled to the mouth of Emigration Canyon, where they waited until the next morning for the remainder of the company.

*Tuesday, Aug. 17.*—The remainder of the company destined for Winter Quarters started for the mouth of Emigration Canyon, where they joined their companions who had started the day previous. Soon after resuming the journey conjointly, they were overtaken by Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards and others from the Pioneer Camp in the Valley. Brother Kimball gave the departing brethren the necessary instructions and some timely advice, and then returned with his escort to the valley, after which the company traveled to Birch Spring, where they encamped for the night, having traveled  $13\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the camp on City Creek.

The following account of the return trip of this company of Pioneers and Battalion brethren is from the journal of William Clayton, who had special instructions from President Young to measure the road carefully as he traveled back and gather such other information which might be of benefit to the companies that should cross the plains and mountains in years to come. Elder Clayton writes:

"The company consisted of 71 men, with 33 wagons, 14 mules, 16 horses and 92 yoke of oxen.

"After camping (in the evening of Aug. 17th) the brethren were called together by Captain Roundy for the purpose of organizing. The captain briefly stated the manner of organization of the camp when we left Winter Quarters, and it was unanimously voted to organize this camp after the same pattern, which was done as follows:

#### FIRST DIVISION:

Tunis Rappleree, captain,

#### *First Ten (6 wagons):*

Joseph Skeln, captain,  
Artemas Johnson,  
James Cazler, captain of guard of first division,  
George Cummings,  
Thomas Richardson,  
William Burt,  
James Dunn,  
Joseph Shipley,  
Samuel Badlam,  
Roswell Stevens,

#### *Second Ten (5 wagons):*

Zebedee Coltrin, captain,  
Chauncey Loveland,  
Lorenzo Babcock,  
Samuel H. Marble,  
George Scholes,  
William Bird,  
Josiah Curtis,  
John S. Eldredge,  
Horace Thornton,

#### *Third Ten (5 wagons):*

Francis Boggs, captain,  
Sylvester H. Earl,  
Seeley Owen,  
George Wardle.  
Clark Stillman,  
Almon M. Williams,

#### SECOND DIVISION:

Shadrach Roundy, captain.

#### *First Ten (5 wagons):*

E. Jackson Bedding,  
William Carpenter,  
Henry W. Sanderson,  
Bailey Jacobs,  
John Pack,  
Robert Byard,  
Benjamin W. Rolfe,  
Thomas Cloward,  
Lisbon Lamb,  
William Clayton,

#### *Second Ten (5 wagons):*

John H. Tippetts, captain,  
Francis T. Whitney,  
James Stewart,  
Charles A. Burke,  
William C. McLelland,  
Norman Taylor,  
Lyman Stevens,  
Lyman Curtis,  
John S. Gleason, captain of guard of Second Division,  
Myron Tanner,  
Rufus Allen.

"The soldiers were numbered with the second division and their names are as follows:

*Third Ten (4 wagons):*

Allen Compton, captain,  
John Bybee,  
Jeduthan Averett,  
John G. Smith,  
Phillip Garner,  
Barnabas Lake,  
Franklin Allen,  
David Garner,  
Harmon D. Persons,  
Solomon Tindell,  
Charles Hopkins,

*Fourth Ten (3 wagons):*

Andrew J. Shupe, captain,  
Francillo Durfee,  
Erastus Bingham,  
Loren Kinney,  
Benjamin Roberts,  
Jarvis Johnson,  
Albert Clark,  
James Hendrickson,  
John Calvert,  
Daniel Miller,  
Luther W. Glazier,  
Thomas Bingham.

"Those who have horses to ride were then numbered and their duties pointed out, which is to lead the way and fix the road where it needs it, look out camping places, drive the loose cattle and hunt for the camp. Their names are as follows: John Pack, captain, Samuel Badlam, Francillo Durfee, Benjamin Roberts, Thomas Bingham, James Hendrickson, John S. Eldredge, R. Jackson Redding, Seeley Owens, Barnabas Lake, William Bird, Daniel Miller and James Cazier.

"*Wednesday, Aug. 18.*—We had a little rain this morning and the air was very cool. We started on our journey and found the road very rough indeed. When we ascended the mountain from Brown's Creek, most of the teams had to double, as it generally required four yoke of oxen to bring up an empty wagon. The descent was also very rough and especially where the road crosses the dry creek a great many times. Canyon Creek appeared rougher than when we first went up it, and it took till near night to get to the point where we leave it, having traveled only 15½ miles during the day.

"*Thursday, Aug. 19.*—We started about 8 o'clock a. m. Before noon several of the loose cattle gave out through being driven too fast. We arrived and encamped on Red Mountain Creek at 6 o'clock, having traveled 16½ miles. The day has been very hot, but the nights are quite cold.

"*Friday, Aug. 20.*—We traveled 20½ miles and encamped near Cache or Redding's Cave (in Echo Canyon).

"*Saturday, Aug. 21.*—Traveled 16½ miles, crossed Bear River, which we found about 15 inches deep, and encamped on Sulphur Creek. After camping I went with the brethren to fill their tar buckets at the Oil Spring. Following a wagon trail made by a part of Hastings' company last year for about a mile, we found the spring situated in a ravine a little to the left of the road, at the edge of a high bench of land. The ground is black with oil for several rods, but is baked hard by the sun; and it is difficult to get the clear oil, because of the dust and gravel with which most of it is filled. It smells much like British oil and is said to be good for greasing wagons. John S. Gleason has found a coal bed in the edge of the mountain across the creek. The coal looks good and burns well.

"*Sunday, Aug. 22.*—Many of the cattle were missing this morning, but after much search were found about four miles west of camp. We started at 9 o'clock and nooned at the Copperas Spring. Encamped for the night near the Muddy, having traveled during the day 17½ miles.

"*Monday, Aug. 23.*—We started early this morning and arrived at Fort Bridger at 1 o'clock p. m. We found the grass pretty much eaten off and only stopped at the fort 1½ hours, while some of the brethren did a little trading. We then traveled eight miles further and camped on a small stream, having traveled 21½ miles. The day was very cool.

"*Tuesday, Aug. 24.*—Traveled 23 miles and encamped on Ham's Fork.

"*Wednesday, Aug. 25.*—Traveled 23 miles and camped on Green River.

"*Thursday, Aug. 26.*—We started at 8 o'clock a. m., crossed Green River and traveled to the Big Sandy, where we met Ezra T. Benson and escort bringing letters from the emigrating companies of Saints coming west. Elder Benson reports that there are companies between here and the Platte with 566 wagons and about five thousand head of stock. These companies are getting along tolerably fast, and we may expect to meet the advance divisions within three days. After eating with us, the brethren continued their journey towards the Valley. After sundown a large party of mounted Indians came up and camped on the opposite side of the river. They have been on the Sweet-water hunting, and are said to be of the Shoshone tribe.

"*Friday, Aug. 27.*—Many of the brethren traded sugar, powder, lead, etc. to the Indians for robes, skins and meat. We started soon after 7 o'clock and traveled to the cross-

ing of Big Sandy, where we halted about an hour and then continued to the Little Sandy, making 25½ miles to-day, but it was 9 o'clock before some of the wagons arrived. The feed is mostly eaten up on the creek near the road. Bailey Jacobs killed a large antelope, which is a matter of rejoicing, as we are nearly out of breadstuff and have had but little meat for several days. We left the Valley with 8 lbs. of flour, 9 lbs. of meal and a few beans for each man, and we have to depend on getting meat on the road for further sustenance.

"*Saturday, Aug. 28.*—Traveled 23 miles and encamped for the night at the crossing of Pacific Creek. A poor buffalo was killed by some of the brethren.

"*Sunday, Aug. 29.*—It was decided to remain there (on Pacific Creek) to-day to rest the teams, but our ten obtained leave to go on to Sweetwater, expecting to meet the advance company of Saints *en route* for the Valley. After reading the letter of instructions from the Twelve, my wagon proceeded on slowly. At the springs we saw an old Indian squaw near the road dwelling in a shelter composed merely of old sage, and apparently dependent on passing emigrants for subsistence. She is doubtless left there by her tribe to perish on account of age and infirmity. When we arrived near the summit of the dividing ridge or South Pass, two Indians rode towards us and motioned for us to stop. Not seeing the other wagons following us, we stopped and the Indians came up. They told us by signs that a large party of their people were camped over the mountain north and that they wanted to 'swap.' While they were conversing with us, other Indians rode over the ridge and soon after a still larger number arrived. About this time the wagons came in sight, but when the brethren saw so many Indians they were alarmed and hesitated to proceed. John Pack went back to the main company to get some of the brethren to come up, but only one man (Norman Taylor) would go. In the meantime the advance wagons came up to where we were, and we proceeded to trade with the Indians, who proved to be very friendly and insisted that we should go with them to their camp and stay with them over night. The chief was very anxious to 'swap' a good mule for my spyglass, I having allowed him to look through it, but I refused. Continuing our journey we traveled to the first crossing of the Sweetwater, where we arrived and camped at 6 o'clock p. m., having traveled 14 miles.

"*Monday, Aug. 30.*—We had calculated to go on about eleven miles to-day, but be-

ing informed that Orson Spencer's first fifty would soon come up, we concluded to stop here till they arrived. About 8 o'clock p. m. their wagons began to cross the creek. I was glad to find Aaron and Lorin Farr and William Walker in this company, and their families well and in good spirits. From Sister Olive I received some articles sent by my family which were very acceptable indeed and made me feel grateful. This company all appear well and cheerful and have good teams. The balance of our company arrived before dark.

"*Tuesday, Aug. 31.*—Our camp, except the ten that I traveled with, started on, but Brother Spencer concluded to halt here for the day. I spent the day in his camp copying table of distances for Lorin Farr and also gave him a plat of the City (Salt Lake City).

"*Wednesday, Sept. 1.*—We bide farewell to Orson Spencer's company and continued our journey eastward. After traveling about a mile we met Parley P. Pratt going ahead of his company to see Brother Spencer and get some cattle. He says some of the rear companies have lost many head and can scarcely move. A few miles further we met the second fifty of Orson Spencer's hundred. We traveled till near dark when we caught up with our main company at the Cold Spring, where we all camped, our ten having traveled during the day 22½ miles. John G. Smith was appointed captain of the second division in place of Shadrach Roundy, who returns to the Valley.

"*Thursday, Sept. 2.*—We started about 8 o'clock and after traveling two miles we met S. Russell's company of fifty, and about five miles further we met C. C. Rich's fifty and also George B. Wallace's fifty. They all report their companies to be in a healthy and prosperous condition, but have lost many cattle, on account of which they have hard work to get along. We also met Captains Foutz and Horne, on this long drive with their respective companies all well, but they are very short of teams. I conversed some with Edward Hunter and John Taylor. We arrived on Sweetwater at 6 o'clock, but the ox teams did not get in till 8 o'clock, having traveled 24½ miles. The evening was very cold and windy. Shadrach Roundy returned to the Valley this morning, having met his family.

"*Friday, Sept. 3.*—After traveling a few miles, we met Joseph B. Noble's company traveling along in good order; not being so bad off for teams as some of the other companies. A few miles further on we met J. M. Grant, with Willard Snow's fifty, which

is the last company on the road. A child of Brother Grant died last night and his wife is yet very sick—not expected to recover. This company have lost many cattle and are so short of teams that they can only travel about ten miles a day. At this rate they could not get through until some time in October. After meeting this last company we traveled about two miles further and encamped for the night near Bitter Cottonwood Creek, having traveled 15½ miles. Most of our company camped back with Brother Snow's company. John Pack and Lisbon Lamb killed a buffalo to-day.

*"Saturday, Sept. 4.—*To-day we traveled 16 miles over a very sandy road and camped for the night on Ravine Creek.

*"Sunday, Sept. 5.—*There being alkali springs near by we concluded to go on to Independence Rock, where we arrived and camped about 3 o'clock p. m., having traveled 12½ miles. Lisbon Lamb and Brother Cloward killed another buffalo.

*"Monday, Sept. 6.—*This morning the cattle were found down the Sweetwater, about six miles from camp, which made it late before we could get started. In passing the alkali lakes a number of the brethren filled their bags with saleratus. About 3 o'clock p. m. a cold wind began to blow fiercely, and it rained hard for about two hours. Proceeding on, we arrived at the Willow Springs a little before dark, in the midst of a heavy shower of rain. All except our ten and Brother Williams stayed back at Greasewood Creek. We tried in vain to make a fire, and finally went to bed wet and cold, having eaten nothing since morning. Some of the teamsters have only light summer coats with them, and they suffer considerably from cold. We traveled 21½ miles to-day.

*"Tuesday, Sept. 7.—*This morning our cattle were all missing and it still rains and snows very heavily. Brothers Pack and Cloward started early on foot to find the cattle, but after following their tracks about seven miles in the storm, and seeing they had kept on the road toward the Platte River the brethren returned to camp. It rained and snowed heavily until 11 o'clock a. m., when the balance of the company came up. Some of the brethren divided cattle with us and thus we were enabled to move forward. After traveling 18 miles we saw our cattle about four miles to the left of the road at the foot of a mountain. Securing them, we continued the journey to Mineral Spring, 14½ miles from where our ten camped last night.

*"Wednesday, Sept. 8.—*We started at 8

o'clock a. m. and arrived at the upper Platte ferry about noon. Having forded the river and halted about two hours for noon, the main company proceeded about five miles and encamped for the night, while our ten went ahead to a better camping place in a grove of timber, on the banks of the river, where we stopped for the night, having traveled 19 miles.

*"Thursday, Sept. 9.—*This morning Norton Jacob's company joined us and we moved forward. We found the road quite rough, being cut up by the other companies in wet weather. We arrived on Deer Creek about sundown and camped for the night, having traveled 22½ miles. Joseph Hancock killed an elk. The day was fine and very pleasant.

*"Friday, Sept. 10.—*We traveled 17½ miles and camped for the night on the A la Parele. Lewis Barney killed a buffalo. It was decided to have a guard out every night the remainder of the journey, every man to stand in his turn, four each night.

*"Saturday, Sept. 11.—*Three of the brethren arrived from the rear camp and reported that during the night before last the Indians had stolen sixteen or seventeen of their horses, and they were in pursuit of them. We traveled 19½ miles and camped on the La Bonte River.

*"Sunday, Sept. 12.—*Traveled 17½ miles and camped by Heber's Spring on the Horse-shoe Creek. The roadometer broke down to-day in going over the same ground where it broke in coming west. Our breadstuff is now all gone, and we have to live solely on meat the balance of the journey.

*"Monday, Sept. 13.—*We repaired the roadometer this morning and then traveled to Dead Timber Creek, a distance of 15 miles.

*"Tuesday, Sept. 14.—*Traveled 24½ miles and encamped for the night on the Platte River. Before dark Luke Johnson, William, A. Empey and Appleton Harmon came up from Laramie. They reported that a party of Sioux warriors have got the brethren's horses, 17 in number, on the Rawhide Creek, about eighteen miles north, and that about fifty well armed men might perhaps succeed in getting them, but not any less. The Sioux are at war with the Crows and Pawnees, and report says that there is a large party of Pawnees a short distance down the river.

*"Wednesday, Sept. 15.—*We forded the Platte River, traveled 21½ miles over a sandy road and camped for the night. The ox teams have kept nearly up with us, the brethren seeming determined to travel as

fast as we do with our mules and horses. In order to save the oxen we therefore concluded not to travel ahead as much as we had done hitherto.

*"Thursday, Sept. 16.*—Traveled 19½ miles

*"Friday, Sept. 17.*—This morning Thos. Brown, Ezra Beckstead, Maddison Welsh, Benjamin Roberts, David M. Perkins and William Bird started to go through to Winter Quarters in consequence of having no bread. We traveled 19½ miles and camped again on the Platte.

*"Saturday, Sept. 18.*—Last night John Pack's grey horse was stolen from his wagon. Two Frenchmen came up and said they were camped on the opposite side of the river some distance below, being on a trading excursion among the Indians. We traveled 4½ miles and camped on the bank of the river opposite the Indian Camp, in order to give some of the brethren an opportunity of trading with the Indians. A number of buffalo robes were bought. Norton Jacob purchased five robes for seven common calico shirts.

*"Sunday, Sept. 19.*—We traveled down the river 10½ miles and camped a short distance below Chimney Rock. Lewis Barney killed a buffalo.

*"Monday, Sept. 20.*—Traveled 7½ miles.

*"Tuesday, Sept. 21.*—We have concluded to wait here until the balance of the company comes up. In the afternoon some of us crossed the river and had a good feast on buffalo ribs with the Frenchmen. The victuals were cooked by a squaw, but looked much cleaner than that cooked by our men. In the evening we were visited by a cold rain storm.

*"Wednesday, Sept. 22.*—We remained in camp waiting for the other wagons. We begin to think that something is the matter with them.

*"Thursday, Sept. 23.*—To-day Jackson Redding and Brother Sanderson went back to see if they could find the other wagons. They returned at night and said the company was only a few miles back; the brethren had been detained at Laramie in their endeavor to recover the horses which the Indians had stolen. They got most of them. They also reported that news had reached the fort by a Sioux Indian that the Twelve and the company with them had all their horses stolen at the Pacific Springs during a snow storm by the Sioux, who supposed the animals belonged to the Shoshones. The Indian who brought the news had stolen 17 of the horses, but he lost 8 in the mountains; the remainder he brought to Laramie, where the brethren, knowing the animals,

demanding them. He gave up as many as the brethren could prove ownership to, and four of the brethren started with them to meet the Twelve. The Indians said that nine of them did the stealing.

*"Friday, Sept. 24.*—We resumed our journey, traveled 18½ miles and camped. Joseph Hancock killed a buffalo and John Norton an antelope. This will replenish our meat supply, which was getting short.

*"Saturday, Sept. 25.*—Traveled 20½ miles to Crab Creek and encamped. The brethren killed several buffaloes, and it was decided to lay over at this place to-morrow in order to get a sufficient supply of meat to last us through the remainder of the journey. Buffalo here are very plentiful.

*"Sunday, Sept. 26.*—The brethren of the second division killed a number of buffaloes, but some misunderstanding arose in regard to dividing the meat with the other division.

*"Monday, Sept. 27.*—Those of the first division who had no meat moved on about three miles and encamped, while the second division remained in the former camp drying their meat. Lisbon Lamb, Lewis Barney and John Norton volunteered to go and kill what buffaloes they can for those who have no meat. During the day the brethren killed five cows and one bull, which was considered sufficient to last the first division home.

*"Tuesday, Sept. 28.*—We waited till after 9 o'clock a. m. for the second division to come up, but as they were not in sight, we moved onward, traveled 17½ miles and camped on Sand Hill Creek, about a mile from the river. We have seen more buffalo to-day than I have seen in any one day before. I should estimate them no less than 20,000, and we had some trouble making our way through them safely.

*"Wednesday, Sept. 29.*—We traveled 20½ miles over a rough road and camped near the river in high grass. After camping John Norton killed two buffaloes with one shot; Lewis Barney also killed a young buffalo cow.

*"Thursday, Sept. 30.*—We traveled 16½ miles and camped near Rattlesnake Creek. It appears that some of the brethren left their fires burning this morning, through which the prairie has caught fire and is still burning furiously.

*"Friday, Oct. 1.*—We traveled 20 miles and camped on Bluff Creek.

*"Saturday, Oct. 2.*—Traveled 18½ miles. Two of the oxen gave out to-day and had to be left on the road. Three buffaloes were killed.

*"Sunday, Oct. 3.*—Traveled 4½ miles and

encamped opposite some islands where there is plenty of grass.

"*Monday, Oct. 4.*—Traveled 20½ miles and found that the last company of our people who had passed here had made a new road near the bluffs to avoid a very bad slough.

"*Tuesday, Oct. 5.*—Traveled 19 miles. More buffaloes were killed.

"*Wednesday, Oct. 6.*—Most of the company concluded to lay over a day, although there was but little feed at this place. Others, among whom myself, concluded to go on. We traveled 17½ miles and then turned off the road to camp.

"*Thursday, Oct. 7.*—Traveled 19½ miles.

"*Friday, Oct. 8.*—Just as we started this morning a dozen or more Indians were seen running over the river towards us. They soon reached the wagons, which were considerably scattered, and although they shook hands, their deportment indicated that they were bent on mischief. Four of the oxen, which were not yet yoked up, were driven off from the wagons, which now began to draw together. Without further ceremony the Indians took Jackson Redding's horse from behind a wagon and marched off with it, notwithstanding Brother Lamb's determined resistance. They also stole Redding's knife out of its sheath and another one from John Peacock. They also attempted to get 'Jack' off the horse he was riding, but he managed to keep his seat. They tried Brother Skein's horse, but he kicked one of them over. Next, they tried to get the men out of their wagons so that they might get in and plunder, but every man kept to his post, until finally it was concluded to go back to the other company. We accordingly started, and the Indians turned back toward the timber with the horse, four oxen, two knives and a sack of salt. After traveling back about four miles we met the other company, and in line with them. The whole company was then formed into two lines, all the arms loaded and every man who could raise a gun was ordered to walk beside the wagons, while the horsemen would go ahead. In this manner we proceeded on our journey, and when we arrived at the point where we had been robbed, the horsemen went down towards the river and found the four oxen where we left them, and brought them up. We traveled till dark and camped near the river, having advanced 5½ miles from the point where our advance company had camped the night before. A strong guard was kept up around the cattle and camp during the night. Considerable ill feeling existed in camp, on account of the insults offered by certain members of the

camp to those brethren who had gone ahead and were compelled to return.

"*Saturday, Oct. 9.*—We traveled 17½ miles through dog towns, and were also accompanied a short distance by a United States soldier, who reported that there were about ninety soldiers on the island (Grand Island) engaged in surveying and looking for a suitable place to build a fort. We encamped for the night near some lowlands where there was plenty of grass and water, and willows for fuel. A number of soldiers, who visited camp in the evening, said that the Pawnees were perfectly enraged and that their worst band, numbering about five hundred, were on the north side of the river about forty miles further east.

"*Sunday, Oct. 10.*—In the morning the captains called the camp together to decide by vote whether we should wait here a few days for the Twelve or continue on to Winter Quarters. Thirty men voted to go on, 17 voted to stay and the remainder did not vote. The majority having voted to go on we started and traveled 16 miles.

"*Monday, Oct. 11.*—The day was stormy and cold. We traveled 21½ miles and encamped in the high grass close to timber.

"*Tuesday, Oct. 12.*—This morning the weather was severely cold, with strong wind. Some of the cattle were missing, which detained the camp till 11 o'clock. We then started and traveled 15½ miles to Prairie Creek.

"*Wednesday, Oct. 13.*—Traveled 21½ miles and camped for the night on the Loupe Fork.

"*Thursday, Oct. 14.*—Much time was lost this morning in hunting for a place to cross the Loupe Fork. It was finally concluded to cross a mile higher up and we proceeded thither. While going up we saw a company of horsemen and two wagons on the other side of the river, in whom we recognized some of our brethren from Winter Quarters. All our wagons got safely over, and we camped on the hill, having traveled two miles. Our brethren whom we met here is a part of the old Nauvoo police (Hosea Stout in charge), going to meet the next company. We were gladdened with the news they brought us from Winter Quarters.

"*Friday, Oct. 15.*—Our brethren from Winter Quarters continued the journey going to meet the next company. We started late, traveled 12½ miles and camped on the banks of the Loupe Fork.

"*Saturday, Oct. 16.*—We made an early start and by noon arrived at the mission station, where we found the Pawnees busy



gathering corn; there were probably a thousand men, women and children. A number of them soon came to our wagons, and the chiefs made inquiries by sign about the Sioux. Some of the brethren gave them to understand that the Sioux were within five days' journey of them. The chief immediately gave the word to the rest and in half an hour the squaws had loaded their corn on ponies and mules, and began to march towards the river. They show great fear of the Sioux, and were very anxious to have us camp with them over night, but we kept moving on and traveled to Bear River, where we encamped, with the intention of remaining over night, having traveled during the day 17½ miles. But in consequence of the Indians following us, we concluded to move on, for we had no confidence in the savages, although they had shown themselves friendly so far. Consequently we traveled 6¼ miles further and camped for the night. Day's journey 23½ miles.

"Sunday, Oct. 17.—Traveled 16½ miles.

"Monday, Oct. 18.—Traveled 18½ miles to Shell Creek.

"Tuesday, Oct. 19.—Traveled 23½ miles.

"Wednesday, Oct. 20.—We started early and found the prairies all burned off to the Elkhorn, where we arrived about noon, and soon after commenced crossing where Hosea Stout and company had crossed a few days before. The water was about three feet deep. The wagons, having all got over without accident, except the breaking of a wagon tongue, we continued our journey to Papea Creek, where we encamped for the night.

"Thursday, Oct. 21.—This morning Brothers Wm. Empey, Lisbon Lamb and myself started early, accompanied by six horsemen and arrived in Winter Quarters a little before noon. I found my family all well except Moroni, who is very sick; his mother is also sick. There has been much sickness here and many deaths during the fall, and many are now suffering for lack of the comforts of life. We have been prospered on our journey home and have made the trip in nine weeks and three days, including a week's delay waiting for the Twelve and killing buffaloes. Our health has been remarkably good, but we have lacked provisions, many of us subsisting for weeks on dry buffalo meat alone. I have succeeded in measuring the whole distance from the city of the Great Salt Lake to this place,

except a few miles between Horse Creek and the La Bonte, which was taken from the measurement going up. I find the whole distance to be 1,082 miles and am now prepared to make a complete traveling guide from here to the Salt Lake."

Having followed this advance company of Pioneers and soldiers on their return trip to Winter Quarters, we will now resume the narrative of the main Pioneer Camp in the Great Salt Lake Valley, where we left the brethren busily engaged in building houses and making preparations for the coming winter.

*Wednesday, Aug. 18, 1847.*—President Young and Heber C. Kimball superintended the work at the "adobe yard," where the erection of the stockade was going on.

*Thursday, Aug. 19.*—Howard Egan and Hosea Cushing were engaged during the day in hauling gravel with which to cover the houses; the remainder of the brethren were at work finishing them off. A party of mountaineers, consisting of four white men and two squaws arrived in the valley in the afternoon from Fort Bridger. Their ostensible reason in coming was "to see how the Pioneers were getting along," as they expressed themselves, but the real object of their visit was undoubtedly to trade with the Indians. They encamped about a mile below the Pioneer camp on the bottom.

(Continued on page 97.)

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"What thou seest, write in a book."—Rev. i, 11.

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VOL. IX.

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## THE PIONEERS OF 1847.

(Continued from page 96.)

*Friday, Aug. 20.*—Most of the brethren were busily engaged finishing the houses of the stockade. The laying out of the city was completed; this first survey consisted of 135 blocks, each containing 10 acres. The blocks were subdivided into eight lots of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  acres each. The streets were made eight rods wide. There were three public squares, including the adobe yard (now the Sixth Ward Square), and the Temple Block also contained 10 acres. Henry G. Sherwood returned from an exploring expedition to Cache Valley, accompanied by a man by the name of Wells who had lived for a number of years among the Spaniards in New Mexico. Albert Carrington, John Brown and others started in the evening on an exploring expedition to the "Twin Peaks." (See Book 1, p. 337.)

*Saturday, Aug. 21.*—President Young, Heber C. Kimball and others moved their wagons and effects from the camp on City Creek to the stockade, where work on the houses was being pushed vigorously ahead.

*Sunday, Aug. 22.*—The day was warm and pleasant. At 10 o'clock a. m. a meeting was held at the bow-

ery, and the congregation addressed by Amasa M. Lyman upon the subject of the present situation of the camp, after which President Young made a few remarks. He explained the necessity of holding a conference, in order to transact some business of importance to the Church previous to the Pioneers leaving for Winter Quarters. Such a conference was appointed for the afternoon. In the interim a council of the Twelve was held under a tree in Heber C. Kimball's lot. Following are the

*"Minutes of a Special Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints held in the Bowery, on the Temple Block, in Great Salt Lake City, Aug. 22, 1847, commencing at 2 o'clock p. m.:*

*"There were present of the Twelve: Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, Amasa M. Lyman, Willard Richards and Orson Pratt.*

*"President Young presided.*

*"The choir sang: 'The spirit of God like a fire is burning.' Prayer was offered by Wilford Woodruff, after which the choir sang: 'From all that dwell below the skies.'*

*"Heber C. Kimball explained the nature of some of the business which would be presented to the conference and requested the brethren to be free and outspoken, so that everything that should be done might prove beneficial to those who were here and those who should soon arrive. It was necessary to have a Presidency to preside over this place and to appoint such other officers as the present situation of the people require."*

It was also proper for the conference to decide whether the brethren would continue their united labors on the erection of the stockade, or whether they would scatter and let every man work for himself; also if the lands in the immediate vicinity of the City should first be cultivated, in preference to such as was situated several miles away. Should one man build his house, another fence his lot, another go hunting? etc., or would the people work in unison? These were important matters to be considered by the conference.

"Henry G. Sherwood said it was agreeable to his feelings to cultivate the City plat and fence it with an adobe fence, which, if it was built high enough, would serve as a protection against the Indians and keep the cattle out.

"Nelson Higgins explained that the Indians claim all the land as their own and were in the habit of taking a share of the grain for the use of the land.

"President Brigham Young moved that the brethren fence in the City and such portions of the adjacent lands as they may deem proper, and cultivate the same. This was seconded by Dimick B. Huntington, after which Heber C. Kimball said: 'Some of us have talked considerable about which would be the most prudent and economical way of farming and fencing, and have come to the conclusion that it is best to fence in that portion of our lands which is tillable and most convenient for common use. By this means we can raise thousands of bushels of grain next season for ourselves and also some to sustain those who shall come after us. I would rather fence a block of ten acres, and have the crop, than plant a hundred acres for the cattle to destroy. Will you put your 'might' together for that which is best for everybody? (Cries of 'yes.') I say, put your forces together, and fence the City and sow our wheat safely.' The motion was carried unanimously.

"President Young then said: 'I move that a President be appointed to preside over this place. (Seconded and unanimously carried.) I move that there be a High Council (Seconded and carried.) I move that all other necessary officers be appointed for this place. (Seconded and carried.) I move that we call this place 'The Great Salt Lake City, of the Great Basin of North America.' (Seconded and carried.) I move that we call the post office 'The Great Basin Post Office.' (Seconded and carried.)

"Heber C. Kimball said: 'I move that we call the river running west of this place 'The Western Jordan.' (Carried.)

"President Young remarked: 'It is the right of the Twelve to nominate the officers and the people to decide by their vote whether they will accept them or not. We desire to know who are coming in the next company. If Uncle John Smith comes, it is our minds that he presides. Colonel Rockwood is my principal man and attends to all my business.'

"Heber C. Kimball said: 'I move that Colonel Rockwood be honorably released from his duties as overseer of the stockade, and that Tarlton Lewis be appointed to that position.' (Seconded and carried.)

"President Young explained: 'There will be thousands of such instances where men will be discharged. It is the duty of all clerks to record the business that is transacted and not to ask questions. The brethren are not requested to labor for nothing, but they should not be so selfish as to be afraid of doing a day's work without getting pay for it. I can prophesy in the name of Jesus that a man harboring such a spirit will be damned. I wish that this people may grow and increase and become a great nation, but you do not know what dangers surround you at present. It is necessary that the adobe yard (the stockade or Old Fort) should be secured so that Indians cannot get in. To accommodate those few who shall remain here after we (the Pioneers) return, it would only be necessary to build one side of the fort, but common sense teaches us to build it all around. By and by men of means will be coming on, and they will want rooms, and the men who build them will then be entitled to their pay. Make your walls 44 feet high, so that they can keep the cattle out. Build your houses so that you will have plenty of fresh air in them, or some of you will get sick, after being used to sleeping in your wagons so long. We propose to fence in a tract of land thirty rods square so that in case of necessity the cattle can be brought inside and the hay also be stacked there. In the spring this fence can be removed and a trench be plowed about twenty feet from the houses to enable the women to raise garden vegetables. I want to engage 50,000 bushels of wheat and the same amount of corn and other grain in proportion. I will pay you \$1.25 per bushel for wheat and 50 cents for corn. Why can not I bring glass for you and you raise corn for me? Raise all the grain you can and with this you can purchase sheep, cows, teams, etc., of those who come here later on. We desire you to live in that stockade until we come back again and raise grain next year.'

"Heber C. Kimball remarked: 'There are some creeks that have no names.'

'President Young said: 'I move that this creek that we are encamped on be called City Creek. (Seconded and carried.) I move that the large creek running a few miles south of here be called Mill Creek, that the little creek a little south of the camp be called Red Butte Creek, that the next creek south be called Canyon Creek (afterwards named Emigration Creek) and the next Big Canyon Creek (now Canyon Creek or Parley's Creek.)' All these motions were seconded and carried unanimously. President Young continued: 'I now desire to know if the people are satisfied with the labors of the Twelve?'

"Tarlton Lewis arose and said: 'I move that we give the Twelve our approbation and signify by our vote that we are satisfied with their labors and give them our blessing.' (Seconded and carried.)

"Lorenzo Young reminded those of the brethren who did not pray that now was a good time to begin to fulfil their covenants in this regard. When we covenant to do a thing we should always be faithful in doing it.

"President Young said: 'I desire to know who are going back to Winter Quarters. You who are going to stay, will you finish that adobe yard? If so, rise to your feet. (A number arose.) I should have no hesitancy in taking five men and build one mile of adobe wall, eight feet high, this fall.'

"Heber C. Kimball said: 'My feelings are for the welfare and well being of the whole people. I am your brother and you are my brethren, all having descended from the same common parentage. I want to cultivate a feeling of union and peace toward my brethren. I promise you that, if you are faithful, the Holy Spirit will rest upon you, and we shall see the day when the heavens will be opened, and we will render up our stewardship to our heavenly father. A man don't know how to appreciate a thing until it is taken away from him. A man don't appreciate his wife until she is away, nor does a wife appreciate a husband until he is gone. Let us discourage a spirit of alienation and be united. I wish to God we did not have to return, and I would give a great deal to have my family here now. This is a Paradise to me, and one of the loveliest places I ever beheld. I hope none of us will be left alive to pollute this land. I would rather die than act as inconsistent as many have in times past.'

"President Young said: 'I move that Brother William McIntyre be appointed

clerk and keep an account of the public labors performed here. (Seconded and carried.) I would tell those who are preparing to return with us to Winter Quarters to get ready as fast as possible, as we would like to start out on Tuesday evening next. I move that Edson Whipple receive an appointment to attend to the distribution of water over the plowed lands. (Seconded and carried.) I move that we adjourn this conference until Oct. 6, 1848, to commence at 10 o'clock a. m. at this place.' (Seconded and carried.)

"Orson Pratt closed the conference by benediction."

In the evening the Twelve held another council in front of the buildings. Elders Carrington, Brown and others returned from their expedition to the Twin Peaks.

*Monday, Aug. 23.*—Some of the brethren went to the canyon after poles with which to cover the houses, and the remainder worked on the buildings, some of which were already taken possession of by the families in camp. Thomas Williams and others returned from Fort Hall, Brother Williams brought a letter from Capt. James Brown, dated Aug. 16th and written to Heber C. Kimball, in which the captain said that he expected to start from Fort Hall for California on the 17th.

*Tuesday, Aug. 24.*—Work was continued on the houses. A heavy thunder shower visited the camp about noon. In the afternoon several of the brethren started on an excursion to the lake.

*Wednesday, Aug 25.*—The day was spent by the brethren as usual working on the houses, and making preparations for the departure of the company which was to return. It was the intention to start the next morning. By this time 27 houses had been built in the fort.

*Thursday, Aug. 26.*—The Twelve and others started on their return to

**Winter Quarters.** The following daily account of their journey is taken from the private journals of Heber C. Kimball and Wilford Woodruff:

"The weather was beautiful. As fast as the teams got ready this morning they started out one by one—the first about 9 o'clock. President Young and myself did not start until most of the teams had left the valley, in consequence of being obliged to make some business arrangements before we could leave. About noon we started on horseback, and after ascending and descending the first long hill. I arrived with my wagons in a small valley on Big Canyon Creek about sundown, where we encamped, having come 14 miles. Near our camping place is a beautiful spring of water. We were considerably annoyed by the dust on our route during the day.

"*Friday, Aug. 27.*—We arose early and resumed our journey, and after ascending the second long, steep hill over a rough road, we at length attained the summit, after traveling 44 miles. We then proceeded down hill about four miles, and encamped for the night on East Canyon Creek, after traveling during the day 15 miles.

"*Saturday, Aug. 28.*—Traveled in the forenoon 12 miles and forded Weber's Fork. In the afternoon we went four miles up the stream, and then turned abruptly to the left up another pass (Echo Canyon). Going four miles up this pass, we encamped for the night near the creek a little after dark.

"*Sunday, Aug. 29.*—We resumed our journey at 7:35 o'clock a. m., and after traveling 12 miles we came to Redding's Cave, where we halted for noon. Soon after stopping, Ezra T. Benson rode up, to the great delight of the brethren, who gathered around him in a group, and he then proceeded in a hurried manner to tell us the news. He had traveled to within forty miles of Fort John before meeting our emigration, which consisted of 566 wagons. He also brought a list containing most of the names of the Saints in the companies—between thirteen and fifteen hundred souls—travelling in nine companies. In company with Orrin P. Rockwell he had left the foremost company on Sweetwater, where they had lost a great many cattle through sickness, besides quite a number of horses and cattle which had strayed away and had been taken by the Crow Indians. Brother Benson was also the bearer of numerous newspapers and letters from the brethren in the different com-

panies. About 4 o'clock p. m. we resumed our journey, and after proceeding a short distance we met Orrin P. Rockwell on horseback. After travelling eight miles in the afternoon we encamped in the valley, near a small creek.

"*Monday, Aug. 30.*—We had a severe frost last night, and the morning was cloudy, gloomy and cold. Continuing our journey at 7:40 o'clock a. m., we traveled six miles to Bear River, where we halted for noon. Some of the brethren went from here on horseback to the Mineral Tar Spring (about two miles distant) after tar. In the afternoon we traveled eight miles. The following are the names of those going back in the present company:

Brigham Young,	1st wagon,
John Y. Greene,	do.
Truman O. Angell,	do.
Joseph S. Schofield,	do.
Albert P. Rockwood,	do.
Stephen H. Goddard,	do.
Millen Atwood,	2nd wagon,
Thomas Tanner,	do.
Addison Everett,	do.
Sidney A. Hanks,	3rd wagon,
George Clark,	do.
J. G. Luce,	do.
John G. Holman,	4th wagon,
George R. Grant,	do.
David S. Laughlin,	do.
William Dykes,	5th wagon,
Jacob Weller,	do.
David Grant,	do.
Thomas Woolsey,	6th wagon,
Haywood Thomas,	do.
Samuel W. Fox,	do.
Willard Richards,	7th wagon,
Thomas Bullock,	do.
Benjamin Richmond,	do.
Harvey Pierce,	do.
Ezra T. Benson,	8th wagon,
Matthew Ivory,	do.
David Powell,	do.
Erastus Snow,	9th wagon,
William McIntyre,	do.
George Brown,	do.
Orrin P. Rockwell,	10th wagon,
Charles Shumway,	11th wagon,
Andrew P. Shumway,	do.
Burr Frost,	12th wagon,
William Carter,	do.
William Wardsworth,	13th wagon,
Datus Ensign,	do.
John Dixon,	14th wagon,
Simeon Howd,	do.
Seth Taft,	15th wagon,
John P. Wriston,	do.
Stephen Kelsey,	do.
Charles D. Barnum,	do.

Wilford Woodruff,	16th wagon,
Dexter Stillman,	do.
William C. A. Smoot,	do.
James W. Steward,	17th wagon,
Robert T. Thomas,	do.
Jabez Nowlin,	do.
James Case,	18th wagon,
James C. Earl,	do.
Judson Persons,	do.
Orson Pratt,	19th wagon,
Joseph Egbert,	do.
Marcus B. Thorpe,	20th wagon,
George Wilson,	21st wagon,
Jesse Johnson,	do.
John Brimhall,	do.
A. L. Huntley,	do.
Rodney Badger,	do.
William W. Rust,	do.
Joseph Matthews,	22nd wagon,
Joseph G. Camp,	do.
William Park,	do.
Green Flake,	23rd wagon,
Benjamin F. Stewart,	do.
John Crow,	do.
Peter J. Meeseck,	24th wagon,
C. Rowe,	do.
William Rowe,	do.
Barnabas L. Adams,	25th wagon,
Alex. P. Chessley,	do.
Thomas C. Chessley,	do.
John C. Gould,	do.
Samuel Gould,	do.
Amasa M. Lyman,	26th wagon,
Albert Carrington,	do.
John Brown,	27th wagon,
George A. Smith,	do.
Joel J. Terrill,	do.
Solomon Chamberlain,	28th wagon,
William Terrill,	do.
Nathaniel Fairbanks,	29th wagon,
Charles A. Harper,	do.
Perry Fitzgerald,	30th wagon,
Isaac N. Wriston,	do.
Ozro Eastman,	31st wagon,
Horace Monroe Frink,	do.
Levi N. Kendall,	do.
Stephen Markham,	32nd wagon,
George Mills,	do.
Conrad Klineman,	do.
Horace K. Whitney,	33rd wagon,
Orson K. Whitney,	do.
George P. Billings,	34th wagon,
Ralph Douglas,	do.
Elijah E. Holden,	do.
William Gifford,	do.
Albert Sharp,	do.
Abel W. Sargent,	do.
Andrew S. Gibbons,	35th wagon,
Thurston Larson,	do.
Heber C. Kimball,	36th wagon,
Howard Egan,	do.

Hosea Cushing,	36th wagon.
William A. King,	do.
Carlos Murray,	do.

"The whole camp consisted of 108 men, 36 wagons, 71 horses and 49 mules.

"In the evening President Young called the brethren together for organization, when the following officers were elected: Stephen Markham, captain of hundred; Barnabas L. Adams and Joseph Matthews, captains of fifties; Brigham Young, John Brown, Howard Egan, George Clark, Geo. Willson, Erastus Snow, Thomas Tanner and Charles A. Harper, captains of tens. President Young selected his ten, which includes six of the Twelve and Albert P. Rockwood, Stephen H. Goddard and Joseph Schofield. Thomas Bullock was appointed to act as clerk of the camp.

"*Tuesday, Aug. 31.*—We resumed our journey at 7 o'clock a. m., and after traveling ten miles we crossed Muddy Fork. After ascending and descending a long, steep hill, we halted to bait, having come 17 miles. Continuing the journey in the afternoon we soon arrived at Fort Bridger, where the wagons halted a few minutes. We found the numerous small rushing streams, which we noticed on our westbound trip, all dried up now, except the main stream. There were a number of Indians here who had their lodges pitched near the fort. We proceeded about a mile beyond the fort and encamped for the night, having traveled 28 miles during the day.

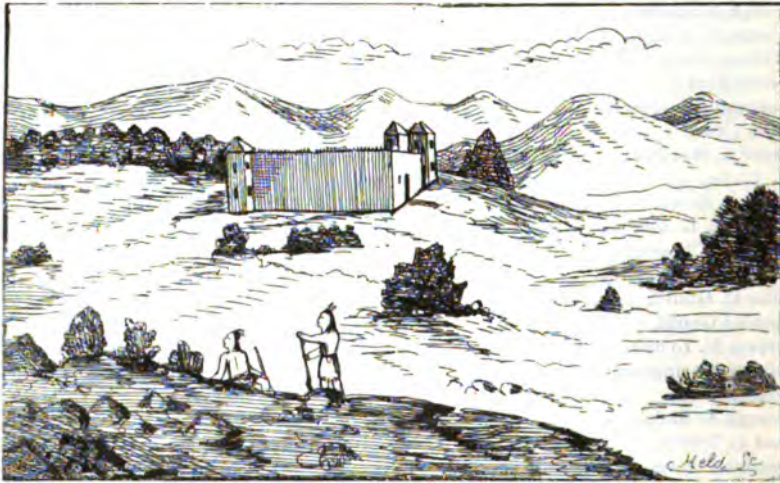
"*Wednesday, Sept. 1.*—This morning the several companies of tens were organized under their respective captains. A government ox which had been left at Fort Bridger when the soldiers passed along, was killed this morning and the meat distributed among the brethren. The horses having strayed away during the night the morning was somewhat advanced before they were recovered. We traveled 32½ miles (crossing Black's Fork several times on our route) and encamped for the night in a circle on Ham's Fork. By order of President Young the horses were all staked out. The night was quite cold, as the nights usually are, although the days are warm and pleasant.

"*Thursday, Sept. 2.*—This morning three mountaineers with pack horses arrived at the camp en route from Fort Bridger to Fort John. We traveled 22½ miles to-day and encamped on Green River four miles below the ferry.

"*Friday, Sept. 3.*—After traveling two miles we forded Green River, which we found quite low. Continuing our journey 25 miles further, we forded Big Sandy, and

encamped on its banks a little after dark. At this place we found Daniel Spencer's company encamped, consisting of about eighty wagons. They reported that Parley P. Pratt's company was encamped on Little Sandy, 64 miles from here, and that the other companies were scattered at different intervals along the road. In the evening Elder Spencer's company was called together and successively addressed by President Young, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith, who gave the Saints a general description of the 'Valley of the Salt Lake,' the extent of our labors there, etc. We also counseled them to go as far as Green River and then send some of their number back to assist the other companies to come up, as some of them were quite

and had a very interesting time. Two of the quorum, but principally Parley P. Pratt, was reproved sharply for having undone what the majority of the quorum had done in the organization of the camps for traveling. The brethren who had done wrong made a humble confession, after which much valuable teaching was given by President Young. Among other things he said: 'When we set apart one or more of the Twelve to go and do a certain work, they will be blessed in doing that work, and the quorum will back up what they do. But when one or more of the quorum interfere with the work of the majority they burn their fingers and do wrong. When the majority of the quorum of the Twelve organize a Stake of Zion and appoint a President over the same, the



FORT BRIDGER.

needy in consequence of having lost so many of their cattle.

*"Saturday, Sept. 4.—*At 8 o'clock a. m. Daniel Spencer's company was in motion. A number of our company, having here met their families, returned to the valley with them. Among these were William McIntyre, Burr Frost, Datus Ensign and Seth Taft. We proceeded on our journey about the same time as Spencer's company, and after going seven miles we halted for noon on the banks of Little Sandy, near one of our former camp grounds. Here we found Parley P. Pratt's company encamped, consisting of between seventy and eighty wagons, a messenger having been sent out ahead this morning to detain them until we should arrive. Perregrine Sessions was in charge of the first fifty of Elder Pratt's hundred. Most of the afternoon the Twelve were in council,

minority of the quorum have no right to interfere with these doings; and so in all other things, unless the majority should get corrupt. In that case, it would be the duty of any member of the quorum to show them their error and teach them what was right, and, if necessary, lay the matter before the entire people. President Young said further, that he felt the weight of eternity resting upon him, being overburdened with work and responsibilities.' Brother Kimball and all the other members of the quorum present expressed their feelings, and the spirit of God rested upon the brethren in a great measure. Every heart was melted and tears filled the eyes of all, while a spirit of forgiveness and love was truly made manifest. In the evening the people of the camps were called together and similar information and council to that given the previous

evening to Elder Spencer's company were imparted by the Twelve.

*"Sunday, Sept. 5.*—About 9 o'clock a. m. we pursued our journey, and after traveling two miles, we forded Little Sandy. Going 13½ miles further we crossed the Dry Sandy and 10 miles further travel brought us to the Pacific Springs, where we encamped at 5 o'clock p. m. after coming during the day 26 miles. Here we found three companies of fifty each encamped, namely, A. O. Smoot's hundred, and Brother Robinson's fifty of C. C. Rich's hundred. A meeting was held with these camps in the evening and George A. Smith, Willford Woodruff, Orson Pratt and President Young addressed the congregation, after which it was decided to lay over the following day and hold another meeting.

*"Monday, Sept. 6.*—The morning and entire day was very cold. The Twelve held a council with the officers of the camps, and pursuant to appointment the Saints of the camps assembled at 11 o'clock a. m. and were addressed by Erastus Snow and others, and the necessary instructions were given, similar to those given the other companies. In the afternoon eight of the Twelve met in council, and a case in which John Benbow had sustained financial loss was considered, and it was decided that he should have the privilege of an appeal from the decision of one of the Apostles to the whole quorum, and that in the meantime the High Council in the Valley should take charge of the disputed property.

*"Tuesday, Sept. 7.*—The morning was cold and cloudy and considerable snow which had fallen during the night could be seen in the mountains. A messenger was sent ahead to detain John Taylor's camps until we should come up. About 9 o'clock a. m. the companies destined for the Valley began to move west. A number of the Pioneers (among whom were Thurston Larson, Carlos Murray and Lafayette Granger) who had met their families returned back with them. About the same hour the Pioneer camp resumed their journey eastward, but had traveled only a short distance when they were overtaken by a heavy snow storm which continued till about 4 o'clock p. m. We arrived at John Taylor's camp on Sweetwater about 2 o'clock p. m., having traveled during the day 14 miles. Here we found that the Saints under the direction of Elder John Taylor and Bishop Edward Hunter had made preparations to give us a dinner, the tables being set in an adjacent grove on the banks of the river. It was a rare sight indeed to see a table so well spread with the

'good things of this life' in the heart of the wilderness so remote from civilization. The bill of fare consisted of roast and broiled beef, pies, cakes, biscuits, etc. and fully one hundred people sat down to the table. The remains of the feast were distributed among the soldiers and pioneers, and the ceremonies of the afternoon concluded with a dance which passed off in fine style to the satisfaction of all parties. The Twelve were again in council in the evening, meeting in Brother Shurtliff's tent. The snow had ceased falling, but the weather remained quite cold.

*"Wednesday, Sept. 8.*—The morning was cold, but later in the day it became warmer, and the snow melted. At 9 o'clock a. m. we took leave of the Saints in Brother Taylor's camp, and after traveling 12 miles we encamped on a small branch of Sweetwater, where we found Bishop Joseph B. Noble's fifty encamped. About the middle of the afternoon Jedediah M. Grant and Willard Snow, with the remainder of the last company arrived. Elder Grant had buried a child on the way, and his wife now lay at the point of death. We held a council in the evening at which Brother Grant related the circumstances of the organization of the company which was not according to the former organization, and President Young said that he was more and more convinced that some of the brethren had done wrong in these things.

*"Thursday, Sept. 9.*—The weather was cold, clear and windy. This morning considerable consternation was created in the camp by the discovery that between forty and fifty horses were missing. About thirty of these belonged to the Pioneer Camp, and the remainder to the other companies. From the circumstance of finding an Indian arrow near by and also a strap (known to have been on the neck of one of the horses) cut in two, it was at once concluded that they had been stolen during the night by Indians. Consequently, Colonel Markham with twenty men started in pursuit about 10 o'clock. In the afternoon two of the men returned with two of the horses which had been found about thirty miles distant. In the evening two or three more men came in with three other horses which had been found near the same place as the other two; they were probably left by the Indians in the hurry of the flight. These men informed us that it was with considerable difficulty the pursuers could keep the trail, as the Indians, in order to baffle pursuit, had occasionally separated, left the road and resumed it some distance ahead. Owing to this and other stratagems and devices, to



which the savages know precisely how to resort, the prospects of recovering the animals are not very bright. The companies remained in camp all day, and in the evening the Saints were called together and addressed successively by Orson Pratt, President Young and Heber C. Kimball.

*"Friday, Sept. 10.*—Orrin P. Rockwell and others returned this morning, but brought no horses with them. The whole of Jedediah M. Grant's company was in motion by about 9 o'clock a. m. and we started soon afterwards. After proceeding about ten miles we halted to bait at 4 o'clock p. m. on the banks of Sweetwater. Here we were met by Colonel Markham and the remainder of the company, on their return from hunting the horses, in which they had been unsuccessful, although they had been about thirty miles beyond this place. The total number of horses lost are 43. After traveling two miles further we encamped for the night. The brethren, in order to continue the journey, divided up the remainder of the animals between them, and a number of horses that hitherto had been brought along loose were harnessed up. By this President Young, Heber C. Kimball and a few other brethren who had been accustomed to ride on horseback were now debarred of that privilege.

*"Saturday, Sept. 11.*—The weather was warm and pleasant. We traveled 24 miles and encamped for the night on Sweetwater. Thomas Woolsey shot a buffalo.

*"Sunday, Sept. 12.*—We traveled 23 miles and again encamped on the Sweetwater. Howard Egan and William King, who had left the camp in the morning to look for a missing horse, returned in the evening without finding the animal; they had seen eight Indians at a distance who were probably following the camp with the intention of stealing horses. Three buffaloes were killed in the evening, which furnished the camp with plenty of meat.

*"Monday, Sept. 13.*—Traveled 20 miles passed Devils Gate, forded the Sweetwater and encamped for the night near Independence Rock.

*"Tuesday, Sept. 14.*—Traveled 12 miles and encamped on a little creek. Considerable saleratus was secured by a number of the brethren in passing the saleratus lakes to-day.

*"Wednesday, Sept. 15.*—Traveled about twenty-five miles over a mountainous road and camped on a little spring about twelve miles from Platte River.

*"Thursday, Sept. 16.*—After traveling 12 miles we forded the north fork of Platte

River, near our old ferrying place, and encamped on the opposite bank at 3 o'clock p. m. We found the river quite shallow, the water scarcely coming up to our wagon beds.

*"Friday, Sept. 17.*—In the morning Wilford Woodruff and other brethren recrossed the river to hunt buffaloes, but were unsuccessful. In the afternoon the camp traveled 12 miles and encamped for the night near a grove of cottonwood trees.

*"Saturday, Sept. 18.*—Traveled 17 miles and encamped on Deer Creek. One of the Frenchmen who accompany us killed a buffalo. After camping in the evening President Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Ezra T. Benson and others had quite an interesting encounter with a large bear which, after being wounded by some of the brethren, turned upon them, and they found it necessary to retreat in great haste to a neighboring cliff.

*"Sunday, Sept. 19.*—In the forenoon one buffalo and two black-tailed deer were killed by some of the brethren. In the afternoon the company traveled nine miles and encamped on North Buffalo Creek.

*"Monday, Sept. 20.*—We traveled 30 miles, crossed Dry Creek and Little Timber Creek, and encamped for the night on Big Timber Creek.

*"Tuesday, Sept. 21.*—About 8 o'clock a. m., just as we were getting ready to start, the alarm was given in camp that the Indians were marching off with our horses which had been grazing in the timber about half a mile from camp. The first intimation of the presence of the savages was the report of several guns in quick succession and the guard crying out, 'Indians, Indians!' In less than a minute the timber and bluffs were lined with mounted warriors, charging with full speed upon our guard horses and camp. They shot at two or three of the guards, but missed them. Next they tried to carry off one of the guards on a horse, but he knocked one of the Indians down with his fist, and finally succeeded in getting away from them. Wilford Woodruff, who had gone out to order the horses brought in, arrived near the animals when the Indians first made their appearance. He ran back to the camp, gave the alarm and called upon all the brethren to get their arms and mount their horses. Brothers Kimball, Rockwood, Matthews and several others sprang into their saddles armed with guns and pistols and rode out to head off the horses which the Indians were driving away. They succeeded in getting all the animals, except 11 head. Soon afterwards

about two hundred Indians, belonging to the Sioux tribe, made their appearance in camp, most of them being on horseback, and the chief commanding them happened to be the same one who met us on our way up the Platte below Fort John. He and President Young at once recognized each other and had quite a conversation. He told the President that he had mistaken us for Crow Indians, or otherwise the horses would not have been taken; he promised that they should be restored to us. He also said that a few days ago they had stolen 48 head of horses from the Crows on Sweetwater, but upon further explanation these were found to be our horses. President Young, however, suggested that we say nothing about them at present, but that when we get to Fort John we offer Mr. Bordeaux \$100 to procure them for us, for we deemed it inexpedient to try to take them by force as the Indians numbered about eight hundred men. Considerable salt was distributed among the Indians and about 1 o'clock p. m. they started for their camp about five miles up the creek. The animals that we had left had been hitched up all the morning, and at 2 o'clock p. m. we moved half a mile down the creek and again encamped a short distance from the same on the open prairie. Soon afterwards it commenced raining and continued at intervals most of the night. During the afternoon the stolen horses were brought to camp with the exception of one horse and a mule. They were all brought in by different ones who visited the Indian camp. Brother Kimball also visited their camp in the evening and was kindly received by the savages; he smoked the pipe of peace with some of their most distinguished men. It was mainly through his exertions that the brethren recovered most of their horses.

*"Wednesday, Sept. 22* — We traveled 16 miles and encamped on Horsehoe Creek.

*"Thursday, Sept. 23.* — Traveled 29 miles.

*"Friday, Sept. 24.* — The brethren got up our horses at an early hour. A meeting was called, and while each company of ten was standing apart by itself, some timely instruction was given by President Young, who also reproved some of the brethren for murmuring against the rules of the camp. The brethren voted unanimously that they would obey orders and that when they got to Fort John everybody would not run to see what was going on. We continued our journey at 9 o'clock a. m. and traveled 12 miles, passed Fort John and after crossing the river about a mile below the fort encamped on the opposite bank. At the fort

we found Appleton M. Harmon who had hired out there for the winter to work at blacksmithing for \$25 per month. He informed us that the ox teams had left here on Monday last, and that they had been somewhat detained at the ferry on the North Fork owing to the fact that eighteen of their horses had been stolen by the Indians; thirteen of them, however, were recovered. He also told us that on Monday last Luke Johnson, with three others, had started back to meet us with a number of horses, but they had missed us through having taken the river road. President Young, Heber C. Kimball and others of the Twelve visited the fort this afternoon and had an interview with Mr. Bordeaux, the proprietor. He told us that the chance of recovering our horses was rather a dull one, but that he to-morrow morning would send a man back with any number of men we might desire to send, to see what could be done. Upon inquiry we found flour at the fort to be worth \$45 per barrel (or 25 cents per pound) and corn 12½ cents a pint. Our horses were driven out on the prairie a short distance and guarded, the grass being tolerably good.

"This evening, after dark, the brethren were again called together and forty men chosen to go on the expedition to-morrow morning in pursuit of our horses. Previous to this ten men had been chosen to go ahead and find the Indians, and the others were to follow them up, and remain a little in the rear as a kind of reinforcement in case of necessity. The orders were to recover the horses 'peaceably' if they could, but forcibly if they 'must,' being governed mainly by circumstances.

*"Saturday, Sept. 25.* — Agreeable to the arrangement of last night the first company of ten men, in charge of Colonel Markham, started at 8 o'clock a. m. on their expedition, and an hour later forty more men, under the command of Ezra T. Benson followed. President Young and Heber C. Kimball accompanied them to the fort, where Mr. Bordeaux told us that he believed it useless for us to go any further because the Indians at the fort had sent runners ahead last night to apprise the others that we were coming. It is the general opinion of the brethren that the Frenchmen and Indians are leagued together against us in this affair; therefore, we deemed it unnecessary to pursue the matter any further, and the brethren returned to the camp.

"Towards evening Commodore Stockton, of the U. S. army, arrived at the fort, accompanied by Major Harris and others as pilots. They report a portion of their own

company, accompanied by Luke Johnson and his men, to be about six miles distant. Brothers Young and Kimball bought a number of buffalo robes for \$1.25 apiece.

*"Sunday, Sept. 26*—This morning a minute description of our stolen horses was written and given to Appleton M. Harmon, that if an opportunity should present itself he might endeavor to recover them for us. About 8 o'clock a. m., Luke Johnson, John Buchanan, Jesse C. Little and Norman Taylor arrived with eleven horses, including those they rode. With the assistance of these animals we can now travel considerable faster than we did before. These our brethren have been as far back as Big Timber Creek (in search of us), where the same band of Indians whom we had seen undertook to take the horses from them, but on their showing signs of resistance the savages betook themselves to flight. Near that point they met Commodore Stockton's company, consisting of about forty men, with whom they traveled till last night, and encamped with them on the North Fork, about four miles distant. President Young and Heber C. Kimball, by invitation, took dinner with Commodore Stockton at the fort. He is a middle-aged man of fine and engaging manners and agreeable in conversation.

"Having completed our business at the fort we resumed our journey in the afternoon; we traveled three miles and encamped on the banks of the river. Commodore Stockton intends pursuing the same road as ourselves to the 'Bluffs' and courteously offered to render us any assistance in his power while on the route. He will perhaps overtake us to-morrow or next day. He has one wagon with him in which a number of men ride who are afflicted with the measles, while he carries his effects on pack mules.

*"Monday, Sept. 27.*—We traveled 20 miles, crossed Rawhide Creek, and encamped for the night a short distance from the river. This evening six companies of ten organized in a military capacity in order that we may be better prepared to defend ourselves against an attack from the Indians. The captains of these companies are Brigham Young, Howard Egan, Thomas Tanner, Luke Johnson and George Wilson.

*"Tuesday, Sept. 28.*—Traveled 16 miles and camped on the banks of the river in sight of Scott's Bluffs. Two antelopes were killed and the meat divided among the brethren.

*"Wednesday, Sept. 29*—Traveled 22 miles, passed Scott's Bluffs in the distance, and encamped on the river in sight of Chimney

Rock. There was an Indian camp on the opposite side of the river.

*"Thursday, Sept. 30.*—Traveled 21 miles, passed Chimney Rock in the distance and encamped for the night on the banks of the river opposite a Frenchmen's and Indian camp. Colonel Markham was sent over to that camp in the evening to trade with Indians for some of the brethren.

*"Friday, Oct. 1.*—The camp laid over to hunt buffaloes, but none were killed.

*"Saturday, Oct. 2.*—Some of the brethren bought a number of horses and Dr. Richards a cow of the Frenchmen. Jesse C. Little was sent as a messenger this morning to Commodore Stockton's camp to ascertain his intentions about accompanying us. The messenger soon returned with the news that the Commodore now intended to cross the river and take a more direct road to St. Joseph, Mo. We traveled 16 miles and encamped on the banks of the river opposite 'Ancient Bluff Ruins.' Three buffaloes were killed to-day.

*"Sunday, Oct. 3.*—We traveled eight miles. A number of buffaloes and one antelope was killed by some of the brethren and the meat as usual dressed and distributed in the camp. Most of the brethren are depending entirely upon game for subsistence, being desitute of flour and other provisions.

*"Monday, Oct. 4.*—After traveling two miles we came to Crab Creek, where we found a board by the side of the road with the following inscription on it: 'Camp of Pioneers stopped here and killed and dried 30 buffalo cows, Sept. 28, 1847.' We traveled 18 miles further and encamped at sunset on the banks of the river. Several more buffaloes were killed to-day, and while halting for noon four Sioux Indian warriors and one squaw paid to visit to the camp.

"This evening, several of the horses having failed, we deemed it advisable to raise volunteers to go ahead on foot and arrest the progress of the ox teams. The following named brethren volunteered to go on this expedition: Amasa M. Lyman, Luke Johnson, John Buchanan, John Brown, John Crow, William Rowe, William Parks, Newton Wriston, Stephen H. Goddard, Alex. P. Chesley, Joseph Rooker and Ezekiel Kellogg. A letter signed by the President and Dr. Richards was addressed to Tunis Rappleyee and John Smith, and given into the hands of Amasa M. Lyman who had charge of the expedition. This letter contained instructions for the ox teams to stop, kill buffaloes and dry the meat till we should

come up, that they might relieve us of some of our wagons or portions of our loads.

*"Tuesday, Oct. 5.*—This morning before daylight the above named brethren, most of them being well armed, started off on foot to overtake the ox teams. At 9 o'clock a. m. we continued our journey, traveled 18 miles and encamped on the river a short distance below Ash Hollow. A buffalo cow and an antelope was killed.

*"Wednesday, Oct. 6.*—After traveling seven miles we found a letter in a stick by the side of the road, stating that our boys were here last night after dark. Passing on we forded Wolf Creek, where we found John Buchanan and John Crow. The former had been taken sick and was obliged to stay behind. He stated that the rest of the brethren traveling on foot left them here last night at 1 o'clock with the intention of traveling all night. We proceeded 4½ miles further and encamped at 6 o'clock p. m. on the banks of 'amp Creek, having traveled during the day 15½ miles.

*"Thursday, Oct. 7.*—After traveling two miles we met three mountaineers on their way from Independence, Mo., to Fort John. One of them was Captain Joseph Walker, who served as guide to Colonel Fremont through California, and another Mr. Papan, the main proprietor of Fort John. They had seen us from the other side of the river and had come over for the purpose of having an interview with us. Their whole number consisted of eight men, the other five having remained on the south side. From these men we learned that the Mexican war was still going on; that the U. S. government was about to establish military forts near Grand Island, at Fort John and on Green River; that packed steamers now ran regularly between St. Louis and Council Bluffs, and that one had recently left the latter place for the Yellowstone River; that there had been an abundant harvest of wheat and corn in the States the past season, and that we would find plenty of buffaloes for a hundred or more miles as we passed eastward. As Captain Walker intended to go as far west as Weber's Fork, a number of letters were written by several of the brethren and sent with him to the Valley.

*"To-day we traveled 12 miles and encamped for the night on the banks of the river. Soon after camping one of the Frenchmen traveling with us came in bringing a letter found in a stick by the side of the road. On being opened it was found to be written by William Clayton and stated that the ox teams had passed here on the 1st of*

October, and that they intended to continue on until they should arrive at some place where there was plenty of wood, when they would make a short delay to procure an additional quantity of buffalo meat, several of the brethren being short of provisions. From the letter we also learned that the ox teams traveled from fifteen to twenty miles a day. If this is the case they must be a hundred miles or more ahead of us. Appended to the letter were a few lines from Amasa M. Lyman, stating his determination to overtake them, if he had to follow them to Winter Quarters.

*"Friday, Oct. 8.*—We traveled 15 miles and encamped near the river. As we halted for noon a large band of elk made their appearance upon the brow of the hill to our left, and two of the Frenchmen succeeded in killing one of them. Our horses are failing more and more.

*"Saturday, Oct. 9.*—Traveled 15½ miles, partly over sandy bluffs, and encamped at sunset on the banks of Junction Bluff Fork (20½ miles east of Fort John).

*"Sunday, Oct. 10.*—The grass at this point being better than usual, we concluded to remain here the greater part of the day, in order to give our horses a chance to recruit themselves. The Twelve held a prayer meeting. At 2 o'clock p. m. we forded Junction Bluff Fork and traveled three miles, when we encamped for the night on the banks of the river. The Frenchmen killed a buffalo.

*"Monday, Oct. 11.*—It commenced to rain at 5 o'clock this morning and remained cold and misty all day. We traveled 11½ miles and encamped near the junction of the North and South Fork of Platte River. Soon after starting this morning we found, near a stream which we forded, a note from Amasa M. Lyman, stating that he and the brethren with him had left this place on Saturday morning last, and that the night before they had gone to the bluffs to procure a supply of meat, that they got along rather slow, not making more than fifteen or twenty miles per day, but were all well and in tolerable good spirits. It is our opinion that they are not now more than thirty or forty miles ahead, and that if the ox teams do not stop, the brethren, weak and faint as they are from living entirely on meat, must give up the chase. Four buffaloes were killed this morning.

*"Tuesday, Oct. 12.*—Traveled 16 miles, passed Brady's Island and encamped for the night near the margin of a small slough, about a mile from the river.

*"Wednesday, Oct. 13.*—We traveled 16

miles and encamped for the night near the main Platte, opposite a small island abounding in bushes. Two buffaloes were killed by Thomas Woolsey and John G. Holman. The wolves, to-night, attracted by the smell of the meat in our camp, entertained us with a concert or serenade, consisting of howls, barking and other comic sounds too numerous to mention.

*"Thursday, Oct. 14.*—We had considerable frost last night, and this morning the weather was, as usual, clear, cold and windy. Traveled 10 miles and encamped opposite a group of islands in the river overgrown with cottonwood trees.

*"Friday, Oct. 15.*—Traveled 15 miles and encamped on the banks of the river. Thomas Woolsey killed two buffaloes.

*"Saturday, Oct. 16.*—We traveled 21 miles without making any noon halt and encamped on Buffalo Creek. At this point we found Amasa M. Lyman and his comrades with the exception of two, namely, Stephen H. Goddard and Father Kellogg, who left their companions on Tuesday last, determined to push ahead and overtake the ox teams. This, however, was somewhat contrary to the counsel of Brother Lyman. He himself passed here with the remainder of his men on Wednesday last and went as far as the head of Grand Island, about twelve miles below, but not finding any buffaloes there they were obliged to return to this place on Thursday, in order to get meat; and they have remained here ever since. The brethren all appeared much fatigued with their travel and were glad once more to meet with us. We have now but slight hopes of overtaking the ox teams, and these are grounded upon the possibility of their being stopped by Brothers Goddard and Kellogg.

*"Sunday, Oct. 17.*—There being but few, if any, buffaloes to be seen below here, and a number of our horses having given out, we concluded to remain in this vicinity a day or two, while we could procure some meat and also recruit the falling strength of our animals. Accordingly, this morning two captains (Luke Johnson and John Brown) were appointed to superintend the hunting expedition to be undertaken to-day in pursuit of buffaloes. Each of these captains chose their men and started out on foot about 9 o'clock a. m. Soon afterwards the camp was moved to the mouth of the creek, about a mile below, where the grass was tolerably good. Soon after our arrival at this place two men who had seen our wagons from the other side of the river came over to see us. One of them, whose name is John Shaw, was the leader of a party of

twelve men traveling with four wagons from Independence, Mo., to Fort John. They had met Commodore Stockton's men four days ago, and one of their number had been killed by Indians.

*"Monday, Oct. 18.*—Thomas Woolsey was sent out this morning to tell the hunters to come in to-night with what game they had killed, that we might proceed on our journey. We started at 1 o'clock a. m. and after traveling three miles to our great joy we met a company of sixteen horsemen from Winter Quarters, whose names are as follows:

Hosea Stout,  
George D. Grant,  
G. J. Potter,  
William H. Kimball,  
Jacob Frazier,  
George W. Langley,  
W. J. Earl,  
W. Meeks,  
W. Martindale,  
William Huntington,  
Luman H. Calkins,  
James W. Cummings,  
S. S. Thornton,  
Levi Nickerson,  
James H. Glines,  
Chancey Whiting.

"George D. Grant and William Kimball each brought a wagon loaded with grain and provisions for President Young and Heber C. Kimball. They had come from Winter Quarters in 11 days and were sent from there by council to our assistance. They reported that the ox teams which they had met near the ford of Loupe Fork intended to go on without stopping. With the horsemen came Stephen H. Goddard, Ezekiel Kellogg and Jackson Redding. The latter was with William Clayton when he left the valley. From Brother Stout and his companions we also learned that there had been considerable sickness at Winter Quarters during our absence, principally among the children. After stopping on the road a short time to talk with the brethren we went on about seven miles further and encamped about 3:30 o'clock opposite Grand Island, a few miles below its head. Thomas Woolsey came in this evening with the intelligence that he had seen one party of our hunters who had secured nearly enough meat to supply our wagons, but they did not intend to come in to-night. Brother Woolsey also said that he had seen a large body of Indians cross the river about five miles distant. Consequently a little after dark Hosea Stout, Wilber Earl, Jackson

Redding, Joseph Matthews, William Huntington and William Martindale started out on horseback, for the purpose of getting the hunters to come in.

*"Tuesday, Oct. 19.*—We remained in camp to-day. Some of the brethren crossed the river to hunt buffaloes; they succeeded in killing one. This evening, a little after dark, the hunters, who had gone out on Sunday morning last, returned in company with those who had been sent out in pursuit after them; they brought in three wagons loaded with nine buffalo cows in good condition. Hosea Stout and his comrades did not find the hunters till this morning. A little bag, containing two gold sovereigns, belonging to Father Kellogg was found missing; it had disappeared during Brother Kellogg's absence.

*"Wednesday, Oct. 20.*—The weather was cold and cloudy with a light misty fall of rain at intervals. Search was instituted for the missing sovereigns, under the direction of Hosea Stout, of the Winter Quarters police, and finally found in John Buchanan's knapsack, he being the author of the theft. We traveled 12 miles and encamped on the banks of the river near Grand Island, where there was plenty of grass, wood and water.

*"Thursday, Oct. 21.*—Traveled 15 miles and encamped in the bed of the river (which was dry here) between Grand Island and the main shore.

*"Friday, Oct. 22.*—Traveled 14 miles, crossed Wood Creek and encamped for the night at 3 o'clock in the afternoon on Prairie Creek.

*"Saturday, Oct. 23.*—We were obliged to throw a quantity of grass into Prairie Creek before we could cross it, on account of its bed being miry. Traveling over a rolling prairie we at length reached the Loupe Fork of Platte River, and encamped on its banks at 8 o'clock p. m., having come 22 miles to-day. This place is about four miles above the ford of the ox team emigrant company and 20 miles above the old ford.

*"Sunday, Oct. 24.*—Two of our wagons made several attempts to cross the river this morning, which all proved ineffectual on account of the high wind and the quicksand giving way beneath the horses feet. One or two horsemen, also, while urging their horses across the stream, were thrown from their backs on account of their stumbling and sinking in the sand. It was therefore decided to defer fording the river until tomorrow, and we moved down the stream about one mile and encamped in a small grove of cottonwood trees, where we were somewhat sheltered from the cold wind

which continued to blow fiercely through the day.

*"Monday, Oct. 25.*—It snowed considerable last night and this morning the ground was covered with snow. Some of the brethren spent about two hours searching for a ford, which we finally found. After a few wagons had crossed, the bottom of the stream became quite firm. We were obliged, however, to double teams, and in some cases a number of men were obliged to accompany the wagons, wading in the cold water to assist them through. We finally got over without accident about noon, after which we traveled ten miles and encamped at 3:30 o'clock upon the site of an old Pawnee village which had been burned down by the Sioux several years ago. Here we found the grass and other vegetation quite green, affording good feed for our horses. This evening, by council, four men, namely, Amasa M. Lyman, Lyman H. Calkins, Joseph Matthews and Thomas Woolsey started for Winter Quarters on horseback, to apprise the brethren there that we were close by and to allay the anxiety that they might feel at our prolonged absence from home. John Buchanan and two of the Frenchmen also accompanied them.

*"Tuesday, Oct. 26.*—After traveling nine miles this morning we forded a large tributary of the Loupe Fork, and thence descending a hill we passed the old Pawnee village opposite the old fording place, and a little further on we passed a missionary station, consisting of five or six buildings that had been erected since we were here before. It was now entirely deserted, the Sioux having paid it a visit about the last of July when they tore down the fences and pickets enclosing the houses, demolished the doors, knocked in the heads of flour barrels and scattered their contents on the ground, etc. We proceeded a mile past this place and encamped at 2 o'clock p. m. near the old missionary station, having traveled during the day 18 miles. We took our horses into an adjacent corn field, where we also gleaned considerable corn that had been partially gathered. Some of the brethren got quite a quantity to eat and take along for their horses. Near the field there was quite a large patch of oats which our horses devoured quite greedily.

*"Wednesday, Oct. 27.*—We traveled 25 miles, crossed Beaver Creek and Looking Glass Creek and encamped at sunset on the banks of a slough below Sarpee's trading post, near the place where we were visited by the Pawnees on our way out.

*"Thursday, Oct. 28.*—The day was cold

and windy. We traveled 20 miles and encamped on Shell Creek.

*"Friday, Oct. 29.*—We traveled about twenty-five miles over a burned prairie and encamped near the Platte River at 5 o'clock p. m., near the point where a 'liberty pole' had been raised by Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor on their way out.

*"Saturday, Oct. 30.*—Traveled 12 miles and came to the Elkhorn River which we forded some distance above our old ford, and after proceeding a mile down the stream we encamped at 2 o'clock p. m. on its banks in a large grove of cottonwood. Immediately after we were encamped the brethren were called together in the centre of the ring, when President Young asked those who wished to go ahead to Winter Quarters to-night to rise to their feet. None arose. It was then decided by vote that the whole camp, horse-men and all, should all remain in a body and go into town together. President Young and Heber C. Kimball expressed their satisfaction with the conduct of the Pioneers during their travels and blessed them in the name of the Lord."

At sunset about twenty wagons arrived from Winter Quarters to meet the Pioneers, with Bishop N. K. Whitney, John S. Fullmer, William Kay and many others, bringing food for the men and grain for their animals. The meeting with these brethren and feasting with them in the evening, made the hearts of the weary Pioneers rejoice exceedingly, and much of the night was spent in interesting conversations.

*Sunday, Oct. 31.*—The Pioneers and their friends ate an early breakfast and organized for going to Winter Quarters. The company that came out to meet their brethren went in front and the Pioneer company followed. They had a hard day's drive, as the horses of the Pioneers were nearly worn out. When the company arrived at a point about a mile from Winter Quarters, the wagons of the Twelve were taken to the front, and the brethren called together, when President Young remarked:

"Brethren, I will say to the Pioneers, I wish you would receive my thanks for your kindness and willingness to obey orders. I am satisfied with you; you have done well. We have accomplished more than we expected. The one hundred and forty-three men who started, some of them sick, are all well. Not a man has died; and we have not lost a horse, mule or ox except through carelessness. The blessings of the Lord have been with us. If the brethren are satisfied with me and the Twelve, please signify it with uplifted hands. (All hands were raised.) I feel to bless you in the name of the Lord God of Israel. You are dismissed to go to your homes."

The company then drove into the town of Winter Quarters in order, arriving there about an hour before sunset. The streets were crowded with people who had come out to shake hands with the Pioneers as they passed through the lines, and the weary travelers truly rejoiced to once more behold their wives, children and friends, after an absence of over six months, in which time they had traveled over two thousand miles, sought out a location where the Saints could dwell in peace, and accomplished one of the most interesting and important missions of this dispensation.

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The "Mormon" emigration which followed the Pioneers to the Mountains in 1847 consisted of upwards of two thousand souls, with 566 wagons, organized into companies of tens, fifties and hundreds, with a captain over each, and the whole presided over by a President and two Counselors, a marshal, etc. John Young was called to preside, having been nominated by the Twelve before their departure for the valley.

The wagons that made up these companies began to gather on the west side of the Elkhorn River about the 12th of June, 1847. On the 15th,

about three hundred wagons having collected, a meeting was called around a liberty pole erected to designate a place for public gathering. Orson Spencer's hundred was the first organized; it moved off the grounds on the 18th of June. On the 19th Captain Jedediah M. Grant's hundred traveled 15 miles and encamped in sight of Captain Spencer's. The other companies followed soon afterwards, and about the 1st of July the emigration was fairly under way, traveling westward in good order. The wagons were generally drawn by oxen, of which there were from four to eight to a wagon. Most of the wagons were fitted up in a commodious manner for traveling, which made the emigrants more comfortable than could be anticipated on so long and tedious a journey. They traveled in companies of one hundred wagons, when circumstances made it practicable, but when scarcity of grass or bad roads made it inconvenient for so large companies to travel together they divided in fifties and sometimes into tens. As they moved forward, one division after another, they passed and re-passed each other frequently, but at night kept as nearly compact as circumstances would admit, especially when in danger of Indians.

They traveled generally at the rate of from ten to fifteen miles per day, and their cattle fed solely upon the grass which the country produced. Occasionally when dangers from Indians were apprehended, they traveled two, sometimes four and sometimes six wagons abreast.

Good health generally prevailed in the camps, and only six or seven deaths occurred among the emigrants during the journey. Two or three

of these were infants, and the remainder were mostly, if not all, seriously indisposed before they started. Among the latter was Sister Grant, wife of Captain Jedediah M. Grant, a woman of delicate constitution and not sufficient for the hardships of the journey. Her death occurred so near the valley, that by forced drives, night and day, her remains were brought through for interment. Her babe of eight or ten months, who died about two weeks before the mother, was buried on the desert. Sister Ewing was also among those who died. Nursing the sick in tents and wagons was indeed a laborious and trying service and the burial of the dead by the wayside a sad duty to perform. But the journey was by no means without its pleasant hours. "Many were the moon and starlight evenings," writes Sister Eliza R. Snow (who was traveling in Joseph B. Noble's fifty of Jedediah M. Grant's hundred), "when, as we circled around the blazing fire, and sang our hymns of devotion, and songs of praise to Him who knows the secrets of all hearts, the sound of our united voices reverberated from hill to hill, and echoing through the silent expanse, seemed to fill the vast concave above, while the glory of God seemed to rest on all around."

East of Fort Laramie many of the Sioux Nation mixed with the traveling camps, on their way to the fort, where a national council was in session. On the morning of July 14th the camps received their first lesson in stampedes on the plains. "Some one was carelessly shaking a big buffalo robe at the back of a wagon from which some of the cattle in the corral took fright and started on the



run; those frightened others; they commenced bellowing; and all in a huddle, ran for the gateway of the enclosure, which being altogether too narrow for the egress of the rushing multitude that thronged into the passage, they piled one on top of another until the top ones were above the tops of the adjacent wagons, moving them from their stations while the inmates at this early hour, being so suddenly and unceremoniously aroused from their morning sleep, and not knowing the cause of this terrible uproar and confusion, were some of them almost paralyzed with fear. At length those that could broke from the enclosure, the bellowing subsided and quiet was restored; but the sad effect of the fright caused much suffering to some whose nerves were not sufficient for the trying scene. In the encounter two wagon wheels were crushed, Captain K's only cow was killed, and several oxen had horns knocked off."

On the 25th of July, Phinehas H. Young and nine of the Pioneers\* met

\*Five of these Pioneers had left the Pioneer camp on Green River on the previous 4th of July to go back and meet the advancing companies of Saints and assist them as guides through the Black Hills. (See page 66.) At the old Platte ferry they were joined by five more of the Pioneers. They had expected to meet the companies near the Black Hills, but instead found them less than four hundred miles west of Winter Quarters, opposite Ash Hollow. This unexpected long distance to travel, with the increase of number at the ferry, nearly caused starvation of the whole camp of guides. They had plenty of food until they reached Fort Laramie, but from there until they met the companies they were almost destitute and suffered greatly. For five days and nights they had but two prairie dogs and a skunk to divide among ten men. They found no game, the armies of buffaloes met by the Pioneers going west having been driven off into the hills by the Indians.

the companies. The news brought by these men of the successful journey of the Pioneers as far as Green River, and the certainty that they had already reached the valleys of the Rocky Mountains, gave great comfort and assurance to the emigrating Saints. A meeting was called and two letters—one from Pres. Young and one from Willard Richards—brought by the guides, were read.

Next day (July 26th) many Indians passed the companies with tents and baggage fastened to mules and horses.

On the morning of Aug. 4th, the people were cheered by the arrival of fourteen "Mormon" soldiers of the Battalion who were an escort to General Kearney on his way to Fort Leavenworth. There they expected to be discharged. They were husbands and sons of women in the companies and to them more especially it was a joyful meeting.

By the 9th of August the companies were fairly in the Black Hills, and on the 12th Mrs. Mary Noble gave birth to a daughter in her wagon. On the 19th a Sister Love was run over by a wagon loaded with 1,600 pounds. She was administered to and was around again in a day or two.

In the latter part of August the companies passed Independence Rock on Sweetwater, where the road passes through alkali lands. As this was the first experience of the emigration passing through this district, so fatal to cattle, the losses were heavy.

(Continued on page 113.)

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"What thou seest, write in a book."—Rev. i, 11.

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DECEMBER, 1890.

VOL. IX.

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## THE PIONEERS OF 1847.

(Continued from page 112.)

The carcasses of the animals were numerous along the wayside. The second fifty of Jedediah M. Grant's hundred was almost disabled.

These misfortunes developed the communistic character of the Saints. On the 1st of September a meeting was called to take into consideration the best means of modifying the difficulties of the situation, and an effort was made to equalize the strength of the companies. "It was finally motioned that the captains be authorized to act for the companies and yoke whatever in their judgment was proper to be put to service, cows, heifers, calves," etc. Some thought this motion oppressive, but it was carried by a majority.

The following is from the pen of Sister Eliza R. Snow:

"Sept. 2, (1847). Last evening we had the pleasure of hearing from the valley and of tasting salt from the Great Salt Lake by a small party of soldiers and pioneers with three wagons, and on the 3rd met a larger party with perhaps eighteen wagons. On the 4th of September J. C. Little, a returning pioneer, took tea with us with mutual satisfaction.

"On the 5th of September, as we

were starting, Harvey Pierce and others, came up and informed us that the Pioneers were only eighteen miles distant, and would soon be with us. It was decided to go two miles further to a good camping place. The road went over a slough, the bridge over which was so much out of repair that it was thought impossible for wagons to cross, and a halt was called to repair the crossing. The slough was at the foot of a long gentle slope, and the teams, two and three abreast, were standing from the top nearly down to the place where the men were commencing to fix the bridge. At this time, when many of the teamsters were lounging at ease, two of our young men, riding at full speed with blankets flying and whips in hand, rode up, and in passing the teams in the rear, so frightened them that they started down the hill, and as they went they started others until almost in a moment nearly all were in motion, increasing their rapidity until the scene was fearfully alarming. Many of them crossed the slough in different directions, and where the best of teamsters would not dare to drive, not one team crossing on the bridge.

Many lives were exposed, but through the great blessing of our Heavenly Father no one was much hurt.

"The writer of this sketch happened to be sitting on the back seat of a two-seated carriage, holding a pair of high strung horses with all the strength I could exert. I prayed with all the fervency of my spirit. I knew full well that if they once started nothing could stop them. Sister Pierce and her daughter, with whom I was traveling, after making ineffectual efforts to stop one of their teams, came to the horses I was holding and took them by the bits. So frightened were they, that although they made no attempt to move, their flesh shook with a tremor from head to foot. My arms were lame for several days. We arrived at our encampment and spent the day with the Pioneers. President Young, Heber C. Kimball and Amasa M. Lyman took supper with us."

The people in Captain Grant's company and the Pioneers were so delighted with meeting each other, and there was such a sense of security, that the stock were left unguarded. As a result between forty and fifty horses were stolen by Indians. (See page 103.) At the meeting held in the evening of Aug. 9th. the following Pioneer song composed by Sister Eliza R. Snow was sung:

HAIL TO THE TWELVE AND PIONEERS.

*Air "Yes, my native land I love thee."*

Hail ye mighty men of Israel,  
Who the hiding place have found;  
The eternal God has blest you,  
You have stood on holy ground.

CHORUS.

Praise the Lord, we're glad to meet you,  
Welcome, welcome, on the way;  
Yes, O yes, with songs we greet you,  
Pioneers of Latter Day.

A choice land of old appointed  
For the house of Israel's rest;  
You have found and consecrated,  
Through your blessing 'twill be blest.  
Holy, free and unpolluted,  
Will that land for us remain;  
While the sacred laws of justice  
Will the Saints of God maintain.  
Go, return to Winter Quarters;  
Go in peace and safety too;  
There the purest hearts are beating,  
Warm with hopes of seeing you.  
We will onward to the valley,  
Speed your way, make haste and come,  
That 'ere long with joy and gladness  
We may bid you welcome home.

On the 10th the Pioneers and Captain Grant's Company parted, each going their way with pleasant reminiscences of the interview. President Young had advised the leaders of the companies to keep together until they arrived at Green River. From there they might be permitted to break up into tens, as in this shape they could travel better through the gorges and defiles of the mountains. On the 14th of September Captain Grant's company was given leave to break up, which was done. The other companies did likewise, and in this order the emigrants began to arrive in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake about the middle of September. Part of John Taylor's company arrived on the 5th of October, and a few days later the companies had all safely entered the valley.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Since the foregoing was written we have perused a daily journal kept for Captain George B. Wallace, who led the first fifty of Abraham O. Smoot's hundred of the emigration of 1847, and from that and Elder Wallace himself gleaned a few additional facts in regard to the organization of the different companies, etc. The whole emigration traveled

under the direction of John Young and other general officers duly appointed who took advice and counsel from Apostles Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor, the only two members of the quorum of the Twelve who traveled with the emigration. Under the direction of the general officers there were four captains of hundreds, namely, 1) Daniel Spencer, under whom Ira Eldredge and Perregrine Sessions acted as captains of fifties; 2) Edward Hunter, with whom Jacob Foutz and Joseph Horne were associated as captains of fifties; 3) Jedediah M. Grant, with Joseph B. Noble and Willard Snow as captains of fifties, and 4) Abraham O. Smoot, under whose direction George B. Wallace and Samuel Russell acted as captains of fifties. The ninth company, under the direction of Captain Charles C. Rich, was somewhat independent in its organization, and was generally known as the artillery company, as it carried several pieces of artillery with it. It was not attached to either of the four organizations of hundreds, but was rather recognized as a separate or fifth hundred. Apostle Pratt generally traveled with Daniel Spencer's hundred which occasionally, though erroneously, is alluded to by some writers as Pratt's hundred. John Taylor traveled with Edward Hunter's hundred.

Captain Wallace's fifty, which may serve as a sample of all the other similar organizations, was divided into five companies of tens, and contained a total of 200 souls with 84 wagons, 493 oxen and cows and 14 horses. Divided into the five subdivisions, the proportion was as follows:

*First Ten:* James Smithies, cap-

tain; 29 souls, 12 wagons and 84 oxen and cows.

*Second Ten:* Samuel Rolfe, captain; 42 souls, 18 wagons and 85 oxen and cows.

*Third Ten:* Joseph Mount, captain; 34 souls, 14 wagons, 66 oxen and cows.

*Fourth Ten:* John Nebeker, captain; 60 souls, 20 wagons, 137 oxen and cows.

*Fifth Ten:* Samuel Turnbow, captain; 35 souls, 20 wagons, 121 oxen and cows.

Captain Wallace's fifty was organized on the bank of Elkhorn River, Friday June 18, 1847, and on that day moved a mile westward and camped on the prairie. The next day (June 19th) the company reached the Platte River. On the 20th news reached the camp that Jacob Weatherbee and Alfred Lambson, who on the 19th had started from the Elkhorn to go to Winter Quarters on business, were attacked by three Omaha Indians, and that during the fracas which ensued Jacob was shot and mortally wounded. The Indians then fled and Jacob, by the assistance of Brother Lambson, traveled about half a mile, when they met Bishop Whitney, who took the wounded man in his wagon back to the Elkhorn to Jedediah M. Grant's hundred, where he died on the morning of the 20th after severe sufferings. This was the first death in Captain Wallace's fifty. On Tuesday June 22nd all the companies of the camps of Israel moved westward from their encampment on the Platte River, and until the Black Hills was reached they traveled in close proximity to each other; at night the two fifties belonging to the same hundred generally camped together

On the 25th of June the first birth occurred in Captain Wallace's company, a daughter subsequently named Margaret Ann, being born to Samuel and Lydia Turnbow while in camp at the mouth of Loupe Fork. On the 5th of July Nancy Smithies, wife of James Smithies, also gave birth to a daughter, named Sarah Ellen, at a point 200 miles from Winter Quarters. July 30th the company reached the latitude of Chimney Rock and the next day met Brother Davenport, a Pioneer who traveled east with a company of horsemen. On the 3rd of August they met Brother N. V. Jones, and others of the Mormon Battalion, going back with the officers of the battalion to Fort Leavenworth. On the 5th the company arrived near Fort Laramie, where a halt was made for a few days for the purpose of repairing wagons and resting the animals. The journey was resumed on the 10th. On the 15th the company met Eric Glines, the first one from the Basin, who reported that a city had been laid out and that the colonists in the valley were doing well.

The next day (Aug. 16th) they met Ezra T. Benson, Orrin P. Rockwell and another man, as messengers from the Pioneers in the valley, and the following day a most interesting meeting was held. It was attended by several of the companies, and Elder Benson gave a fine description of the valley. On the 20th Elders Benson and Rockwell started ahead of the companies for the valley. On the 27th, having reached the Sweetwater near Independence Rock, the teams in the company were equalized to the different wagons, some of the cattle having become weak and a number died. On the

30th the first company of returning Pioneers were met, and the following day others. On the 2nd of September the company met John Pack, Jesse C. Little and other brethren from the valley. On the 5th they crossed the "Continental Divide" and camped on the Pacific Springs where they met President Young and the Pioneers returning with him. An interesting meeting was held in the evening. On the 14th Fort Bridger was reached and on the 17th Bear River. On the 25th the advance teams of the company arrived in the valley and on the 26th they joined the Pioneer brethren on the site of the city. The last of Captain Wallace's fifty arrived in the valley on the 29th. This company crossed the plains and mountains in as good a shape and with less loss than any of the other companies. It also extended help to some of the companies that had lost so many of their cattle from Indian depredation, poisoning and other causes.

Immediately after the arrival of the Pioneers in the Valley a conference was held, and a Stake of Zion organized with John Smith as President and Charles C. Rich and John Young as Counselors. A High Council was also organized (see Book I, page 276), and preparations made to spend the first winter in the Great Basin as comfortably as possible. About two thousand souls spent the winter of 1847-48 in the Valley.

Following is a table of distances from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake Valley, as prepared by William Clayton. On the return trip, however, the distance was found to be 22 miles shorter, or 1,082 miles, instead of 1,054 as given in the table:

DISTANCES: Miles	Dist. Betw.	Total Dist.
Winter Quarters.....		
Papea.....	18	18
Elkhorn.....	17	35
Shell Creek.....	47	82
Indian Village.....	27	109
Looking Glass Creek.....	10	119
Beaver Creek.....	8	127
Plumb Creek.....	7	135
Loupe Fork.....	4	138
Gravel Creek.....	17	155
Prairie Creek.....	16	171
Platte River.....	7	178
Wood River.....	13	191
Head of Grand Island.....	48	239
Elm Creek.....	4	243
Buffalo Creek.....	6	249
Skunk Creek.....	53	302
Wide Creek.....	23	325
North Bluff Fork.....	16	341
Rattlesnake Creek.....	32	373
Crooked Creek.....	7	380
Ash Hollow meridian.....	21	401
Crab Creek.....	29	430
Chimney Rock meridian.....	43	473
Scotch Bluffs meridian.....	20	493
Rawhide Creek.....	38	531
Fort Laramie Ferry.....	12	543
Horse Creek.....	43	586
La Bonte Creek.....	16	602
Upper Platte Ferry.....	66	668
Independence Rock.....	50	718
Sweetwater Ford.....	1	719
Devils Gate.....	5	724
South Pass.....	94	818
Green River.....	63	881
Fort Bridger.....	46	927
Bear River Ford.....	46	973
Weber River.....	26	999
Great Salt Lake City.....	55	1054

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The following is a complete list of the Pioneers of 1847, alphabetically arranged. It gives place and time of birth and death of most of the members, and also the present whereabouts of surviving Pioneers. These data have cost considerable travel, writing and searching of historical documents; and had all those to whom letters of inquiry have been written responded promptly, the information would have been still more complete. The biographical sketches furnished by several of the brethren is reserved for future use.

ADAMS, (BARNABAS L.), was born near Perth, Upper Canada, Aug. 23, 1812; died near Salt Lake City, Utah, June, 2, 1869.

ALLEN, (RUFUS,) died in Ogden, Utah, in the winter of 1888-89.

ANGELL, (TRUMAN O.,) a son of James

and Phoebe Angell, was born at Providence Rhode Island, June 5, 1810; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Oct. 16, 1887. He acted for many years as Church architect.

ATWOOD, (MILLEN,) was born in Waterford, Caledonia Co., Vermont, May 24, 1817, and has acted as Bishop of the Thirteenth Ward, Salt Lake City, since 1881. (See sketch in *Biographical Encyclopædia*, page 6.)

BADGER, (RODNEY,) was born in Waterford, Caledonia Co., Vermont, Feb. 4, 1823, and accidentally drowned in the Weber River, Utah, April 29, 1853. (See Book I, page 48.)

BARNEY, (LEWIS,) was born in Niagara County, N. Y., Sept. 8, 1808; resides temporarily at Elsinore, Sevier Co., Utah.

BARNUM, (CHARLES D.,) was born near Brockville, County of Leeds, Canada, May 9, 1800; is still alive and resides in the Fifteenth Ward, Salt Lake City. (See sketch in *Bio. Ency.*, page 7.)

BENSON, (EZRA TAFT,) was born in Mendon, Worcester Co., Mass., Feb. 22, 1811; died in Ogden, Utah, 3, 1869. (See sketch, in Book I, page 132.)

BILLINGS, (GEORGE PIERCE,) was born in Kirtland, Ohio, July, 25, 1827; is still alive and resides in Mantel, Sanpete Co., Utah.

BOGGS, (FRANCIS,) was born in Belmont County, Ohio, May 17, 1807; died in Washington, Washington Co., Utah, Jan. 22, 1889.

BROWN, (GEORGE WASHINGTON,) was born in Newbury, Cuyahoga Co., Ohio, Jan. 25, 1827; is still alive and resides at Charleston, Wasatch Co., Utah.

BROWN, (JOHN,) was born in Sumner County, Tenn., Oct. 23, 1820; is still alive and acts as Bishop of Pleasant Grove first Ward, Utah Co., Utah. (See sketch in Book I, page 115.)

BROWN, (NATHANIEL THOMAS,) was shot at Council Bluffs, Iowa, in February, 1848 just as he was preparing to migrate to the Valley.

BULLOCK, (THOMAS,) the secretary of the Pioneer Camp, was born in Leek, Staffordshire, England, Dec. 23, 1816; died in Coalville, Summit Co., Utah, Feb. 10, 1885.

BURK, (CHARLES ALLEN,) was born in Kirtland, Ohio, Sept. 2, 1823; died at Minersville, Beaver Co., Utah, Feb. 28, 1888.

BURNHAM, (JACOB D.,) died in California in 1850.

BYARD, (ROBERT,) died in Ogden, Utah, in 1876.

CARRINGTON, (ALBERT,) was born in Royalton, Windsor Co., Vermont, Jan. 8, 1813; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Sept. 19, 1889. (See sketch in Book I, page 243.)

CARTER, (WILLIAM,) is still alive and resides in St. George, Utah.

CASE, (JAMES,) died in Sanpete County in 1859.

CHAMBERLAIN, (SOLOMON,) died in Washington County, Utah, March 26, 1862.

CHESSLEY, (ALEXANDER P.,) lived in San Juan Valley, Cal., when last heard from.

CLAYTON, (WILLIAM,) was born in England, July 17, 1814; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Dec. 4, 1879.

CLOWARD, (THOMAS P.,) was born in Chester County, Penn., Dec. 10, 1828; is still alive and resides at Payson, Utah Co., Utah.

COLTRIN, (ZEBEDEE) died at Spanish Fork, Utah Co., Utah, July 11, 1887.

CRAIGH, (JAMES,) the bugler of the Pioneer Camp, died at Santa Clara, Washington Co., Utah, in 1846.

CROSBY, (OSCAR,) a colored man, died in Los Angeles, Cal., in 1870.

CURTIS, (LYMAN,) was born in New Salem, Franklin Co., Mass., Jan. 21, 1812; is still alive and resides in Salem, Utah Co., Utah.

CUSHING, (HOSEA,) died in Salt Lake City, before 1864.

DAVENPORT, (JAMES,) a son of Squire Davenport and Susannah Kilridge, was born at Danville, Caledonia Co., Vermont, May 1, 1802; died in Richmond, Cache Co., Utah, about 1885.

DECKER, (ISAAC PERRY,) one of the children of the Pioneer Camp, is a son of Isaac Decker and Harriet Page Wheeler (afterwards the wife of Lorenzo D. Young). He was born in Winchester, Scott Co., Ill., Aug. 7, 1840, and resides in the Sixteenth Ward, Salt Lake City.

DEWEY, (BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,) was born in Westfield Hampden Co., Mass., May 5, 1829; is still alive, but has no permanent home nor family and is not now a member of the Church. His temporary home is in Salt Lake City, Utah.

DIXON, (JOHN,) was killed by Indians near Parley's Park, Summit Co., Utah, Aug. 17, 1868.

DRIGGS, (STARLING GRAVES,) was born in Pennsylvania, Feb. 12, 1822, and died in Parowan, Irwin Co., Utah, Dec. 3, 1860.

DYKES, (WILLIAM,) died in Nebraska, Nov. 24, 1879.

EARL, (SYLVESTER H.,) died in St. George, Utah, about twenty years ago.

EASTMAN, (OZRO,) a non-Mormon, lives in Eagle Rock, Bingham Co., Idaho.

EGAN, (HOWARD,) was born in Montreal,

Canada, in 1815, and died in Salt Lake City, Utah, March 16, 1878.

EGBERT, (JOSEPH,) was born in Sullivan County, Indiana, March 10, 1818; is still alive and resides in Kaysville, Davis Co., Utah.

ELDRIDGE, (JOHN S.,) died in Charleston, Wasatch Co., Utah, in 1874.

ELLSWORTH, (EDMUND,) a son of Jonathan Ellsworth and Sarah Gulley, was born in Paris, Oneida Co., N. Y., July 1, 1819; is still alive and resides at Mesa, Apache Co., Arizona.

EMPEY, (WILLIAM A.,) was born in Osabrook Township, County of Stormont, Canada, July 4, 1808, and died in St. George, Utah, Aug. 19, 1890.

ENSIGN, (DATUS,) died in Ogden, Utah, about the year 1870.

EVERETT, (ADDISON,) was born in Wellkill, Orange Co., N. Y., Oct. 10, 1805, and died in St. George, Utah, Jan. 12, 1885.

FAIRBANKS, (NATHANIEL,) was accidentally drowned in California in 1854.

FARR, (AARON F.,) was born at Waterford, Caledonia Co., Vermont, Oct. 31, 1818; is still alive and resides in Ogden, Utah.

FITZGERALD, (PERRY,) was born Nov. 21, 1814, and died at Draper, Salt Lake Co., Utah, Oct. 4, 1889.

FLAKE, (GREEN,) a colored man, was born in the State of Mississippi; is still alive and is supposed to reside at Union, Salt Lake Co., Utah.

FOWLER, (JOHN S.,) went to California in 1848, and subsequently died there.

FREEMAN, (JOHN M.,) died of cholera in Carson Valley, Nevada in 1850.

FROST, (BURR,) was born at Waterbury Conn., March 4, 1816, and died in Salt Lake City, Utah, March 16, 1878.

FRINK, (HORACE MONROE,) lived in San Bernardino, Cal., when last heard from.

FOX, (SAMUEL BRADFORD,) a son of David W. Fox and Caroline List, was born at Adams, Jefferson Co., N. Y., Dec. 4, 1829; resided in Oregon when last heard from.

GIBBONS, (ANDREW S.,) died at Moan Coppy, Arizona, several years ago.

GLEASON, (JOHN STREATER,) was born in Livonia, Livingston Co., N. Y., Jan. 18, 1819; is still alive and resides at Pleasant Grove, Utah Co., Utah.

GLINES, (ERIC,) resided in St. George, Utah, when last heard from.

GODDARD, (STEPHEN H.,) lived in Davis Co., Utah, when last heard from.

GRANT, (DAVID,) was born at Arbroath, Forfarshire, Scotland, July 21, 1816; died of chronic diarrhoea in Mill Creek, Salt Lake Co., Utah, Dec. 22, 1868.

GRANT, (GEORGE R.,) lived in Virginia City, Nevada, when last heard from.

GREENE, (JOHN YOUNG,) a son of John P. and Rhoda S. Greene, was born in the State of New York, Sept. 2, 1826, and died in Salt Lake City, Utah, May 24, 1880.

GROVER, (THOMAS,) was born at Whitehall, Washington Co., N. Y., July 22, 1807, and died in Farmington, Davis Co., Utah, Feb. 20, 1886.

HANCOCK, (JOSEPH,) one of the principal hunters of the Pioneer Camp, was born in Springfield, Mass., March 17, 1800; is still alive and resides at Payson, Utah Co., Utah.

HANKS, (SIDNEY ALVARUS,) froze to death in Parley's Park, Summit Co., Utah, in April, 1870.

HANSEN, (HANS C.,) was born in Copenhagen, Denmark, Nov. 23, 1806, is still alive and resides in Salina, Sevier Co., Utah.

HARMON, (APPLETON M.,) died at Holden, Millard Co., Utah, before May, 1877.

HARPER, (CHARLES ALFRED,) was born at Upper Providence, Montgomery Co., Penn., Jan. 27, 1816, is still alive and resides at Big Cottonwood, Salt Lake Co., Utah.

HENRIE, (WILLIAM,) died in Bountiful, Davis Co., Utah, several years ago.

HOWD, (SIMMONS,) died in Beaver County, Utah, in 1862.

HIGBEE, (JOHN S.,) died in Toquerville, Washington Co., Utah, Nov. 1, 1877.

HOLMAN, (JOHN GREENLEAF,) was born at Byron Centre Genessee Co., N. Y., Oct. 18, 1828; died at Rexburg, Bingham Co., Idaho, Nov. 5, 1888.

IVORY, (MATTHEW,) was killed at Beaver, Utah, in the beginning of 1885.

JACOB, (NORTON,) was born in Massachusetts, Aug. 11, 1804, and died at Glenwood, Sevier Co., Utah, Jan. 30, 1879.

JACKMAN, (LEVI,) was born in Berkshire, Orange Co., Vermont, July 28, 1797, and died in Salem, Utah Co., Utah, July 23, 1876.

JOHNSON, (ARTEMAS,) died in Utah many years ago.

JOHNSON, (LUKE S.,) was born in Pomfret, Windsor Co., Vermont, Nov. 3, 1807; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Dec. 9, 1861. (See sketch in Book I, p. 42.)

JOHNSON, (PHILO,) was born in Newton, Fairfield Co., Conn., Dec. 6, 1815; is still alive and resides in Payson, Utah.

KELSEY, (STEPHEN,) was born at Montville, Geauga Co., Ohio, in 1829, is still alive and resides in Paris, Bear Lake Co., Idaho.

KENDALL, (LEVI N.,) a son of Levi Kendall and Lorena Lyman, was born in Lockport, Niagara Co., N. Y., is still alive and resides at Springville, Utah Co., Utah.

KLINEMAN, (CONRAD,) resides in the Almo Ward, Maricopa Co., Arizona.

KIMBALL, (ELLEN SANDERS,) one of the three women who accompanied the Pioneers, was a wife of Heber C. Kimball, born in Telemarken, Norway, in 1824; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Nov. 22, 1871.

KIMBALL, (HEBER C.,) was born at Sheldon, Franklin Co., Vermont, June 14 1801, and died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Nov. 22, 1868.

KING, (WILLIAM A.,) died in Boston, Mass., in 1862.

LAY, (HARK,) colored, lives in Union, Salt Lake Co., Utah.

LEWIS, (TARLETON,) is still alive and resides in Richfield, Sevier Co., Utah.

LITTLE, (JESSE CARTER,) was born at Belmont, Waldo Co., Maine, Sept. 26, 1815; is still alive and resides at Littleton, Morgan Co., Utah.

LOSEE, (FRANKLIN G.,) resided in Lehi, Utah Co., Utah, years ago.

LOVELAND, (CHANCEY,) died in Bountiful, Davis Co., Utah, Aug. 16, 1876.

LYMAN, (AMASA M.,) was born in Lyman Township, Grafton Co., New Hampshire, March 30, 1813; died in Fillmore, Millard Co., Utah, Feb. 4, 1877. (See Book I, p. 121.)

MARBLE, (SAMUEL H.,) is unknown.

MARKHAM, (STEPHEN,) was born at Hartward, Ontario Co., N. Y., Feb. 9, 1800; died in Spanish Fork, Utah Co., Utah, March 17, 1878.

MATTHEWS, (JOSEPH,) died in Arizona a few years ago.

MILLS, (GEORGE,) died in Salt Lake City, Aug. 29, 1864.

MURRAY, (CARLOS,) was killed by Indians on the Humboldt River in 1855.

NEWMAN, (ELIJAH,) died at Mantt, Sanpete Co., Utah, in 1873.

NORTON, (JOHN W.,) is supposed to reside at Panguitch, Garfield Co., Utah.

OWEN, (SEELEY,) died in Arizona several years ago.

PACK, (JOHN,) was born in St. Johns, New Brunswick, May 20, 1809; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, April 4, 1885. (See *Bio. Ency.*, p. 70.)

PIERCE, (ELI HARVEY,) died in Brigham City, Box Elder Co., Utah, about the year 1858.

POMEROY, (FRANCIS M.,) a son of Martin Pomeroy and Sybil Hunt, was born at Somers, Tolland Co., Conn., Feb. 23, 1822, died in Mesa, Maricopa Co., Arizona, Oct. 29, 1882.

POWELL, (DAVID,) lived in the State of Mississippi when last heard from.



PRATT, (ORSON,) was born at Hartford, Washington Co., New York, Sept. 19, 1811; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Oct. 3, 1881. (See Book I, p. 49.)

REDDEN, (R. JACKSON,) was born in Portage Co., Ohio, Sept. 20, 1816, is still alive and lives in Hoytsville, Summit Co., Utah.

RICHARDS, (WILLARD,) was born in Hopkinton, Middlesex Co., Mass., June 24, 1804; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, March 11, 1834. (See Book I, p. 104.)

RAPPLEYEE, (TUNIS,) died at Kanosh, Millard Co., Utah, about four years ago.

ROCKWELL, (ORRIN P.,) was born in the State of New York, June 25, 1813; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, June 9, 1878.

ROCKWOOD, (ALBERT P.,) was born in Holliston, Middlesex Co., Mass., June 5, 1805; died in the Sugar House Ward, Salt Lake Co., Utah, Nov. 26, 1879.

ROLFE, (BENJAMIN WILLIAMS,) was born in Romford, Oxford Co., Maine, Oct. 7, 1822, is still alive and resides in the Sixteenth Ward, Salt Lake City.

ROOKER, (JOSEPH,) went to California, where he was last heard from in 1857. •

ROUNDY, (SHADRACH,) was born in Windham Co., Vermont, Jan. 1, 1789; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, July 4, 1872. (See *Bio. Ency.*, p. 80.)

SCHOLES, (GEORGE,) died in Lehi, Utah Co., Utah, before 1873.)

SCOFIELD, (JOSEPH S.,) died at Bellevue, Washington Co., Utah, March 8, 1876.

SHERWOOD, (HENRY G.,) died in San Bernardino, Cal., before 1882.

SHUMWAY, (ANDREW PURLEY,) a son of Charles Shumway and Julia Ann Hooker, was born at Millbury, Worcester Co., Mass., Feb. 20, 1833; is still alive and resides at Franklin, Oneida Co., Idaho.

SHUMWAY, (CHARLES,) was born in Oxford, Worcester Co., Vermont, Aug. 1, 1806, is still alive and resides in Johnson, Kane Co., Utah.

SMITH, (GEORGE A.,) was born in Potsdam, St. Lawrence Co., New York, June 26, 1817; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Sept. 1, 1875. (See Book I, p. 98.)

SMOOT, (WILLIAM C. A.,) was born in Roane County, Tennessee, Jan. 30, 1828; is still alive and resides in the Sugar House Ward, Salt Lake Co., Utah.

SNOW, (ERASTUS,) was born at St Johnsbury, Caledonia Co., Vermont, Nov. 9, 1818; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, May 27, 1888.

STEVENS, (ROSWELL,) died at Bluff City, San Juan Co., Utah, May 4, 1880.

STEWART, (BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,) was

killed by lightning at Benjamin, Utah Co., Utah, June 22, 1885.

STEWART, (JAMES W.,) resides in Morgan County, Utah.

STRINGHAM, (BRIANT,) was born at Windsor, Broome Co., New York, March 28, 1825; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Aug. 4, 1871.

SUMME, (GILBROID,) is unknown.

TAFT, (SETH,) was born at Mendon, Worcester Co., Mass., Aug. 11, 1796; died in Salt Lake City, Nov. 23, 1863.

TANNER, (THOMAS,) died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Aug. 2, 1855.

TAYLOR, (NORMAN,) lived in Southern Utah, until quite recently.

THOMAS, (ROBERT T.,) lives in Provo, Utah.

THORNTON, (HORACE,) was born at Hinsdale, Cattaraugus Co., New York, May 7, 1822, is still alive and resides at Glenwood, Sevier Co., Utah.

THORPE, (MARCUS B.,) was murdered for his money in California Jan. 19, 1849.

TIPPITS, (JOHN HARVEY,) was born at Wittingham, Rockingham Co., New Hampshire, Sept. 5, 1810; died at Farmington, Davis Co., Utah, Feb. 14, 1890.

VANCE, (WILLIAM P.,) resides in Southern Utah.

WALKER, (HENSON,) was born in Manchester, Ontario Co., New York, March 18, 1820, is still alive and resides in Pleasant Grove, Utah Co., Utah.

WARDLE, (GEORGE,) is still alive and resides in Ashley, Uintah Co., Utah.

WARDS & ORTH, (WILLIAM SHIN,) was born at Woodstown, Salem Co., New Jersey, March 5, 1810; died in Springville, Utah Co., Utah, Jan. 18, 1888.

WEILER, (JACOB,) was born near Churchtown, Lancashire Co., Penn., March 14, 1808, is still alive and acts as Bishop of the Third Ward, Salt Lake City, Utah.

WHEELER, (JOHN,) is unknown.

WHITNEY, (HORACE KIMBALL,) a son of Newel K. and Elizabeth Ann Whitney, was born in Kirtland, Geauga Co., Ohio, July 25, 1823; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Nov. 22, 1884.

WHITNEY, (ORSON K.,) a son of Newel K. and Elizabeth Ann Whitney, was born in Kirtland, Geauga Co., Ohio, Jan. 30, 1830; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, July 31, 1884.

WHIPPLE, (EDSON,) a son of John Whipple and Basmath Hutchins, was born at Dummerston, Windham Co., Vermont, Feb. 5, 1805, is still alive and resides at Colonia Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico.

WILLIAMS, (ALMON S.,) is unknown.

WOODRUFF, (WILFORD,) was born in Farmington, Hartford Co., Conn., March 1, 1807, is still alive and presides over the Church. (See Book I, page 98.)

WOODWARD, (GEORGE,) was born in Monmouth County, New Jersey, Sept. 9, 1817, is still alive and resides in St. George, Utah.

WOOLSEY, (THOMAS,) resided in Sanpete County, Utah, when last heard from.

YOUNG, (BRIGHAM,) was born in Whitingham, Windham Co., Vermont, June 1, 1801; died in Salt Lake City, Aug. 29, 1877 (See Book I, p. 24.)

YOUNG, (CLARRISSA DECKER,) one of the three women who accompanied the Pioneers, was a daughter of Isaac Decker and Harriet Page Wheeler, and a wife of President Brigham Young. She was born in Freedom, Cattaraugus Co., New York, July 22, 1828, and died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Jan. 5, 1889.

YOUNG, (HARRIET PAGE WHEELER,) another of the three women who accom-

panied the Pioneers, was a daughter of Oliver Wheeler and Hannah Ashley and a wife of Lorenzo D. Young. She was born at Hillsboro, New Hampshire, Sept. 7, 1808; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Dec. 22, 1871.

YOUNG, (LORENZO DOW,) a brother of President Brigham Young, was born in Smyrna, Chenango Co., New York, Oct. 19, 1807, is still alive and resides in Salt Lake City, Utah.

YOUNG, (LORENZO ZOBRISKI,) one of the two children who accompanied the Pioneers, is a son of Lorenzo D. Young and Harriet Page Wheeler, and was born in Winchester, Morgan Co., Ill., March 9, 1841. He now resides in Huntington, Emery Co., Utah.

YOUNG, (PHINEAS H.) a brother of President Brigham Young, was born at Hopkinton, Middlesex Co., Mass., Feb. 16, 1799; died in Salt Lake City, Utah, Oct. 10, 1879.

## THE GENERAL AUTHORITIES OF THE CHURCH.

Since the organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April 6, 1830 with six members, it has continually grown, and its members have increased steadily until the greater portion of Utah and parts of Idaho, Arizona, Nevada, Wyoming and New Mexico are peopled with Latter-day Saints. There are also colonies of Saints in Old Mexico and British Columbia, besides scattered members in nearly every State in the Union and in Great Britain, Scandinavia, Germany, Switzerland, Turkey, New Zealand, Australia, the Sandwich Islands, Samoan Islands and other places. There are 32 organized Stakes of Zion, of which 23 are in Utah, 4 in Idaho, 4 in Arizona and 1 in Colorado. The Saints in Nevada, Wyoming and New Mexico belong to Stakes whose headquarters are in Utah and Arizona. Those in British Columbia belong as yet to the Cache Stake, in Utah, while those residing in Old Mexico are

awaiting a separate Stake organization.

Below we give biographical notes of the general authorities of the Church, as they were sustained at the April Conference, 1890, the Church then being just sixty years old:

### THE FIRST PRESIDENCY.

Since the article on The First Presidency was published in the RECORD of June, 1886 (see Book I, page 73), changes have occurred in that quorum. President John Taylor died July 25, 1887, after which the Twelve Apostles presided over the Church until the conference held in Salt Lake City in April, 1889, on which occasion a First Presidency was again organized, consisting of Wilford Woodruff (President), Geo. Q. Cannon (first Counselor) and Joseph F. Smith (second Counselor). They still preside.

Wilford Woodruff, a son of Aphek Woodruff and Beulah Thompson, was born in Far

mington (now Avon), Hartford Co., Conn., March 1, 1807, baptized by Zera Pulsipher Dec. 31, 1833, ordained an Apostle in Far West, Mo., April 26, 1839, and first sustained as President of the Church in his present capacity in April, 1889.

George Quale Cannon, a son of George Cannon and Ann Quale, was born in Liverpool, Lancashire, England, Jan. 11, 1827, baptized by John Taylor June 18, 1840, ordained an Apostle Aug. 28, 1860, acted as first Counselor to President John Taylor from 1880 to 1887, and has filled his present position as first Counselor to President Wilford Woodruff since April, 1889.

Joseph Fielding Smith, a son of Hyrum Smith and Mary Fielding, was born at Far West, Caldwell Co., Mo., Nov. 13, 1838, baptized by Heber C. Kimball in Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1850 or 1851, ordained an Apostle July 1, 1866, and admitted into the quorum of the Twelve Oct. 8, 1867, acted as second Counselor to President John Taylor from 1880 to 1887, and has filled his present position as second Counselor to President Wilford Woodruff since April, 1889.

#### THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

Since the publication of the article on and diagram of the Twelve Apostles in the RECORD of January, 1886 (see Book I, page 13), changes have occurred in the quorum, and three new members have been added.

After the death of President Taylor July 25, 1887, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith occupied their former positions in the Quorum of the Twelve, and remained thus until the reorganization of the First Presidency in April, 1889, when they were chosen as Counselors to President Woodruff—the same as they formerly had been to President Taylor.

The three vacancies caused by the excommunication of Albert Carrington in November, 1885, by President Woodruff's promotion to the position of President of the Church in April, 1889, and by the demise of Erastus Snow, in Salt Lake City, May 27, 1888, were filled at the October Conference, 1889, by the call-

ing of Marriner W. Merrill, Anton H. Lund and Abraham H. Cannon to the Apostleship. The members of the quorum are now as follows:

Lorenzo Snow, a son of Oliver Snow and Rosetta L. Pettibone, was born in Mantua, Portage Co., Ohio, April 3, 1814, baptized by John F. Boynton in June, 1836, at Kirtland, Ohio, and ordained an Apostle in Salt Lake City, Feb. 12, 1849.

Franklin D. Richards, a son of Phinehas Richards and Wealthy Dewey, was born in Richmond, Berkshire Co., Mass., April 3, 1821, baptized by his father June 3, 1838, and ordained an Apostle in Salt Lake City, Utah, Feb. 12, 1849.

Brigham Young, a son of Brigham Young and Mary Ann Angell, was born in Kirtland, Ohio, Dec. 18, 1806, baptized in Nauvoo, Ill., in 1844, when about eight years old, and admitted into the quorum of the Twelve Oct. 9, 1868, having previously been ordained an Apostle.

Moses Thatcher, a son of Hezekiah Thatcher and Alley Kitchen, was born in Sangamon County, Illinois, Feb. 2, 1842, baptized Dec. 25, 1856, in Yolo County, Cal., and ordained an Apostle April 9, 1879.

Francis M. Lyman, eldest son of Amasa M. Lyman and Louisa Maria Tanner, was born near the town of Macomb, McDonough Co., Ill., Jan. 12, 1840, baptized by his father July 1, 1848, and ordained an Apostle Oct. 27, 1880.

John Henry Smith, a son of George A. Smith and Sarah Ann Libby, was born at Carburna, near Kanawha, Pottawattamie Co., Iowa, Sept. 13, 1848, baptized by his father Sept. 18, 1856, and ordained an Apostle Oct. 27, 1880.

George Teasdale, was born in London, England, Dec. 8, 1831, baptized Aug. 8, 1852, and ordained an Apostle Oct. 16, 1882.

Heber J. Grant, a son of Jedediah M. Grant, was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, Nov. 22, 1866, baptized June 2, 1884, and ordained an Apostle Oct. 16, 1882.

John Whittaker Taylor, a son of John Taylor and Sophia Whittaker, was born in Provo, Utah Co., Utah, May 15, 1858, baptized when about eight years old and ordained an Apostle April 9, 1884.

Marriner Wood Merrill, a son of Nathan Merrill and Sarah Ann Reynolds, was born in Sackville, County of Westmoreland, New Brunswick, Sept. 25, 1832, baptized April 6, 1852, and ordained an Apostle Oct. 9, 1889.

Anton Henrik Lund, was born in Aalborg, Aalborg Amt., Denmark, May 15, 1844, bap-

tized by Jakob Julander May 15, 1856, and ordained an Apostle Oct. 9, 1889.

Abraham H. Cannon, a son of George Q. Cannon and Elizabeth Hoagland, was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, March 12, 1859, baptized by his father March 12, 1867, and ordained an Apostle Oct. 9, 1890.

#### *COUNSELORS TO THE TWELVE.*

John W. Young, a son of Brigham Young, was born in Nauvoo, Hancock Co., Ill., Oct. 1, 1844, baptized when about eight years old, ordained an Apostle Nov. 22, 1855, by his father, set apart as an assistant Counselor to the First Presidency Feb. 4, 1864, and as first Counselor to President Brigham Young Oct. 8, 1876. The latter position he occupied until the death of President Young in 1877. Since then he has officiated as Counselor to the Twelve Apostles.

Daniel H. Wells, a son of Daniel Wells and Catherine Chapin, was born at Trenton, Oneida Co., N. Y., Oct. 27, 1814, baptized at Nauvoo, Ill., in 1846, ordained an Apostle and set apart to act as second Counselor in the First Presidency by President Brigham Young, Jan. 4, 1857. He held that office until the death of President Young in 1877, since which he has officiated as Counselor to the Twelve Apostles.

#### *PRESIDING PATRIARCH*

John Smith, the eldest son of Hyrum Smith and Jerusha Barden, was born in Kirtland, Ohio, Sept. 22, 1832, baptized by John Taylor in 1841, and ordained to his present position Feb. 15, 1855, in Salt Lake City.

#### *PRESIDENTS OF SEVENTIES.*

Since publishing the article on "The Council of the Seventies" in July 1886 (see Book I, page 81), two changes have taken place in that Council:

Horace S. Eldredge died in Salt Lake City, Sept. 6, 1888, and the vacancy caused thereby was filled by the calling of B. H. Roberts to act as one of the council at the October Conference, 1888.

Abraham H. Cannon having been ordained to the Apostleship in October, 1889, George Reynolds was sustained as one of the Seven Presidents of the Seventies at the April Conference, 1890. The council now stands as follows:

Henry Herriman, senior President, was born in the Eastern States June 9, 1804.

Jacob Gates was born in Vermont, March 9, 1811.

Seymour B. Young, a son of Joseph Young and Jane A. Bicknell, was born in Kirtland, Ohio, Oct. 3, 1837, baptized in 1849, ordained a Seventy by Edmund Ellsworth in February, 1859, and ordained to his present position Oct. 14, 1882.

Christian Daniel Fjeldsted was born in Copenhagen, Denmark, Feb. 20, 1829, baptized Feb. 20, 1852, emigrated to Utah in 1858, and was ordained to his present position April 28, 1884.

John Morgan, a son of Garrard Morgan and Eliza Ann Hamilton, was born near Greensburgh, Decatur Co., Ind., Aug. 8, 1842, baptized in Salt Lake City Nov. 26, 1867, and ordained to his present position Oct. 7, 1884.

Brigham Henry Roberts was born in Warrington, Lancashire, England, March 13, 1837, emigrated to Utah in 1866, crossing the Atlantic in the ship *John Bright*, and set apart to his present position in October, 1888.

George Reynolds, a son of George Reynolds and Julia Ann Foutz, was born in London, England, Jan. 1, 1842, baptized May 4, 1856, emigrated to Utah in 1865, and ordained to his present position in April, 1890.

#### *PRESIDING BISHOPRIC.*

William B. Preston, Presiding Bishop, was born in Franklin County, Virginia, Nov. 24, 1830, baptized in February, 1857, acted as President of the Cache Stake of Zion from 1879 to 1884, and was ordained to his present position in April, 1884.

Robert T. Burton, first Counselor to Bishop Preston, was born in Canada, Oct. 25, 1821.

John Rex Winder, second Counselor, was born in Biddenden, County of Kent, England, Dec. 11, 1820, baptized in 1848, and emigrated to Utah in 1853.

#### *CHURCH HISTORIANS.*

Franklin D. Richards, Church historian. (See under "The Twelve Apostles".)

John Jaques, assistant Church historian, is a son of Thomas Jaques and Mary Ann Heighington, and was born at Market Bosworth, Leicestershire England, Jan. 7, 1827; emigrated to Utah in 1856.

#### *CHURCH ARCHITECT.*

Joseph Don Carlos Young, a son of Brigham Young and Emily D. Partridge, was born in Salt Lake City, May 6, 1855.

# The Historical Record

A Monthly Magazine.

Andrew Jenson, - - - Editor.

SALT LAKE CITY, - DECEMBER, 1890.

## PUBLISHER'S VALEDICTORY.

This issue concludes the Ninth Volume of the HISTORICAL RECORD, and for the time being, at least, it also closes the existence of that magazine as a monthly periodical, unless the contemplated Deseret Historical Association, which so far only has existed on paper, should become an organized body and resume its publication.

For thirteen years we have labored faithfully and true in the interest of Church history, and have succeeded in gathering considerable historical information (only a part of which has been published), which we hope will prove beneficial to future generations, as well as the present one. While a number of our brethren have stood by us nobly during the past years, and have given us all the encouragement and material aid that we could expect, the majority of the Saints have not manifested that interest for our labors which we had fondly anticipated, in consequence of which we are now unable to continue publication any longer for the present. This does not mean that we retire from the historical field. On the contrary, we hope hereafter to be able to devote more of our time in this direction than formerly, only the publishing will be done by other parties, if done at all.

The Ninth Volume of the RECORD, containing a more complete history of the Pioneers of 1847 than has ever

before been published, may be considered as a supplement to Volumes Five, Six, Seven and Eight, and also as an introductory to the histories of the Stakes of Zion, which undoubtedly will be published in a near future.

In the meantime we kindly ask those who are indebted for the RECORD to settle up their accounts forthwith, as the means are needed toward liquidating debts that have accrued for printing. Had all our subscribers acted fairly and honorably toward us, we would have continued longer; but the unpleasantness and expenses connected with collecting old debts have so wrought upon our feelings, that our action in retiring from the position of publisher can easily be defended.

Sincerely thanking the patrons of the RECORD for their past aid and influence, by which we have been enabled to publish the first large work of reference on the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints ever issued from the press, we shall continue to court their friendship, aid and good will, while further endeavoring to gather and collect such data and facts as may give future generations a true conception of the labor performed by the early workers in the cause of Christ in the Nineteenth Century.

Respectfully,

ANDREW JENSON.

NOTICE.—The following books are for sale at the office of the HISTORICAL RECORD, at the prices quoted:

Church Encyclopædia, Book I (Vols. 5, 6, 7 & 8 of RECORD), \$5.00.

Church Chronology, cloth, \$1.25.

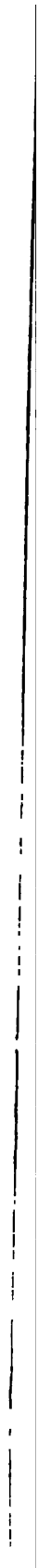
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